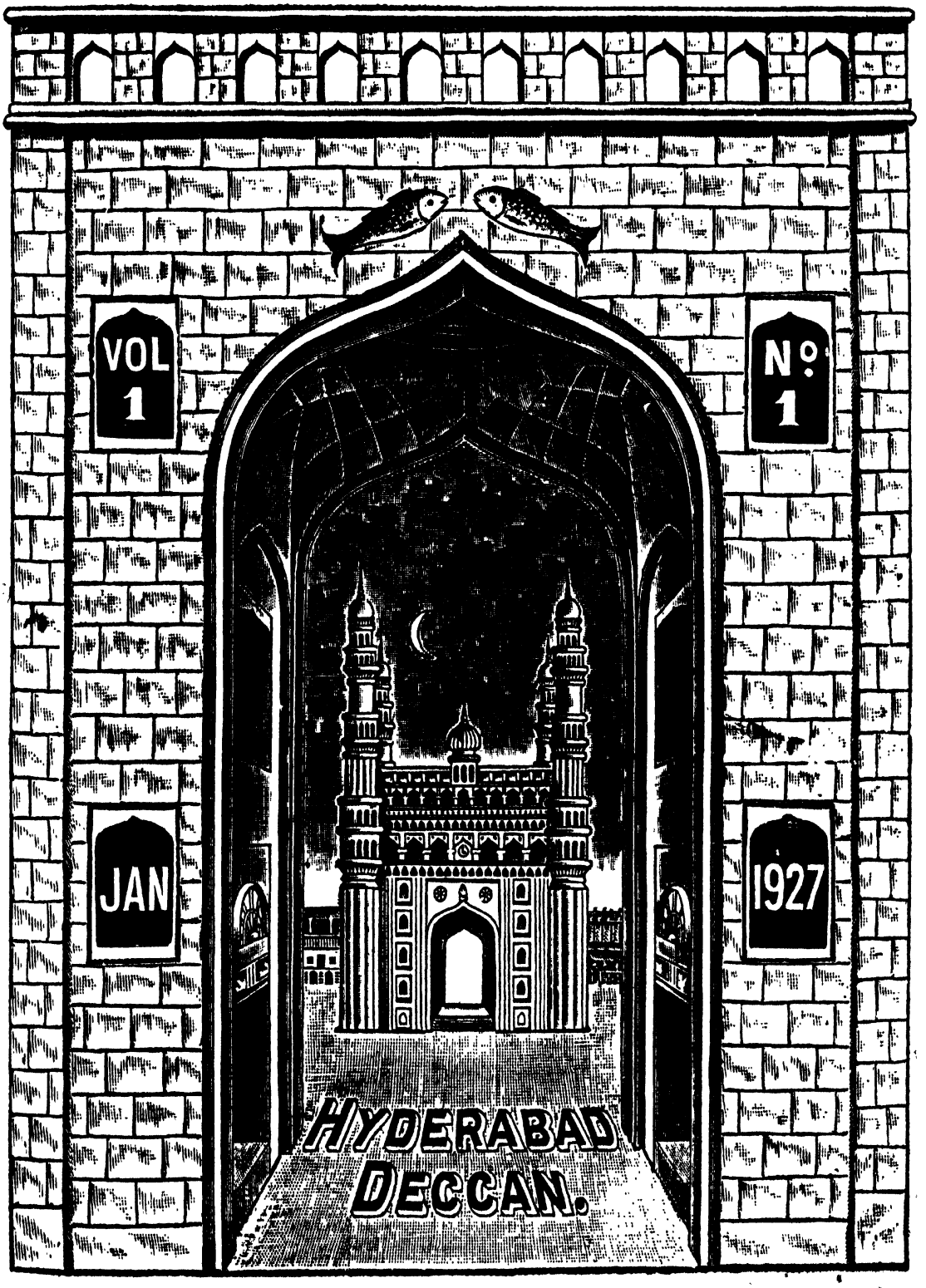
TEXT FLY WITHIN THE BOOK ONLY

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY
OU_172262
UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

Islamic Culture



ISLAMIC CULTURE

THE HYDERABAD QUARTERLY REVIEW

PUBLISHED JANUARY, APRIL, JULY, AND OCTOBER

Scale of Advertisement Charges

Single Insertion.

	Rs.
Per ordinary page ..	20
Per half page ..	11
Per quarter page ..	6
Second page of cover ..	50
Third page of cover ..	50
Fourth page of cover ..	80

Annual insertions.....10 % Discount.

Annual Subscription: Inland Rs. 10, foreign £1-1s including registered postage. The price of Single or Specimen Copy is Rs. 2-12-0.

Purchasers of specimen copies for the current year can become annual subscribers by paying Rs. 7-4-0 additional.

Subscribers are not registered for less than one year and the subscription in all cases must be paid in advance. Notices of change of address, should be sent before the date of issue.

Subscribers when communicating with this office will please mention their respective Roll Numbers. Intending subscribers are requested to send their subscription by M. O. as the V. P. P. causes delay and extra expense. All business communications to be addressed to the Manager.

ISLAMIC CULTURE

THE

HYDERABAD QUARTERLY REVIEW

CONTENTS FOR JANUARY

		Pages
Introductory Remarks	. . . . .	i
I.	The Modernity of Islam By the Rt. Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali, P.C., C.I.E.	1
II.	Hafiz : A Poem By Nawab Nizamat Jung . .	6
III.	The Spirit of Asia and Asiatic History By Felix Valyi	8
IV.	The Unity of Islam By F. Krenkow . . .	27
V.	Al-Biruni's India By Abdullah Yusuf Ali, C.I.E. .	31
VI.	The Origins of "The Arabian Nights" By Josef Horovitz	36
VII.	The Shalimar Gardens of Lahore By Prof. Muhammad Shafi	58
VIII.	Banat Su'ad of Ka'b *Bin* Zuhair By Prof. Hidayat Hussain	67
IX.	The Muslims and Greek Schools of Philosophy By Moulana Syed Suleyman Nadvi . .	85
X.	A Note on Muslim Jurisprudence By Moulana Mahmud Hasan Khan	92
XI.	Muslim Education By Marmaduke Pickthall .	100
XII.	A Ninth Century Defence of Islam By Prof. L. F. Rushbrook Williams, C.B.E. . . .	109
XIII.	The Reform of Muslim Society By the Late Prince Sa'id Halim Pasha	111
	REVIEW	
XIV.	Studies in Indian Painting By N. C. Mehta, I.C.S.	136
XV.	Books and Authors	142
XVI.	Islamic Culture By Marmaduke Pickthall . .	151

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

MSS. sent to the Editor will receive careful consideration. Business communications should be addressed to the Manager, "Islamic Culture" Civil Service House, Hyderabad, Deccan.

ISLAMIC CULTURE

Some time ago a group of famous men in His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions, encouraged by the patronage which our enlightened ruler extends to every work of education, and wishing to diffuse true knowledge of Islam, projected this Review. Their aim was to uplift the standard of Islamic culture at its best, and to provide a rallying-point for learned Orientalists and students of Islam in every land. The Review was to be purely literary and scientific, eschewing current political and sectarian controversy. It was given its present name, "Islamic Culture;" it was decided that it should have a certain form and that articles should be invited from men all over the world who are regarded as authorities on any of the aspects of Islamic civilization, a term which covers every field of human interest. And at length the project was translated into practice and assumed the shape in which the reader holds it in his hands to-day.

The first President of the Board of Direction of "Islamic Culture" was that staunch friend of learning, veteran scholar and sound statesman, the late Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk Bahadur, whose son, Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung is now Secretary to the Board. He and Nawab Sir Amin Jung, Nawab Hydar Nawaz Jung, Nawab Nizamat Jung, Nawab Sadr Yar Jung the present Chairman of the Board, and Nawab Masood Jung are the men who planned and still control the policy of the Review. Such names are of themselves a guarantee that nothing but the very best is contemplated.

We have on this occasion to apologise for the lack of proper Arabic type, which is particularly regrettable in the case of Mr. Hidayat Hussain's article on Banat Su'ad. This defect we are taking steps to remedy, in future numbers. The cover is designed by Mr. R. L. Gamlen, O. B. E.

THE MODERNITY OF ISLAM

In the wreck of religious beliefs and the general slackening of moral conventions, it is pathetic to observe the frantic efforts to salvage some part of it, and build up an eclectic faith. The student of comparative religion will look back on the success of the first Ptolemy in creating the Serapean cult which welded for a time the Greek and the Egyptian, and for centuries dominated the religious consciousness of the Mediterranean littoral.

Whilst Ptolemy Lagus succeeded, Akbar the Great failed. The grandson of the Lion-King also attempted to unite two alien worlds together by a common cult, but the teachings of the Koran and the creed of the Shastras could not be reconciled. And Akbar failed !

Are the efforts of the present day thinkers to construct out of the wreckage of the old beliefs a system which might appeal to the modern world likely to succeed ? I am afraid not ; first, because it would be a mixture devoid of the elements essential to awaken the dying religious consciousness of the masses ; and secondly because it would be out of touch with modern conceptions.

One Faith alone holds out the promise that the world is not doomed to relapse into darkness or become enwrapt in gross materialism. It still holds aloft the lamp to the road which leads humanity to spiritual vitality. The present conditions, morally considered, are the same as prevailed when the Prophet of Islâm made his appearance. Whilst the Platonists and their successors were struggling to solve the problem of the *Demiurgus* and the *Causa Causans*, and the Manichean was making the Prophet of Nazareth a mere Phantasm of Light, there prevailed all around gross materialism combined with wild superstitions. The spiritual current set flowing by Jesus had spent itself, and the people were in quest of a faith that would revive spiritual life and the recognition of human responsibility to all living beings. Mohammed made no claim to a preternatural personality nor any demand that repelled Reason. He always proclaimed that he was only a man sent to preach and bring back the world to the recognition of Truth. And the history of his life has *not* been converted by his followers into a " faery tale," or his person transfigured into that of a Divine Being. His appeal was addressed both to the agnostic who abounded in his time as well as to the pagan who worshipped " other gods," the sun and the moon, the stars and idols of his own fashioning.

Many of his contemporaries, like many present-day thinkers, believed that creation was a mere accident; that there was no Design in the Universe. He asked the sceptic to look at the marvellous co-ordination which existed in the world and then say it was a mere accident; to think of his own body and mind and then consider whether there is not a Supreme Intelligence behind nature. The great Teacher perceived in the ordinary phenomena of nature an inter-connection which conclusively showed Design. Ever and anon he preached: "In the creation of the heaven and earth, "and the alternation of night and day, and in the ship which "saileth on the sea, laden with what is profitable to mankind; and "in the rainwater which God sendeth from heaven, quickening "again the dead earth, and the animals of all sorts which cover its "surface; and in the change of winds, and the clouds balanced be-"tween heaven and earth, are signs to people of understanding!"

"He throweth the veil of night over the day, pursuing it "quickly. He created the sun, moon and stars subject to laws "at His behest. Is not all creation and all empire His? Glorified "be the Lord of the Worlds. Say, He alone is God; God the "Eternal. He begetteth not, and He is not begotten; there is "none like unto Him."

"By a soul, and Him who balanced it, and intimated to it its "wickedness and its piety, blest now is he who hath kept it pure, "and undone is he who hath corrupted it. No defect canst thou "see in the creation of the Lord of Mercy."

In all his exhortations to bring back the wandering minds of his people to the recognition of a Supreme Intelligence directing the Universe, the Prophet of Islâm never overlooked the duties of family life. He preached that children were entrusted to parents by the Almighty to bring them up to be good and law-abiding citizens; to children he taught that they have a duty to their parents. He insists in his preachings that they should never forget the gratitude they owe to their parents and especially to their mothers for bringing them into the world and cherishing them in their infancy with tenderness and love.

The duties he inculcated are expressed simply in the following words: "Be kind to kindred and servants, orphans, and the "poor; speak righteously to men, offer thy thanksgiving to the "Giver of all gifts, and be charitable. Defer humbly to your "parents; with humility and tenderness say, 'O Lord be merciful "to them, even as they brought me up when I was helpless'! "Abandon the old barbarities, blood-vengeance and child-murder, "and be united as one flesh. Wouldst thou be taught the steep "(path)? It is to ransom the captive, to feed the hungry, the "kindred, the orphan, and him whose mouth is in the dust. Be "of those who enjoin steadfastness and compassion on others. "Forgiveness and kind speech are better than favours with annoy-"ance. Judge between men with truth and follow not thy pas-"sions, lest they cause thee to err from the way of God. Covet not "another's gifts from the Almighty. Touch not the goods of the

" orphan. Perform your covenant and walk not proudly on the " earth, and to your wives show affection and tenderness."

Again and again he repeats : " Show kindness to your parents, " whether one or both of them attain to old age with thee. Never " reproach them ; but speak to them both with respectful speech " and tender affection. And to him who is of kin render his due, " and also to the poor and to the wayfarer. Turn aside evil with " that which is better."

And he repeats : " Say, O my servants who have transgressed " to your own injury, despair not of God's mercy, for all sins doth " God forgive. The good word riseth up to Him, and the right- " eous deed will He exalt."

Then he proclaims : " Filthy actions are forbidden whether " open or secret, and iniquity and unjust violence."

On future life he speaks thus : " God will not burden any soul " beyond its power. It shall enjoy the good which it hath acquired, " and shall bear the evil for the acquirement of which it laboured."

Do the preachings of this desert-born Prophet, addressing a larger world and a more advanced humanity, in the nobility of their love, in their strivings and yearnings for the true, the pure, and the holy, fall short of the warnings of any single Teacher who lived before him ?

The poor and the orphan, the humble dweller of the earth " with his mouth in the dust," the unfortunate being bereft in early life of parental care, are ever the objects of his tenderest solicitude. Ever and again he announces that the path which leads to God is the helping of the orphan, the relieving of the poor and the ransoming of the captive. His pity and love were not confined to his fellow-beings ; the brute creation shared with them his sympathy and tenderness. According to him the birds, and the animals, and even vegetable life were all on equal footing in the general scheme of the Universe.

He confined within reasonable limits, considering the social conditions of the times, the unrestrained polygamy practised not only among the Arabs but also among the neighbouring peoples. There was then no means of livelihood for women; no stenography, no typing, no clerical work or employment in shops ; no convents or nunneries to serve as refuges for the forlorn. Tribal wars and blood-vengeance, which the Prophet stopped, were decimating men. The pagan Arabs undesignedly maintained a certain equilibrium by burying alive their female children, a practice which was denounced and prohibited by the Prophet in burning terms. Marriage was the only means for women to obtain protection and sustenance. The Prophet gave a qualified permission to the plurality of wives ; he subjected it to a condition which practically rendered its toleration in economically-developed communities a nullity.

The Koranic precept lays down " Marry one, two, three or four " wives, but if you cannot deal equitably among your wives, you

" shall only marry one." Equity here includes not only maintenance and lodgment but also love and affection.

The condition, therefore, is regarded by the foremost thinkers in Islâm as an abrogation of the permission for peoples who have outgrown the social or economic necessities that rendered a qualified practice of plurality of wives permissible. In Islâm as the *Ashbah* says " Marriage is a sacrament."

The economic condition of the world did not permit of the enfranchisement of bondsmen and bondswomen. Bondage in those days was necessary to prevent the general massacre that always followed on victory. He, therefore, put restraints on " bondage ;" only captives in " lawful " war could be held in bond. But they should be treated with humanity ; they should be clothed and fed as the captors, or master or mistresses ; he permitted them to ransom themselves whenever they could.

Whilst, in the Southern States of America, a child born in slavery would never escape being a slave, the Prophet of Islâm enjoined that if a captive or bondswoman bore a child to her master, the child would be a free child and the mother would become enfranchised at once.

He proclaimed that constant striving was a necessary condition of man's existence and that unless human beings strove for progress, humanity would soon come to an end. He directed his followers to " Acquire knowledge, because he who acquires it in " the way of the Lord performs an act of piety ; who speaks of it, " praises the Lord ; who seeks it, adores God ; who dispenses " instruction in it, bestows alms ; and who imparts it to its fitting " objects, performs an act of devotion to God. Knowledge enables " its possessor to distinguish what is forbidden from what is not ; " it lights the way to Heaven ; it is our friend in the desert, our " society in solitude, our companion when bereft of friends ; it " guides us to happiness ; it sustains us in misery ; it is our orna- " ment in the company of friends ; it serves as an armour against " our enemies. With knowledge, the servant of God rises to the " heights of goodness and to a noble position, associates with sov- " ereigns in this world, and attains to the perfection of happiness " in the next. "

His charity and sympathy were not confined to his own people. He invoked blessings on all humanity.

In an age when the world was steeped in superstition, he sternly condemned witchcraft, sorcery and soothsaying. But he did not direct that the wretched practitioners of the " black arts " or those who pandered to the foolish delusions of the ignorant, who then, as now, were in every country, should be burnt alive or drowned. In Christendom until recent times the fate that was meted out to the miserable beings suspected of having dealings with the Devil, was atrocious and revolting.

He used the folk-lore current among his people for parables to vitalize their moral consciousness but he never overlooked the

demands of Reason. Asked where Satan lived, he replied: "In the heart of man."

His theory of the Cosmos embraced the conception of a plurality of worlds. He did not believe that the earth on which man lived was the sole centre of creation, and always spoke of the Creator as the "Lord of the worlds." In his conception all creation was inter-linked. The doctrine of evolution which he preached has been beautifully expressed by one of his greatest followers. "Dying "from the inorganic we developed into the vegetable kingdom. "Dying from the vegetable we rose to the animal. And leaving "the animal we became man. Then what fear that death will "lower us? The next transition will make us angels. From "angels we shall rise and become what no mind can conceive; "We shall merge in infinity as in the beginning. Have we not "been told, 'All of us will return unto Him'?"

He inculcated strict justice between man and man. Long before Christendom had risen to the true significance of the word, when trial by battle and the ordeal of fire were common, regularly constituted courts determined disputes by proceedings which might compare favourably with the judicial institutions of many countries of modern Europe.

The legal enunciations of Musulman jurists, who would be regarded by the Western world of to-day as untrained or at best theoretical lawyers, would require but little adjustment to bring them into conformity with modern conditions.

The present stagnation of the Muslim world is due to the misreading of the Master's teachings. The followers of Islâm have substituted the letter for the spirit, and are disputing among themselves about non-essential and neglecting the essential.

In the Prophet's system the dignity of labour was extolled; they choose now to regard labour as an unworthy occupation. He preached thrift and the practice of charity, the relief of suffering and distress; they practise instead extravagance, shutting their ears to the cry of distress. He preached the seeking of knowledge "even unto China;" they refuse to receive it even when brought to their door. The Faith is alive but its followers are unable to understand its meaning!

Islâm needs only a revival of the Spirit which inspired the Prophet. Christendom is now yearning for reforms in its own churches. The cult of Isis which still lingers in Europe satisfies the longings of certain minds; but the best thinkers want a recognition of the Supreme Intelligence, of a Design in Creation, or the existence of law and order in the Universe. These constitute exactly the doctrines which Islâm proclaimed in the 7th Century of the Christian Era—not in supersession of what Jesus taught but as a continuation of his efforts to revive spiritual life in the world, which leads to the observance of the rule that the service of man is the most acceptable worship to the Almighty.

AMEER ALI.

HAFIZ : A POEM

Love sighs for bliss, but sighs in vain ;
Yearns for the Heaven it cannot gain ;
Its ecstasy is agony ;
Hopes fade while yearnings still remain.

With eyes on Heaven's mystic veil,
Faith bows where sight and reason fail,
When hopes and fears, 'mid smiles and tears,
The lone, world-wearied heart assail.

Faith finds, when sorrow's night is done,
A fairer world from chaos won ;
Each atom, rife with glowing life,
Aspiring toward a brighter sun.

Such love and faith were his whose soul
In each fair fragment saw the whole ;
Eternal grace in Beauty's face,
Love where eternal æons roll.

What though before his vision strayed
The semblance of a mortal maid,
Her love-lit face was Heaven's own grace
To eyes that sought and heart that prayed.

More graceful than the cypress high,
With cheeks that with fresh rose-buds vie,
With loosened hair that scents the air,
She flits across the starlit sky.

On moon-paved walks his ear would greet
The soft fall of her silvery feet,
On visioned heights 'mid starry lights
In speechless trance their souls would meet.

With lips that made the ruby wan,
And paled the light of Badakshan,
Enveiled she came in roseate flame
Inwove of sunset and of dawn.

And when upon his love she smiled,
To soothe his yearnings vague and wild,
That smile was given, as light from Heaven,
To soul by passion undefiled.

Then hopes and fears, and love's soft woes,
And yearnings sought and found repose
In the soft snare of Beauty's hair
All redolent of musk and rose.

Ah ! then in words that pant and pine
To breathe a rapture all divine,
Hope and Despair find solace rare,
As in a cup of charmed wine.

And in the cup his love can trace
The mystery of the Loved one's face,
Can read the glance that doth enhance
Each dream-like charm, each visioned grace.

Still in fair Shiraz blooms the Rose,
Where Rukni's murmuring water flows ;
Mosalla's bowers recall the hours
When Beauty smiled on Love's soft woes.

And o'er them all the glamour lies
Of Love's fond dream of Beauty's eyes ;
The charmed air that wanders there,
Is of the blooms of Paradise.

Though, Shiraz, on thy flowery side,
Where laughing, moonlit waters glide,
The Cypress sways, the Rose displays,
Such charms as in Love's memory bide ;

Though violets sigh into the air,
Kissed by the glancing star-beams fair ;
Yet fairer far than flower or star
Thy poet's soul that lingers there !

NIZAMAT JUNG.

THE SPIRIT OF ASIA AND ASIATIC HISTORY

NOT long ago, when addressing an American audience in the heart of Paris, M. Lucien Romier, one of the most distinguished thinkers of contemporary France, gathered up into two sentences a fundamental truth: "If you look profoundly into Europe," said he, "you will see that she is being submitted to the pressure of two great influences, the influence of Asia and the influence of America. Now, by a paradox which is paradoxical in appearance only, it is Asia who brings us Revolution and it is America who recalls us to Tradition."

In thus alluding to that new spirit the voice of whose menace is echoing through Asia, M. Lucien Romier has well stated the problem. The European Continent, though still retaining its scientific and artistic superiority, has for the last five years played a merely passive part in the destinies of the world. The fate of the Universe is no longer in the hands of the European races. It depends henceforth upon two non-European factors; on the one hand America, stiffly frozen into her religious and social traditions; and on the other Asia, in full effervescence of new ideas and new sentiments.

The Science of History, so long the slave of racial passions and religious prejudices, has gradually enfranchised itself from puerile notions as to the supremacy of the white race. Since Champollion snatched from Egypt the secret of her hieroglyphics; since Maspero made known one of the greatest and most imposing civilizations of the Orient; since Burnouf explained the Zend Avesta of Zoroaster, and drew from old manuscripts the doctrine of Buddha; since Rémusat founded the study of Chinese, so brilliantly continued by E. de Chavannes; since Quatremere and, following him, E. Blochet explained the part played in history by the Mongolians; since so many devotees of science have worked at the historical and sociological synthesis which will one day make it possible for us to acquire a finer comprehension of the history of the human mind, no cultivated man has a right to ignore the intellectual, spiritual, and artistic greatness of the East.

In a lecture given in the Musée Guimet, that European centre of Asiatic research founded in Paris by the private initiative of a great Frenchman, the lessons and the results of Oriental studies were summed up by Professor Sylvain Levi, fifteen years ago,

*Lecture delivered at the Fifth Session of the Institute of Williamstown, United States of America.

when he invited his auditors to a veritable self-examination by putting the following question : " Have Oriental studies a *raison d'etre* in modern society ? " The famous French scholar, who has so powerfully contributed to making us acquainted with hidden links and kinships, with the reciprocal dependence of Eastern and Western Civilization, raised an energetic voice against the brutal concept which divides humanity into two sections and which thus gratuitously reproduces the ancient Hellenic notion concerning " barbarians." He condemned the self-satisfied pride of the West, as well as that mental attitude which ascribes to the Oriental a hatred of Western Civilization. In this too simplified but flattering concept, the West is presented as the champion of a superior humanity, of science, law, morality, whilst the East is the empire of Ahriman, the world of darkness and of evil.

As opposed to this puerile idea, science is once more called upon to fulfil its mission of justice. Orientalism is certainly not the systematic exaltation of the East. The search for truth is no longer to be reconciled either with panegyrics or depreciation. But whether he wishes it or not, the Orientalist is the authentic inheritor of the glorious task inaugurated in the XVth century by the Renaissance. He has a good right to claim the admirable name of " Humanist " which was the pride of Petrarch and Erasmus. The discoveries of Oriental Science, which, with swift steps, follow one upon the other, almost magical in their grandeur, show us how in deserts of Asia, which for thousands of years have been the realm of death, have been found archives and libraries surviving empires and dogmas, discoveries which affirm the permanent value of human genius. Orientalism is on the road which will transform several of the fundamental notions of the Western conscience. The old barrier raised by prejudice between East and West has fallen, at least in the eyes of those who know. The Bible has ceased to be the historical monument of human origins ; the light no longer rises from Palestine alone ; Jerusalem is illumined by Nineveh and Babylon. The manuscripts of Nepal and the texts of Ceylon have thrown open to research the gates of Indian Buddhism, that sublime doctrine " carried on from race to race by apostleship and conquest, perpetuated above all by the austere and gentle charm, human and superhuman, of Buddha, of his life, and of his legend, which recalls by more than one feature the life of the Judaean Christ." The apostles of Buddha had encroached on the Hellenic world before the Nativity of Bethlehem.

Orientalism, which had created the comparative science of languages, finally laid the foundation of the comparative science of religions. It is thanks to that science that we are able to explain India by Australia, as India explains Europe, and that the sociology of religions has now succeeded in penetrating to the depths of the human soul.

Oriental Science has enlarged our horizon. Civilization no longer appears to us as the privilege of a race. History knows

no chosen people. The recent discoveries in Ser-India, by which antique expression Central Asia is designated, prove the incessant fusion of the human contribution. There Sanskrit elaborated in the Hindu schools elbows Chinese of the Celestial Empire, Turkish from the Steppes, the Tibetan language of the Lamas, Tokharian of the Oxus, Sogdian and the Oriental dialects of the Iranian language. There Buddhism makes merry with Manicheism, Manicheism with Christianity, Confucianism, Taoism; a marginal note in Greek, a humble slip of Hebrew, represent upon this crowded stage the great civilizations of the Mediterranean. Science has definitely freed itself from the childish and dangerous prejudice which brutally proclaims the supremacy of one race while marking all others with the brand of disparagement. To those Westerners whose heads are turned by the marvels of modern technics, history would counsel less of pride and more of justice.

A strange country,—those high ranges of mountains, those immense rock-sculptured outlines which constitute the Himalayas, the Hindu-Kush, Kara-Korum, Konen-Zam, Thian-Chan—grouped around a central knot known by the name of Pamir and enclosing vast depressed basins, so that at least a third of the surface of Asia remains without an outlet on the sea. Central Asia represents an immense zone of the terrestial surface crushed in between two solid mountain walls whose continuity with the chains of the Mediterranean region was brilliantly demonstrated by the great Austrian Geographer, Suess, in his famous work: "*The Face of the Earth.*" The connection is made beyond the Hindu-Kush by the Iranian arc which, touching the Taurus in Asia Minor, joins on to the Hellenic and Danaric Alps. Their analogy with the Alpine system is the more remarkable since the vast deserts of Gobi, which stretch between these diverse chains, are no other than ancient sea-beds occupying the lower parts of the folds and entirely due to vast fallings-in, like those which gave birth, in the concavities of the great mountainous Alpine curve, to the basins of Piedmont and of Hungary, then, successively, in the Mediterranean region, to the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian pits, the Gulf of Lyons and the Aegean Sea.

In this Central Asia, pre-eminently a country of contrasts, where in the middle of icy deserts one finds oneself suddenly in the presence of fertile oases; in these immense plains of endless horizons where, after having overrun vast, lonely steppes, you come suddenly to the foot of mountains whose summits the eye can hardly discover: among these great Asiatic chains whose lofty tops are lost in the clouds, the Destiny of Man has been made and remade during thousands of years. From that immense reservoir of human energy have emerged most of the great races which people human history, races primitive at first, riding across the steppes in search of pasturage, living from hand to mouth, starving sometimes, pushed by the instinct of self-preservation to lay hold on the more fertile countries in their neighbourhood, ignoring comfort for centuries, but intrepid, knowing how to suf-

fer, how to obey their hereditary chiefs, disciplined so long as their chief keeps his prestige, ready for any great exploit, conscious of the greatness of their race, always lying in wait for new adventures. These races whose origin is lost in the dusky legends of the Grey Wolf and the Hind of Light, but whom comparative science suspects to be of very ancient Turkish root, are not all of the same value. But those among their tribes who did not perish in the course of their migrations, those who, after an excessively hard and cruel life, succeeded in opening for themselves an access to more habitable regions, whether in China or India, Persia, Asia Minor, or Europe, such as the Hungarians and the Finns, transformed themselves into civilized nations and produced great men, great thinkers, great artists, and great organizers. Some among those races were founders of great empires, which held out more or less long, sometimes for two or three centuries, sometimes for a single generation ; but which, from the standpoint of the historian represent the necessary transition from one civilization to another. The historical science of the past constantly calls them barbarians and accuses them of having destroyed the old civilizations which existed around these tribes. I think there is an error of perspective. Certainly the Scythian hurricane, the Mongolian hurricane, the Turkish hurricane, destroyed multitudes of things and of men. But, once established in their new countries, the greater number of these races adapted themselves more or less quickly to the civilizations among which they lived. The splendid fruit which came of the Indo-Scythian conquest at the foot of the Himalayas, of the Mongolian conquest in China, the Turkish conquest in India, the Seljukid and Ottoman conquests in Asia Minor, prove that human civilization has gained in passing from one people to another, in drawing its inspiration from a new ideal and in ridding itself of what was rotten in the old civilizations.

* * *

Two centuries after the birth of Buddha, about 250 years B.C., a Buddhist monk, the descendant of an adventurer of Himalayan origin, founded one of the most extraordinary empires known in human history. I refer to one of the noblest figures among the rulers of all time, the Emperor Asoka, grandson of Chandragupta ; his grandfather was a companion in arms of Alexander the Great, with whom he had been living on terms of intimacy when Alexander invaded the North of India. After the departure of Alexander, Chandragupta founded a military State in the Punjab. His grandson, Asoka, transformed that small military State into an Empire, commanded the Indian continent from end to end, and made of it an empire pre-eminently Buddhist, the government of which was based upon Buddhist philosophy and inspired by the purest humanitarian ideal. Those who imagine that Buddhism was a school of inertia and of discouragement—a theme so dear to the despisers of India—forget that the Empire of Asoka was the fruit of three centuries of Buddhist thought and action ;

it was the doctrine of Buddha which awoke to action the sleeping forces of the Indian soul.

If it be true that as a religious doctrine Buddhism has produced superhuman souls, it is none the less a fact that the Aryan races of India have completely forgotten Buddha for some centuries, whereas the Turco-Mongolian races of Central Asia, of Tibet and of Japan have kept his memory alive. India (with the exception of Nepal, Burma, Siam, and Ceylon,) would still have ignored the greatest man in all her history had it not been for the aid of foreign research. Buddhism, which a thousand years after Christ was still flourishing in India, having prosperous convents and universities whence Buddhist Science radiated towards Upper Asia and the Far East, no longer exists on the Indian sub-continent. Buddha, that sublime figure, became in Brahmanic orthodoxy a perfidious avatar of Vishnu : he wore the mask of a master of error and heresy. That religion of Love and Charity was identified with all execrated topics. The Brahmans took advantage of the ignorance of the Hindu people to extirpate the very memory of the true Buddha from the soil of India.

What an original and powerful figure is Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor, the Constantine of India, who reigned in Pataliputra (the modern Patna) on the banks of the Ganges in the middle of the third century B. C. (270-240), and who, disgusted with mere military glory, dreamed of creating an earthly kingdom of happiness, preached the most sublime Charity, founded hospitals and libraries, and attempted to promote moral unity in that dust of principalities, of oligarchies and of struggling fiefs which was India for so many centuries. Asoka engraved his counsels to the Indian people upon rocks and pillars which have been found in every corner of the empire over which he reigned. These inscriptions contain words that are moving, strong, and grave, full of sublime wisdom. The Emperor deplores the dead of Kalinga which he had just conquered, and seeks to efface by gentle words the impression that he has come as a conqueror only. " He desires the security of all creatures, the respect of human life, peace and, gentleness," He speaks of the " Conquest of the Law,"of " moral conquests. " the only ones to which he lays claim, which give him pleasure. After having enumerated the Kings and princes who have rendered him homage, Asoka says : " They gave me much joy, but in truth the Emperor attaches great value only to the fruits which are assured to us for the future life."—He recommends his sons and his grandsons to renounce all military conquests ; not to consider that an armed conquest merits the name of conquest ; that they should consider as true conquests only those of the Law—" those moral conquests which are of value for this world and for the next."—And the Buddhist ruler thus defines Law : " There is no charity comparable to the charity of the Law, to friendship in the Law, liberality in the Law, kinship in the Law."

This sublime philosophy has for centuries completely foundered in India, which has fallen under the yoke of orthodox Brahmanism with its multiple divisions into castes, with its rigid law which makes the individual for ever a prisoner of his birth, and which interdicts even hope. The Brahmans have had an interest in suppressing Buddhism which menaced their social supremacy.

But there is a reason more profound, more inherent in the Hindu nature, which explains the failure of Buddhism in India, as there is another profound psychological reason for its triumphs in Japan, where Buddhism brought about an entirely different spiritual evolution, and blossomed into a heroic philosophy of life. In India idolatry is an inheritance of such antiquity and so deeply rooted in the Hindu soul that instead of one single Gandhi a few thousand would be necessary to vanquish it.

The most fascinating explanation of idolatry amongst the Hindus is that of the British archæologist, Howell. According to him the Himalaya was originally regarded as the Supreme Divinity who reigns over the world. The primitive races who lived at the foot of the Himalaya believed that the world stretched only to the summits of these immense mountain chains, beyond which lay vacancy, and that those mountains watched over men like protecting divinities. They adored the Himalayas and, when their numbers so multiplied as to oblige them to move away from the mountains, the primitive civilization of India spread into the valley of the Punjab. Separated from their sacred mountains, those primitive peoples carried with them stones from the Himalayas in order that they might at least possess some remembrances of their divinities. Those stones, sometimes in brute form, sometimes shaped into statues by the more artistic races, became the idols of the primitive tribes accustomed during centuries to contemplate their Himalayan God and wishing to keep a relic of him when obliged to seek food farther afield in the plains of the Ganges.

Thus, at the origin of his idolatry, lies the deep homesickness of the Hindu who, coming from Himalayan regions and being scattered over the Indian sub-continent from the Punjab to the Deccan and Mysore, throws a longing glance towards the object of ancestral cult and sees in the stones adored by so many Indian generations the gage of an ardent faith. From this great sentiment, which hid an unsuspected beauty in spite of the monstrous practices into which it degenerated, was born all primitive art in India. But it is psychologically comprehensible that those ignorant masses, destitute of all abstract notions, seeing demons in all the phenomena of nature, in the water, in the grass, in trees and in light, could not be satisfied with an abstract religion such as Buddhism, which exacts a great effort of mind and heart, and which was too sublime in its original form to be understood by the multitude. Even in China where there had been centuries of philosophical traditions, Buddhism deteriorated and became what it is to-day. In India, Buddhism, which had already a terrible enemy in the Brahmanic clergy, was soon abandoned by the crowd who

wished to see and touch its gods as totems, and who ignored entirely the ways of abstract thought.

If, however, we consider that Buddha lived two centuries before Alexander the Great, who linked India with the Mediterranean world and brought his Greek artists to Central Asia ; if we bear in mind that Asoka reigned less than a century after the departure of Alexander from the Punjab, and englobed in his empire nearly all India, as well as part of Central Asia ; if we imagine Asoka preaching religious toleration and charity, proclaiming as an act of faith that " everyone must behave gently towards all living creatures;" if we consider that, instead of governing by force, he exercised a sort of spiritual kingdom analogous to that which Saint Louis was to exercise over all Christendom ; if we picture to ourselves the son and daughter of Asoka, *Mahinda* and *Sanghamitra*, evangelizing the Isle of Ceylon simply and solely by the marvellous example of their lives, uplifting it to a wonderful blooming of Buddhist civilization, we can only bow before the greatness of the soul engraved in simple moving terms upon the rocks and pillars which have survived the Empire of Asoka. The civilizing works of Asoka and of his emissaries were immense ;.the construction of towns, the regularization of water-courses, the draining of marshes, and many charitable foundations. His successors were unworthy of so great a heritage, and his Empire fell to pieces rapidly.

* * *

But that reservoir of Asiatic humanity, Central Asia, kept throwing new races on the stage of history. The Greeks who accompanied Alexander into Bactriana and there founded tiny kingdoms, thus establishing a relationship between Hellenism and the Asiatic world, were rudely hustled by the Scythian and Turkish tribes in search of food wherever it might be found, who hunted the Greek King Menander out of the region of Kabul. These Turks of the second century before Christ, whom history enregisters under the Chinese name of *Yuetchi*, founded a powerful state in the Afghan mountains. Menander, a Greek born on the Upper Indus at Kalasi (the Alexandria of the Hindu-Kush) knew thoroughly the Indian world and succeeded in founding a Greco-Buddhist empire which extended even to the historical centres of Brahmanism. He constituted himself the champion of Buddhism, linked the destinies of Hellenism in Asia with those of Buddhism, thus uniting the two great spiritual forces of that period, and had himself consecrated as a Buddhist monk under the name of Milinda. In his capital of Sangala all cults, and doctors of all sects, found an asylum. Menander died in the odour of sanctity towards the year 130 B. C., but his religious work, the association of Hellenism and Buddhism, lasted for centuries.

At this epoch the Greek sculptors, passing into the service of the Buddhist Church, created the image of Buddha after the model of Apollo. Hellenic art, filled with a new inspiration, invented the

canonical forms in which India and the whole Far East, including Japan, were henceforth to represent their gods, their saints, their sacred scenes. Buddhist morality now penetrates into Egypt, even to the conquest of the West. The Universe seemed in labour with a work of salvation towards which there was a unanimous upspringing under the auspices of Buddhism.

At this moment, in the full development of Buddhism outside India, at the very time when it was being transformed into an international religion, a formidable shock threw the races of Central Asia, —that vast human sea which stretches from the Caspian Sea to China—into commotion. For centuries the Turco-Mongolian tribes had ridden across the steppes of Central Asia in search of pasture land, tearing each other to pieces, overturning states and peoples on their road, lending an absent ear to the preaching of Buddhist missionaries who came to convert Turkistan, or to the Nestorians bringing their Asiatic form of Christianity, who had almost succeeded in triumphing in Central Asia, when Islam appeared upon the world-stage.

That which the Turco-Mongolian races first sought to assure was free access to the routes which led to the fertile plains of the Yellow River. Repulsed by the Celestial Empire towards Central Asia, they came into collision with the States founded on the borders of India by less hardy races, whom they pretty soon exterminated. The Indo-Scythian Empire, the empire of the Yuechi whose great monarch Kanishka (A.D. 70—102) in his capital of Peshawar had adopted Buddhism with the same ardour as Menander, and who had been consecrated Emperor of Northern India by the last Ecumenic Council of Buddhism in A. D. 78, all these more or less ephemeral States were the fruits of the adaptation and assimilation of primitive races to the surrounding civilizations which attracted them. To all these races Ser-India served as an intellectual centre, at once religious and commercial, where ideas as well as goods were constantly exchanged. The Greeks were the intermediaries in Bactriana ; the Yuechi were the intermediaries of Buddhism in China, the Oigurs in Central Asia. The Empire of the Guptas in the 4th century served as a clearing-house for all races and all religions of Asia. But the struggle among the Turco-Mongolian tribes on the routes of Iran threatened the security of all. A tribe of " White Huns," called the Teleche-Turks, a Turanian race from the Khirgiz steppes, assailed the Indian Empire of the Guptas and the Persian Empire of the Sassanids for more than a century (the 5th Century A.D.). Towards 452 these Turanian tribes forced the passes of the Hindu-Kush and, under the guidance of Toraman, dictated terms to India, as did Attila, their contemporary in Europe, at the same epoch.

When Islam appeared on the confines of Central Asia, the Turco-Mongolian races who had remained in a primitive state were in no way preoccupied with the idea of the salvation of their souls. All that interested them was food for their stomachs and grass for their horses. A few Islamised Turkish tribes had already

made irruption into Persia and into India, notably the Ghaznevides who founded a Moslem Kingdom in the Punjab in the 11th Century, with Lahore as capital. Islam made war upon Pantheist Hinduism to which it opposed its ideal of Monotheism, its religious discipline, its new ardour. Brahmanism, after having triumphed over Buddhism in India, eternally vacillating, uncertain of the exact number of its gods, always increasing the number of its divinities, without hierarchy, without sovereign authority, at the mercy of seers and charlatans, could not hold out against the ardent faith of the first Islamic centuries. But Hinduism succeeded in corrupting primitive Islam in India. Under the influence of Hinduism the Moslems of India accepted superstitions which are in contradiction to the original teaching of their Prophet. The Moslems of India sometimes participate in Hindu religious festivals and processions. But in spite of such deteriorations, Islam, as a whole, brought to all races which accepted it, a new spirit of human fraternity. Had he known the Buddhist doctrine, there is no doubt but that the Prophet would have enjoined veneration of the great wise man of India, as he did of Moses and Jesus, since the Quran enjoins respect for every Messenger of God. All the great religions of Asia have nourished the same spirit of human fraternity, with this difference : that Islam in its original form had none of the artifices of philosophical abstraction which were added later to the original doctrine. Primitive Islam was a doctrine of devotion to God, a doctrine of kindness and of charity, which succeeded in pacifying a great number of primitive races, and which inspired more than a fifth of humanity with a sentiment of solidarity and spiritual unity. It was deteriorated and corrupted in the course of Muslim history, as all religions have been, by the feudal spirit, by the racial fanaticism and social prejudices of those nations which embraced the new religion. Yet in Central Asia where national consciousness existed only in a primitive form, among the Turco-Monogolian tribes who venerated the Grey Wolf and the Hind of Light as the legend of their common origin, among those ignorant races accustomed to a hard life in which individuals did not count, but perished by hundreds of thousands in virtue of a decree of Nature,—for in Asia, Nature is sometimes harsher than man,—among those starving mountaineers who descended from the Altai and the high tableland of Pamir to escape from death by famine, twelve centuries after Buddha, the voice of human fraternity was raised by Islam, crying : " This only is the road to salvation."

* * *

The road of Islam seemed more accessible to the primitive races of High Asia than the complicated doctrines of Buddhism with its transmigration of souls. Islam made a direct and exclusive appeal to men's hearts, whereas Buddhism, like Christianity, demanded a cerebral and intellectual effort, of which the Turco-Mongolian tribes were incapable. The Nestorians had already

converted several Turco-Mongolian tribes to Christianity; the Chinese succeeded in converting other tribes to Confucianism, as the Buddhist missionaries converted a few tribes to the Church of Cakyamuni. All these religions contended for the soul of the Asiatic, trying to bring into the service of their ideal the huge force of the Turco-Mongolians and to canalize it towards an end which varied according to the nature of men and things. When Islam appeared in the Himalayas and on the confines of the Gobi, Western Asia was almost Christianized by the Nestorians, Eastern Asia quasi-evangelized by Buddhism, and the Islamic competition was beginning to threaten the vested interests of the existing churches.

In that moment (1206 A.D.) one of the most tremendous political geniuses of all time, Temonjin, surnamed Chingiz Khan (The Inflexible), proclaimed Emperor of Mongolia by an assembly of all Mongolian Chiefs of the Steppes of Central Asia, decided to restore the Scythian Empire of the 6th century, chose Karakorum as his capital, overcame all resistance and organized the Mongolian Empire which stretched from the South of Russia to the maritime frontier of China. Japan alone resisted. The Continent of Asia was at his feet.

Chingiz Khan did not belong to any of the great religions which were struggling, one against another, for the domination of the world. He believed in God, but he did not believe in any dogma. He respected all religions and was often present at the religious ceremonies of his subjects, for from the State point of view he found it useful that the people under his authority should give evidence of their faith in God; but while interesting himself as an amateur in religious problems, he showed complete indifference to dogma. Abstract ideas did not interest him; he concentrated his mind upon the organization and administration of his empire. He made new roads, instituted a postal service which is still admired by all those who have studied it; organized an army of one million eight hundred thousand men perfectly disciplined, always ready for action, at the head of which Chingiz Khan and his sons and grandsons scoured the Asiatic continent, appearing now in China or Persia, now in Russia or Asia Minor, and sweeping away all the small principalities, Turanian, Iranian or Slav, which resisted his aim; which was to secure to his race and to his subjects free access to the trade routes across Asia, to give free play to transcontinental traffic between China and the West—that is to say: *to maintain the policy of the "open door" in Asia.* He was infinitely more cruel towards the plundering tribes of his own race than towards the foreign nations he subjected, who often received his favours on condition that they should consent to become part of the framework of his empire. He was, above all, preoccupied with the idea of gathering together under his rule all Turco-Mongolians. He sent his lieutenants into Europe to bring into Turanian unity every race that was of Turkish or Finno-Ugrian origin.

One day, having destroyed the degenerate principalities of Iran and brought to obedience many turbulent races, Chingiz Khan asked for information on the doctrine of Islam. It was explained to him. He did not find it inferior to other religions which he already knew, but denounced the pilgrimage to Mecca as useless, saying that " the whole world is the house of God and that prayers reach Him from everywhere." When he died, the 18th of August 1227, Islam had already conquered not only Iran, but the Punjab, the Yunnan, and was preparing to contend with Buddhism for Island-India (Java and Sumatra).

The sons and grandsons of Chingiz Khan quarrelled incessantly, and the empire fell to pieces. One of his grandsons, Qubilay, whose genius Chingiz Khan himself had already recognized, had a Chinese mandarin as tutor. The history of this mandarin is one of the finest pages of Asiatic history, full of blood, but full also of profound beauty. His name was Yelu-Chu-tsai ; made prisoner by the Mongols at the taking of Peking, he was brought before Chingiz Khan who confided to him his grandson, Qubilay, whose education he undertook. Yelu-Chu-tsai became the intimate counsellor of the Mongol rulers ; devoted to his new masters, he followed the army of Chingiz Khan everywhere; with a few manuscripts in his pouch, he read his favourite authors while towns were burnt and empires overthrown. While the soldiers of Chingiz Khan were gorging themselves with alcohol, Yelu-Chu-tsai explored the ruins in the hope of saving some unhappy human being or of discovering some rare manuscript. One of his preoccupations was the quest of medicines with which to combat the epidemics born of war. Sometimes he implored the pardon of a condemned town or province and the Emperor, who could refuse him nothing, often said : " Ah, you are again going to weep for the people." Yelu-Chu-tsai gently and discreetly brought up his pupils in accordance with the ideas of Chinese civilization and became the natural intermediary between the oppressed and the oppressors. Of Mongolian origin himself, he had become a cultivated mandarin and secured lasting fame by preparing Qubilay for his task as Ruler of China.

Qubilay, so much admired by Marco Polo, was proclaimed Great Khan by the Assembly of Changtu, and became Emperor of China under the name of Chi-Tsu. Successor of the Sung Dynasty, heir to eighteen Holy Emperors, the so-called Sons of Heaven, he gave proof during his whole reign of a high humanitarian feeling, of a tolerance, a moderation and a courtesy unsurpassed in any age. This grandson of Chingiz Khan the Illiterate abandoned the skins of animals worn by his ancestors, dressed himself as a mandarin and transferred his capital from Karakorum to Pekin ; he reigned over three quarters of the Asiatic Continent with the exception of the Malayan and Japanese archipelagos, and was in the words of Marco Polo : "the most powerful master of men, of lands and of treasure who ever existed in the world from the time of Adam until to-day." He was always kind

to men of learning, to artists and poets who had hidden from fear of the Mongol soldiers. After the conquest of the soil, Qubilay desired to conquer the soul of the country. He succeeded in pacifying China, constructed the Great Imperial Canal which connected the Gulf of the Yang-tse with that of Peiho, a navigable waterway of about a thousand miles by which the rice of Ngan-Hoei, of Kiang-Sou and of Che-Kiang could be transported directly to Pe-Chi-li. According to Marco Polo, who has left in his book an immortal testimony to the historical greatness of that epoch, the town of Peking alone received every year more than three million measures of rice. The efforts of Qubilay to revive Chinese agriculture, his struggle against famine, his financial laws—he ordered the printing of bank-notes—and his works of charity deserve the admiration of all generations. Chinese historians recognize that this descendant of the Mongolian swordsmen was their greatest Ruler.

* * *

But let us return to Islam, which under the reign of Qubilay in China and of his brother Hulagu in Persia penetrated more and more deeply into the heart of Western Asia in spite of the resistance of Hulagu, son of a Nestorian princess, Serkutani, and also husband of a Christian princess Dokuz-Khatun. Under their influence Hulagu protected the Nestorian Christians and destroyed the Khalifate of Bagdad with a view to weaken Islam. Between Qubilay, Buddhist, and Hulagu—who, if not a Christian himself, at least was favourably inclined towards Christianity,—Islam progressed only thanks to the eminent men who were working in the service of the Mongolian Rulers. Among those statesmen of the 13th Century, the greatest, the noblest, the most efficient, after the Chinese Yelu-Chu-tsai, was Syed Ejil, Finance Minister of Qubilay, Governor of the province of Yunnan, which he had pacified as a faithful servant of five Mongol Emperors. His biography was discovered in the Chinese documents brought from China by the French D'Ollons Mission to Paris in 1911. Syed Ejil presided over all the financial and economic reconstructive work inaugurated by Qubilay, supervised the execution of public works and the administration of the various provinces of the Mongol Empire. He gave instructions, admirable in their wisdom and profound common sense, to the provincial governors, addressed exhortations of sublime morality to his sons and to the high officials of the Empire. and remained a poor man till the end of his days. This Muslim of the 13th Christian Century was one of the most fascinating personalities of his age, a great humanist in the true sense of that expression. In his instructions there is a sentence which defines the art of governing as the art of feeding a people with gentleness. There is even a plan for the organization of the peoples subject to the Mongolian imperial authority, of which the least I can say is that it appears to be superior to the Covenant of the League of Nations as elaborated at the Congress

of Versailles ; for the thirteenth-century project sketched by the Muslim Syed Ejil, recognized no distinction of race or caste, whereas the present League of Nations never admitted the principle of equality of all races which Japan and China wished to have inserted in the Covenant of 1919.

Islam thus gave its great men to the Empires which were founded on the confines of China and India. In the 13th Century Islam conquered Bengal, and laid the foundations of the future political and spiritual power of the Muslim Emperors of India. In Persia, Islam and Nestorian Christianity struggled for the mastery of the soul of Iran. In the 14th Century a simple weaver of Benares, Kabir (1380-1420), inspired by the Islamic monotheism, attacked Brahmanic orthodoxy, condemned idolatry, thrust aside all distinctions of caste and of sect, and preached the spiritual and moral unity of Hindus and Muslims. Religious conferences follow one upon the other at the courts of Asiatic rulers in search of a means of reconciling the different doctrines.

During this time, on the tablelands of Pamir, one Turkish race hunts out another. The Eastern and the Western Turks quarrel for pasture land, the struggle for daily bread prevents them from listening to any religious philosophy. On the threshold of the steppes each tribe lies in wait for signs of weakness among those surrounding it, among those who enjoy life while the Turk of Central Asia is dying of hunger. Thence incessant wars, incessant rivalries, continual massacres, in the midst of which resounds the voice of Islam proclaiming the universal brotherhood of man.

The fanatic races which, little by little, came to follow Islam, made of it an instrument of fanaticism. The races inclined to toleration, such as the Oigurs, a Turkish nation which became the educator of Central Asia, after having been Nestorians, made of Islam a magnificent instrument of superior culture. Islam made no exception to the law; which shows that the original principles of the great founders of religions are quickly forgotten by the mediocre or inferior multitudes which adhere to them, and that centuries of spiritual efforts are always necessary to re-establish the fundamental truth. Muslim divines, Buddhist lamas and Christian theologians met at the Imperial Mongolian Court, and we possess a very interesting account of these discussions by Rubruquis, the Ambassador of Saint Louis, King of France, to the Mongol Court (1254) who found to his great astonishment at Karakorum a Parisian goldsmith, Guillaume Boucher, and a French lady, Paquette de Metz. Even the Popes took an interest in the Mongolians : Innocent IV delegated a Dominican monk, Carpini, to the court of Karakorum to try to convert it to Christianity, or at least to obtain the Mongolian alliance for Europe against Islam.

A hundred and thirty years after the death of Chingiz Khan, Timur Lenk took up his work. At that time the Korluk Turks had already introduced Islam into theoases of the Central Gobi.

The Kara Khan Dynasty, which reigned at Kashgar, having embraced the faith of Islam at the beginning of the 10th Century, other tribes who had long hesitated between Buddhism, Nestorianism and Islam, followed the example of their racial brothers. Central Asia was quickly Islamized and Timur Lenk appeared as the champion of Islam, as opposed to Christianity. But his principal ambition was the reconstitution of the empire of Chingiz Khan. Having invaded, one after the other, Asia Minor, Persia, India; having overrun all the routes of Asia between Smyrna and Delhi, he was stopped by the frontier of China and died in the midst of his preparations for the conquest of the Celestial Empire (1404). This strange man, to whom great European writers such as Voltaire and Marlowe vowed a literary cult, who became a hero of drama in English literature, was copiously calumniated by the chroniclers and historians of the races whom he defeated. Even European historical science forgets that Timur Lenk rendered signal service to Christianity by vanquishing the powerful Ottoman Empire under Sultan Bayazid Yildirim, whom he defeated in the famous battle of Angora, July 20th, 1402, thus temporarily deciding the fate of the East and the West. On that day the two Turkish races, that of Bayazid Yildirim and that of Timur Lenk struggled for the hegemony of the world. The heir of the Seljuks and Osmanlis with his 120,000 men gathered from the Balkans, could not hold out against the successor of Chingiz Khan with his army of 300,000 Oriental Turks coming from the Asiatic steppes. Henceforth the Empire of Timur was to stretch from the Ganges to the Bosphorus, and on the whole Asiatic Continent China alone resisted him.

The cruelty of Timur, the legend of the pyramids of skulls built up after the battle of Damascus, the legend of the cage in which Bayazid is said to have perished after the battle of Angora, are always told with volubility by Byzantine and Persian historians in order to create hatred against the Mongolians in spite of the duly verified fact that it was owing to Timur that the whole of Europe was not crushed under the military power of the Osmanlis. Already, in the early XIXth century, von Hammer, the great German historian of the Ottoman Empire, defended the memory of Timur against the calumnies of the Byzantine and Persian chroniclers. Not only is there not one word of truth in the legend of the cage, but Hammer recounts in unforgettable pages the conversations which Timur had, on the morrow of the battle of Angora, with his vanquished adversary, Bayazid, whom he treated with all the courtesy usual between members of the same family and of equal rank. Timur invited Bayazid to lunch and said to him after exchange of the usual compliments upon their ill-health—Bayazid was rheumatic and Timur crippled :—" *Don't you think that Allah must despise humanity since He sent two such miserable human beings as you and me to govern it ?* " Before the siege of Damascus, Timur ordered his troops to spare the quarter where lodged scholars and artists, and after the fall of the town he invited them to a discussion on the future of Islam. The literary and

artistic renaissance which followed the conquest of Persia by Timur, and of which Prof. Edward G. Browne has made such a masterly study in his book " Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion," proves that far from being an obstacle to the revival of civilized life after the war, Timur helped its blossoming. Even in the midst of warfare he surrounded himself with scholars and historians ; for in the evening when he retired to his tent he loved to enter into discussion with them upon the past history of his nation. Priests of all religions also flocked to his side, and he received them with the same courtesy as Qubilay, who had ordered the translation of the Gospel into Mongolian.

Christianity, already trembling at the approach of the Ottoman Turks, put all its hope in the Mongolians, above all in a mysterious personage called " Priest John " or Prester John. There was a legend in Europe during the Middle Ages that a Turco-Mongol ruler in Central Asia became Christian and had been consecrated as a Nestorian priest, and that his aid might be counted upon for the Crusades against Islam. History has identified this Priest John with an Oigur King who had embraced Christianity. The Vatican Library contains documents of the highest importance upon this period of diplomatic relations between Christianity and Asia, and what we gather from this source would alone suffice to prove the nullity of the arguments advanced as to the fundamental incapacity of the Turco-Mongolian races, whose alliance was sought by all Europe.

Time lacks to retrace here the Turkish epics which have astonished and will always astonish the historian, for they constitute the most extraordinary and most fascinating part of Asiatic history. The Ottoman epic is well enough known although often disfigured by the Byzantine influence. But the figure of Mohammed the conqueror of Constantinople, whose famous portrait by the Venetian painter, Bellini, hangs in the London National Gallery, stands no longer in need of defence. The University of Oxford has published in French under the title "Les Corps de Droit Ottoman," in six volumes, the fundamental Turkish Laws since the Ottoman Conquest. The treaties concluded in the 15th Century by Mohammed II with a view to assure security and prosperity to the Christian communities within the frame of the Ottoman Empire, figure there as monuments of religious toleration. *From the standpoint of the protection of minorities in a State constituted and governed by a conquering race the League of Nations has done nothing better in spite of the difference of four centuries.* What is less known is an offer made by the Pope Pius II, well known to men of letters under the name of Aeneas Sylvius, the Humanist, one of the great writers of Catholicism, to the Sultan of Turkey who had come to put an end to the Byzantine Empire. He offered to recognize Mohammed II as the arbiter between the East and the West on condition that he would accept Christianity with all his people. Moham-

med II smilingly refused to abandon Islam, and the Pope called Christendom to a crusade against him.

Another man of genius in Ottoman history was Suleyman the Magnificent, who is much appreciated in France for he offered his alliance, his army and his fleet to Francis II, King of France, against Charles V, the German Emperor. Suleyman brought the Turkish administration to such a point of perfection, that the American historian, Professor Albert Lybier, quotes it as the best administrative system of the 17th Century, while the German historian Ranke in his masterly study of Turkey under Suleyman analyses its mechanism with unsurpassed art.

* * *

Less known in Europe than Suleyman, but surpassing him as thinker and as man of learning, is his distant cousin, Emperor Akbar, the Great Mogul, who presided over the Islamic Renaissance in India. This grandson of Babar, the founder of the great Mogul Empire, a Turk of Central Asia whose life and adventures are told in masterly fashion in his romantic memoirs, merits a special study, so perfect a model is he of the best type of the Renaissance. Akbar organized the Indian continent on a basis of equal justice to Muslims and Hindus. Babar wrote beautiful poems on the violets, tulips and roses of his native land, Ferghana ; his grandson, Akbar, dreamed of the spiritual unity of all mankind. This Muslim Emperor, one of the greatest thinkers not only of Islam, but of all humanity, who had received from his father hardly more than the Punjab, was the veritable creator of the Indian Empire, whose frontiers he stretched to the Deccan and which accepted him willingly. He protected his subjects without distinction of race, caste or creed, gave back to the Hindus all their rights which had been lost to them by conquest, even forbade the slavery of women and children of rebels. By wise laws he developed native agriculture, combated famines, favoured the diffusion of a language common to all peoples of India—*Urdu*, which, composed of Old Turki, of Arabic and of Persian, enriched with native expressions, developed progressively and is now becoming the national language (Hindustani) of India. At present it is the mother tongue of 70 million Indian Muslims and as many Hindus understand it.

Akbar has been compared to Louis XIV, to Peter the Great and to Richelieu. He is certainly their equal as a statesman. He surpasses them all as a thinker. I do not speak of those lofty sentiments which led him to raise monuments in honour of the vanquished Rajputs, but of his thought, of his value as a philosopher. The Emperor is eclipsed by the Man. Enfranchised from dogmatism, seeking truth before all things, an enemy of all fanaticism, friend of the mystics of Islam, protector of the Sufi poet Abul Faiz, and of his brother, the philosopher, Abul Fazl, who became his intimate counsellor and who dreamed with Akbar

of the synthesis of all religions, Akbar invited to his Court scholars of all countries, lamas from Tibet, hermits from the Lebanon, priests from Mongolia, Parsis of the *Zend Avesta*, Portuguese monks recently landed on the shores of India, French and English visitors who came for commerce, and discussed with them the future of the world. He recognized no State religion, allowed no pressure to be put upon the Hindus to abandon their religion, invited them to choose freely between Islam and Hinduism, and proclaimed freedom of thought and freedom of conscience. He ordered the translation into Persian and into Hindustani of the Vedas, of the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, as well as of the Gospel, and of the divers systems of Indian philosophy. He passed long hours of the night on the terrace of his palace in Agra listening to explanations of the symbolic beauty in Hindu pantheism. He had a " vihara " built for the Buddhists at his court and ordered his palace to be decorated by Chinese Buddhist artists. The Portuguese Jesuits, lodged in the Imperial palace in Agra, showed him one day a portrait of the Madonna: Akbar found it so beautiful that he commanded a copy to be made for his bedroom, hid it behind a curtain and contemplated the Madonna every evening when, far from the fanaticism of crowds, he was able to remain alone, or in the company of philosophers. So profoundly penetrated was he by the lessons of charity given by Buddhism and Sufism, that one day he cried : " Would to God that my body were great enough to give food to all men, then no longer should animals suffer for them." You may recognize here the language of Asoka : the 3rd Century B.C. and the 16th Century in modern India, the one Buddhist, and the other Mohammadan, join hands across two thousand years. Akbar dreamed of the spiritual unity of all mankind, not only of India.

In his soul was syncretised the pantheist ecstasy of the Vedas, the universal charity of Buddhism, the grandiose poetry of the Solar Cult and the profound beauty of Islamic mysticism.

The successors of Akbar so ill kept the mighty inheritance of the Great Moguls that at the end of two centuries the Indo-Muslim Empire had fallen into anarchy, which permitted the Western nations to establish themselves upon the ruins of the Islamic and Hindu civilizations. The monuments of Islamic architecture in India, the Taj Mahal, that tomb of love all made of marble lace, the mosques of the Punjab and the imperial palaces speak for themselves. The paintings of the Great Mogul period, which we can admire in the British Museum, are stamped with Hellenic and Persian influence which reached India across Central Asia, that melting pot of every spiritual and artistic influence in the world. That which interests us here is the problem of the Spirit of Asia so greatly feared in Europe in its relation to the present and the future.

* * *

The spirit of Islam has been reproached with being a spirit of disorder. If there were disorder in the Asiatic soul, it is easily to be explained by the absolute disorder of Nature and of the soil in Asia, which for so many centuries dominated humanity. Thanks to Western science we now know some means of modifying the consequences of the disorder which characterises the Asiatic climates. The way has been opened by the Anglo-Saxon who succeeded in savage regions in holding out against natural forces where any other human being must have given in. The great merit of Anglo-Saxon expansion in the world consists in having mastered the forces of nature, in having subjected them to man by applying laws of nature, in having rendered *technically habitable* the inhabitable regions of the earth. *The problem of the future will consist in rendering the earth habitable for all races without distinction of belief.* It is in the solving of this problem that the best minds of the world might well employ their abilities, their clearsightedness, their knowledge acquired through the science of Orientalism.

The gigantic task which is imposed upon our generation by the extraordinary conditions of this period of transition is that of *searching out a formula of equilibrium for the world which may permit the great spiritual forces of human history to be turned to the benefit of mankind without collision.* In this sense the task of Akbar is to be taken up once more. I can only indicate it.

The question that I would put before all men responsible for the future of the world is this : Do you believe that the silent force of Asia has ceased to exist because it has been resting during a few centuries ? After having produced the greatest ideas and the greatest geniuses in the past, some of which I have rapidly enumerated, the soil of Asia has sunk to rest. But the fundamental truth of Universal History is always true : *The existence of mankind depends on Asia.* Even when it does not depend upon Asia from the political or cultural view point, it continues to depend on Asia from the economic standpoint, for without the raw materials of the Asiatic continent the West cannot live.

To quote only one example : The lands of Islam from Caucasia through Asia Minor and Persia to India contain the great wealth of our century, petroleum, without which modern industries are impossible. To assure the peaceful exploitation of oil in Asian soil it is necessary first to secure the friendship of Asia, without which no economic structure can be lasting. And in modern Asia, besides Japanese Buddhism which has already wrought the miracle of modern Japan, there is only one great spiritual force of world-wide significance : that is Islam. In one-half of Asia, Islam was the force of order in souls and in societies. To neglect it is to set out towards a terrible calamity. Essentially but not blindly Islam respects the principle of authority : the respect of authority can only be inspired in Islamic nations by proving that their well-being is its aim. Islam respects the principle of acquired rights, of private property, of individual merits, but not

blindly : the title-deeds must be justified by the good which is done to Islamic nations. In general, Islam has been the pillar of all Asiatic empires (including the British Empire in Asia) since the appearance of Mohammed. Western Asia may once again be pacified with the moral help of the *elite* of Islam whose faces are turned towards the West, on condition that proofs of good will towards Islamic nations are forthcoming, and that their right to live is recognized.

The possibility of alliance between the best in the new West and the new East against the forces of destruction requires many preliminary conditions. One of those conditions is the recognition of Islam as a spiritual force on the basis of moral equality. Nothing which brings into closer relations the great religions need be feared. It is necessary that someone in the West should take the initiative of approaching Islam in a new spirit of co-operation with a view to reconcile Christianity and Islam for the benefit of mankind. The old spirit of crusades against non-Christian nations seems to me the greatest danger for the moral unity of the world. To save Western civilization, an act of faith towards Asia is necessary. That which Qubilay the Mongolian succeeded in accomplishing in the 14th Century, saving Chinese civilization by an act of faith towards conquered China, Westerners of good will might try to accomplish by putting themselves resolutely in accord with the new Asiatic Spirit won over to the cause of mankind by the finest ideas of human history.

FELIX VALYI.

THE UNITY OF ISLAM

On the memorable day when the Prophet had entered the holy city of Mecca for the first time since his flight eight years earlier he addressed his faithful followers, and foreseeing the spread of Islam, he questioned them whether they realised the importance of the day and the place. He enjoined upon them that the territory of Mecca was sacred as was the day, a Friday, but he added further that one Muslim was sacred to the other with his dependants and his belongings, that they must aid one another with their spiritual and worldly power in every way. On that day he made no distinction between individuals and though some of the Companions, who had been more fervent in their support, were nearer to his heart, he was desirous of impressing upon them that they all were entitled to the respect and support of one another.

Early Islam did not, and could not, know any schools of law nor any sect, Sunni, Shî'ah or Khâriji, and it was the unity of purpose, the firm belief in the divine mission of the Prophet and his faith which inspired the followers alike. If at the death of the Prophet the personal feelings of a few Companions may have been adverse to the election of Abu Bakr as successor of the Prophet to carry on the work of propagating Islam, the very success in the quelling of the apostacy of the Arab tribes and the Yaman are a clear proof that the Muslim community as a whole were supporting the Caliph with a zeal which did not abate for years to come and laid the very foundations of the greatness to follow.

The caliphate of Abu Bakr lasted too short a time to form a true estimate of the Caliph, but we know from authentic records that he was supported, nay probably guided, by the heroic figure of Omar the son of Al-Khattâb. Whatever opinion any section of the Muslim world may have as to the legitimacy of the caliphate of Omar there cannot be one honest enquirer into the early history of Islam who must not admit that he embodied all that was best in a true believer. He was filled with an unshakeable faith in the divine mission of the Prophet himself and was zealous to fulfil the great mission which had fallen upon his shoulders. He himself wanted not to be the ruler of the people but rather to be an example of a true Muslim, such as he knew not only from the divine revelation as expressed in the Kor'an, but from the intimate knowledge of the interpretation of the Divine will as conceived by the Prophet, a knowledge acquired through many years of close

companionship. It need not fill us with wonder that his wishes and commands were faithfully carried out by those who confessed the new religion, though they were separated from the centre of administration often by distances which required many days to traverse. He had conceived the Muslim community as one in which the simple tenets were adhered to by every true believer, whether of high or low degree : prayer, fasting and action, but above all a firm belief in the divine mission of his beloved master and friend. It was the most momentous blow young Islam received when he was murdered in the midst of his activity, when so much depended upon his safe guidance of the destinies of Islam.

The succeeding years and the personal jealousies of those who should have better settled their disputes in the spirit of the founder of the faith were a check upon the progress which has been of inestimable harm. For now begins the division of opinions, often upon very trivial questions, when we consider the all-important value of close cohesion, so necessary at that time. The dispute as to the legitimacy of the succession of Ali was in those days understood by those who took the different standpoints from quite other reasons than those accepted in later days by the adherents of the Sunna or the Shî'a of Ali and his descendants. Early Islam was far more shaken to its foundations by bands of men, the Khârijis, who probably were sincere in their motives, but imbued by ideas derived from foreign sources, did untold harm by wishing their opinions to be impressed upon the tenets of Islam. The unity of purpose and the unity of the community was gone. From that time we have to reckon with the fundamental divisions in Islam.

As if this was not sufficient to weaken the triumphant progress of Islam, even the Sunnis and Shî'as had to form separate schools of thought and interpretation of the divine law. Of the former the four schools of Law survive to this day, while of the latter we have those adhering to the twelve Imams and the Zaidis, not to mention sects of minor importance.

The Omayad kingdom with its struggles against the Khârijis had nevertheless the power to contribute to the progressive spread of Islam, because much of the old spirit still survived. The sinister period came with the rise of the Abbasid caliphate. In spite of the outer brilliance its power lasted for a while, a hundred years approximately, though impotent in the Far West, but it really flourished only upon the glories and achievements of the Omayad rulers.

Their rule was the time of great contrasts, wanton pomp at the court on one side, while on the other we find earnest efforts to rescue from oblivion the precious records of the early days of Islam. It was the time when in contrast to the moral decay at Baghdad, earnest men, sometimes far away from the capital, collected the sayings of the Prophet and his companions into volumes which form the basis for our intimate knowledge of the accepted doctrines of Islam. This was also the time when the

searching for and torturing (prohibited by Islam) and punishing of heretics began in Muslim lands. A self-righteous doctrinary school saw in everyone who did not agree with their narrow views the cursed enemies of God.

Egypt had become the seat of a Shî'a caliphate and historians know comparatively little of the West, where Islam was gradually taking all the Berber tribes under its sway, while it spread eastward into Turkestan and India, and the interior of Arabia got under the rule of the Karamatians, of whose religious views we know comparatively little because all information about them comes from their enemies.

Yet Islam spreads, though now weak against the rising of the Christian States emerging from the chaos which followed the disruption of the Roman Empire.

What was the cause of its still triumphant course in spite of all the decay and dissension in the centre of its civilisation ? It was *not* due to the convincing power of *one* of its sects or schools, whether Sunni or Shî'a, but it was due to the doctrines firmly laid down in the Kor'an and the simple obligations required from its followers : the confession of faith in *One God* and the acknowledgment of the divine mission of the Prophet. I have before me books printed in China and Java and a letter from Fernando Po, an island on the coast of West-Africa, the former containing portions of the Kor'an printed in Chinese fashion with a Chinese translation. the latter a letter by a new Negro convert asking for information about the burial of the dead, a copy of the Holy Book written or printed in gold or silver, but with an English translation as the newly converted Muslim is not as yet able to understand the Arabic text, but is eager to learn it, and is willing to pay a good price for the golden book.

Here we have unity of faith ! Separated thousands of miles, camel-journeys by which the ancient Arabic geographers estimated distances can never traverse the space, it is so far, and even modern steamers would take several months to reach from one place to the other. And here I am in England far away from both places, and from Java and Madagascar where Muslims live, and yet by these silent and yet eloquent messages I feel the beating of the pulse of a great ideal.

When we consider this, does it not appeal to all readers that the dispute whether I am a Sunni or a Shî'a sinks into utter insignificance ? Why should we with vain arguments, and they are vain in comparison with the great issue, try to carry on fruitless disputes concerning the greater rights of one school or the other, or discuss whom we may choose as Caliph to be the undisputed arbitrator of Islam ? Do we not see that the cause of Islam is far higher than any arguments ?

Let us therefore strive, whether Shî'a, Sunni or Khâriji, to prove by our conduct, our unity of purpose and an unswerving faith that we have one Imam which is accepted by all alike, what-

ever his doctrine, madhhab or opinion, and that is the Kor'an ! Let us study, free from preconception, as to the correctness of our own opinion, the precious remnants of the earliest Arabic literature, ever wakeful to detect what zealous doctrinists may have added to advance their own ideas, confronting them always with the spirit of the Kor'an and we shall not fail to get nearer the truth. We shall find that the unity of Islam is not a phantom always escaping our grasp, or a thing fondly to be wished, but a reality of which we had never dreamed and which to the outer world seemed a thing impossible to attain.

F. KRENKOW.

AL-BIRUNI'S "INDIA"

[*The author's intention is to write a short study of Al-Biruni's "India.' Illness has unfortunately prevented him from completing this study, and he now only offers a short instalment, to be followed up in future issues*].

A REMARKABLE scientific spirit seems to have animated the leaders of thought in Islam in the fourth and fifth centuries of the Hijra. They were pervaded with a universal intellectual and moral curiosity. The world they saw around them they recognised to be God's handiwork, and their best minds felt something akin to the spirit of worship in making themselves acquainted with it as showing the mind of their Creator. The boldness of their research was only tempered by their reverence. The subject of their investigations was not only the physical world around them (astronomy, physics, geography, history) but the wonderful mind of man which can reason about abstract truths (pure mathematics, metaphysics, logic) and man's social instincts which can build up laws and human institutions.

Their strong passion for the investigation of truth can only be paralleled by a similar passion that possessed the minds of intellectual Europe during the period of the Renaissance. Like the men of the Renaissance, these men of Islam were very versatile in their subjects and acquirements. Science had not yet been too highly specialised. The engineer was also a doctor, a chemist, a physicist, perhaps a painter and a mechanician as well, as in the case of Leonardo da Vinci. Al-Biruni had a studious mind from his earliest boyhood, and among the subjects of his study were astronomy, mathematics, medicine, philosophy, social life, geography and history. Not only did he study these, but he became one of the greatest authorities of his time in these subjects. Study in his case did not merely mean that he acquainted himself with what had been written on these matters. His chief passion was for breaking new ground. He was constantly pushing his researches in new directions, and devising new methods for testing and verifying his researches. He had also a gentle, friendly spirit, that won favour wherever he went. This enabled him to tap fresh channels of information which could not be utilised by other men. On the other hand he was also a man of strict principles. He acted with the purest good faith to himself and to his readers, and therefore he was able to record much information which he noted as doubtful or based on insufficient data, but which after-

wards became valuable links in the chain of subsequent investigations.

The continuous expansion of Muslim dominion in those days was some compensation for the revolutions and political changes which overtook or destroyed many of the dynasties that followed in the wake of the Abbasid Khalifate. In Asia that dominion was extending into India. It was not new to India, for, thanks to the energy of Muhammad ibn Qasim, early in the eighth century, Sindh had already been a Muslim province three centuries before the rulers of Ghazna subjugated the Panjab and established Muslim political influence all over India. Muslim arms were not however concerned with political conquest only. All Muslim leaders thought and worked for the Faith and the principles of social and corporate life which the Faith implies. This involved intellectual and social movements of the first magnitude. In order to develop these movements, the highest forms of cultural movements then known to the world were utilised, assimilated, and made to yield their quota to the growth of Islamic culture. Greek and Roman civilisation, through the Greek language, became early the special study of the Muslims. The results of the speculations of Greek philosphers and of the Schools of Alexandria were canvassed, discussed, added to, and carried further in numerous schools of Muslim thought. Persia yielded no such mine of intellectual wealth, but the administrative organisation of the Sasanian Empire was used as the foundation on which the splendid fabric of the Empire governed from Baghdad was built up. The influences of China and India were more remote, but not less eagerly examined and laid under contribution. The Islamic kingdoms of Central Asia were specially sensitive to Far Eastern influences, and used as a matter of course such features in Turkish culture as commended themselves to them. For they were in the heart of Turkish territory, and nowhere else was there such a happy blending of the three strands ; Arabian, Iranian, and Turanian, of which Islamic culture is supposed to be composed. Perhaps the most important cultural centre in Central Asia was the city of Khwarizm, whose very site is missing from modern maps. Its position was near the modern town of Khiva. It nurtured many learned men of world-wide fame in Islam, among whom may be mentioned Al-Biruni and (for a time) his contemporary and correspondent Bu Ali Sina (Avicenna). When Khwarizm and its local dynasty succumbed to the arms of Mahmud of Ghazna, the energy of its men of science was released from its local milieu and diverted to the new and wonderful field which was being opened out in the direction of India by the arms of that great conqueror.

This is how Abu Raihan Al-Biruni comes on the scene of India. Very little is known of his private life. It is not even certain where he was born. The theory that there was a town called Birun in Sindh and that he was born in Sindh is not supported by any details as to the whereabouts of a town of such a name. It is

more probable that he was born in Khwarizm, of Persian parents, who would thus be strangers to the place, and might fitly be called by the Persian nickname of *Biruni* (outsiders). However that may be, we know that Abu Raihan soon occupied a very prominent place in the life of that famous city. The date of his birth was about 972-3 A.C. The Mamuni dynasty then held sway at Khwarizm, and Al-Biruni faithfully and loyally upheld the local cause in the ruler's court. There was, however, a party opposed to him and favourable to the cause of Mahmud of Ghazna, who eventually won in the conflict. The glories of Khwarizm were thus extinguished in 1017, and most of its leading men moved up to Ghazna the new capital, which was also attracting Persian poets like Firdausi and Utbi. It is to the credit of Mahmud that he treated honourable opponents himself honourably. Biruni was afforded the means to pursue his investigations into the thought and mind of India, the new country which was now attracting the attention of Muslim warriors and statesmen. Here Al-Biruni seems to have laboured for many years, studying the Sanskrit language and also probably the local vernaculars, trying to understand the science, philosophy and institutions of the Hindus, and on the other hand expounding his own ideas on the subject. He wrote two or three minor books on Hindu philosophy, but the full results of his researches were incorporated in his book on India, which still remains the most authoritative first-hand source of information on Hindu culture about the time of the Ghaznavids. The book seems to have been written somewhere about 1030, but after the death of Mahmud, and before the question of his succession was decided in favour of his son, Mas'ud. In these circumstances he could obviously not write an express dedication either to the deceased monarch or to one of the contending claimants to the throne. His reference to Mahmud as the "pattern of a Sultan*" implies that the book was practically dedicated to his memory, although it was not usual amongst the authors of his race and time to make dedications to any except living personages †. His last great book, the "Qanun-i-Mas'udi" is, as the name implies, dedicated to Mahmud's successor, Mas'ud. It contains astronomical tables of great value, judging by the celebrity of the book in the East. It has not yet been translated into any European language. Al-Biruni died about the year 1048 A.C. The "Chronology of Ancient Nations" is another great and comprehensive work from his pen which claims our admiration.

We now come to examine his book on India in detail. Before we examine its contents, we cannot help admiring its strictly scientific style, its perfectly logical and methodical arrangement, its deep and patient investigation into many unfamiliar and abstruse doctrines, its candid criticism in the light of the science, philosophy, and institutions of other nations, and the wealth of

* India *tr.*: Sachau. II 2.

† Sachau's laboured argument that Mahmud treated him badly is hardly worth consideration. The title of "Amir" which Al-Biruni gives to Mahmud is the natural and usual title.

illustrations which it gives from Greek literature, with which Al-Biruni seems to have been accurately acquainted through Arabic translations. Among Plato's dialogues he quotes from the *Phædo*, the *Timæus*, and the *Laws*. He was also familiar with Aristotle and the physician, Galen. With the later Greek historians and geographers he seems to have been even more familiar than falls to the lot of an advanced classicist of modern Europe. The list of Sanskrit authors whom he quotes is a very long one, but we may mention amongst them Brahmagupta, Balabhadra, and Varahamihira. He quotes often from the Bhagavad-Gita, but the Bhagavad-Gita which he used was not the same recension as is extant now. We have other evidence to show that the Bhagavad-Gita in its modern form is a comparatively late production. Among the Puranas we may mention the Vishnu Purana and the Vayu Purana, and among the books on philosophy, Kapila's *Sankhya* and a book of Pathanjali. The latter, however, was very different from the grammarian Pathanjali that we know, but here again we may be dealing with a different recension or edition.

What interest had Al-Biruni in India, and why did he write this book ? He answers the question in his Preface. He starts with the idea of the beauty of truth and especially historic truth, and how false traditions may vitiate history. The Quran enjoins us to bear witness to truth and justice even if it is against ourselves or our parents or our kindred,* and Al-Biruni classes a liar with a denier of justice ; for he will " side with oppression and false witness, breach of confidence, fraudulent appropriation of the wealth of others, theft, and all the vices which serve to ruin the world and mankind." Especially is misrepresentation to be deprecated in the matter of religious doctrines. Most of the books on the Hindus, then extant were full of second-hand and unverified matter, and Al-Biruni's Master (teacher) specially encouraged him to write down what he knew personally, " as a help to those who want to discuss religious questions with them (the Hindus), and as a repertory of information to those who want to associate with them." He wanted to make his book not a polemical tract, but a simple historic record of facts. And he has succeeded admirably. It is good to know that there were many pious Muslims in his day who wanted to associate with the Hindus, discuss religion with them, and become standard-bearers of Islam in a higher and more permanent sense than were the rough warriors who were bent on conquest.

It is sometimes said that the Muslims wanted Hindu learning, because they had nothing themselves comparable with it. Nothing could be further from the truth. In the early days of Muslim science, the Muslims sought knowledge wherever they could find it, "even if it was in China." They soon, however, began to appreciate the differences in the cultural value of the contributions made by different nations to the sum of human knowledge. As a result they became enthusiastic students of the Greek philosophers

* Qur. IV. 135.

and scientists. They took Greek knowledge; they commented on it; they criticised it; they added to it and corrected it by further experiments; and they greatly extended its boundaries in all directions. At that stage Hindu learning was still of interest to them, but they had now more to contribute than to receive. If this was so in purely intellectual pursuits, it was even more so in social and religious matters. Al-Biruni found here mere stagnation, prejudice, or unreasoning hatred. He says: "On the whole there is very little disputing about theological topics among themselves (the Hindus); at the most they fight with words, but they will never stake their soul or body or property on religious controversy. On the contrary all their fanaticism is directed against those who do not belong to them,—against all foreigners—They call them *Mlechchha*, *i.e.*, impure[1]."

Al-Biruni, though sympathetic and just, found their deeply-rooted national characteristics too much for him. At the risk of being accused of using satire, he records his judgment of them as being "haughty, foolishly vain, self-conceited, and stolid.[2]" When he first went among them he stood to their astronomers in the relation of a pupil to his master, being a stranger among them, and not acquainted with their peculiar national and traditional methods of science. After getting over the preliminary difficulties he felt that their methods were only traditional, while his knowledge was based on original observation and deduction. He began to expound in their language the elements on which the science rested and how certain logical consequences followed. They flocked together round him, wondering and most eager to learn, but only asking from what *Hindu* master he had learnt those things. They were not willing to give him credit for any knowledge beyond theirs, and on his side he felt how limited they were, and how he would scorn to be put on a level with them[3]. He thought of the Greek philosophers, men like Socrates who had pursued truth for its own sake, fought popular superstition, and died for the philosophic faith that was in them. Men of that stamp he could not find in India, able and willing to bring the Sciences up to progressive heights.[4]

A. YUSUF ALI.

1 A. I. S. = (Al-Biruni's India, *tr*: Sachau), I. 19.
2 A. I. S. 1. 22.
3 A. I. S. 1. 23.
4 A. I. S. 1. 25.

THE ORIGINS OF " THE ARABIAN NIGHTS"

(Translated from the German typoscript.)

THE influence which the Arabs (that is, learned men who wrote in Arabic, whether Arabians, Persians or whatever their origin) exercised on the science of mediæval Europe has been often described ; it is less generally known that a very great part also of the stories, with which the West amused itself in the Middle Ages, became known to it through Arabic channels. In science the instructors of the Arabs were above all the Greeks, whose inheritance they (the Arabs) then handed on to the West enriched by many valuable renderings of their own. Of the tales passed on to the Western world many had their home in India and had reached the Arabs themselves by way of Persia. The Indian pattern for princes, "Kalîla and Dimna," known in many Western lands also as " The Fables of Bidpai ;" the book of the Wiles of Women, much read in Europe under the name of " The Seven Wise Masters ;" the legend of Barlaom and Josaphat, a remodelling of the history of Buddha—these and other writings, which are all still preserved for us in Arabic, go back, some to altogether lost, some to existing, some to reconstructable, Indian originals. The collection of Oriental tales most famous in Europe to-day—that of The Thousand and One Nights—was unknown to Europe in the Middle Ages, though, as we shall presently see, at least the contents of the introduction had penetrated by oral transmission to Italy in the thirteenth Christian century at latest. From the sixteenth century onward European philosophy and science become emancipated from the Arab influence ; but in the sphere of amusing narrative the East celebrates a new triumph, even after the rebirth of European genius. The tales of the Thousand and One Nights, first made known by Galland's French translation at the beginning of the eighteenth century, spread to every part of Europe and called forth many imitations ; their popularity in the modern West is not less than was that of the Seven Wise Masters or the Fables of Bidpai in the Middle Ages.

Jean Antoine Galland (b. 1646) had by travel learnt to know the East and had spent a long while in Constantinople, Asia Minor, Syria and Palestine. Though there already the story-tellers had fascinated him, he became acquainted with the Arabic tales of the Thousand and One Nights first through a manuscript which was sent to him to Paris from Syria, after his return. His translation appeared under the title : " Les Mille et Une Nuits, contes Arabes traduits en Francois par M. Galland," at first in twelve

volumes, at Paris and Lyon from 1704 to 1717. The extraordinary success which the translation had is largely due to Galland, for he strove to adapt the performance to the taste of his European readers and often rewrote rather than translated ; had he confined himself strictly to the Arabic text his work would not have found the same applause in Europe of that day. The Arabic original text, however, remained still for a long while inaccessible. In 1814, a hundred years after the appearance of Galland's translation, a learned Arabist in Calcutta first applied himself to its publication ; his translation, published "Under the patronage of the College of Fort William," did not, however, go beyond the first two volumes. In the following decades, on the other hand, several complete editions of the Arabic text came out : in 1835, the Egyptian edition which proceeded from the State Press at Bulâq newly established by the creator of Modern Egypt, Mehemed Ali ; in 1839-42, again in Calcutta, the edition edited by Sir W. H. MacNaughten, an Anglo-Indian official ; and from 1825-45 the edition begun by Professor Habicht of Breslau and completed later by H. L. Fleischer, which frankly contains many things which belong not at all to the Thousand and One Nights. These texts, however much they differ in particulars, all agree in this : that they are altogether innocent of certain stories like Aladdin and Ali Baba which have become especially popular in Europe. Already the question from what source Galland had taken those stories must have led to curiosity concerning those particular Arabic manuscripts which he had used for his translation ; but it was not till 1887 that the librarian of the Paris National Library, H. Zotenberg, undertook a close examination of the Galland Bequest, when it was found to include three volumes of a manuscript of the Thousand and One Nights dating from the fifteenth century, agreeing with a somewhat latter MS. preserved in the Vatican. Both, however, present not the full text, but only the first 281 Nights. The Galland MS. is the oldest of all hitherto known. According to a recent newspaper report, indeed, a much older MS. is said to have cropped up in Leningrad, but this report is, as Professor Kratschkovsky has very kindly communicated to me in reply to my enquiry, totally without foundation ; there are only two, long familiar, MSS. in Leningrad belonging to the nineteenth century. The American Arabist, D.B. Macdonald, who some years ago published a story according to the Galland MS., is planning the publication of the whole of Galland's text and will soon, it is hoped, be able to carry out this plan. The same man of letters has busied himself with the elucidation of the relative position of the different textual variations to one another and thus has lighted upon many disregarded or unknown MSS. of the work. As catalogues of the important Eastern collections of MSS., especially private collections, are either non-existent or inaccessible, it would be a kindness if readers of this article who are in a position to furnish information regarding such manuscripts would decide to publish it. The date of a MS. is not by any means the only detail of importance; a recent MS. may prove to be the transcription

of a hitherto unknown or notewortby original, and accurate data as to the tales included in the MS. and the order in which they follow one another, would be most welcome.

The Galland MS. does not represent, perhaps, the form which the Thousand and One Nights had assumed in the fifteenth century, but only the form which was at that time popular in Egypt. For, as the language of Galland's text in itself shows, the tales had at that time long slipped out of the hands of writers who cared for correctness of language and fallen into those of the popular story-tellers ; and it is self-evident that for these the essential point was not the accurate restoration of the traditional text. Similarly a manuscript going back to the 15th century has been preserved for us, in which we see such a story-teller at his work. It is the Tübinger MS. of the story of Sul and Shumul, which was published in text and translation by Chr. Seybold in 1902. That this tale is an ingredient of the Thousand and One Nights is indicated in the Tübinger MS. by the fact that it is divided into Nights, that it is narrated by Shahrazād, and that the narrator at the outset of each night is requested by her sister to continue her story. To be sure, that is not the case throughout the course of the tale, but many quite different formulas of introduction occur, such as : " The reporter further relates " or the address " My Masters " directed from the story-teller to his audience. There can be no doubt but that the Syrian author—for such, by his familiarity with the geography of Syria, he proclaims himself to be —wished to let the story appear as a part of the Thousand and One Nights and attempted, though without success, to incorporate a story, certainly not quite unknown, but never reckoned as belonging to the Thousand and One Nights, in that collection. We shall come to know of more than one example of works originally outside the collection finding their way into it, and the attempt which the writer of Sul and Shumul made in vain succeeded in such cases. In the collection, in the form in which it was current in Egypt in the fifteenth century, are found already, as the Galland MS. indicates, besides the frame-story, the story of the Merchant and the Geni, the Fisherman and the Geni, the Porter and the Three Ladies of Baghdad, the Three Apples, the Hunchback, Nûr-ud-dîn and Qamr-uz-Zamân with the stories included in them. A Tübinger MS. of the 16th century, forming part of the second volume of the collected work, shows us that in the interval the great knight-errantry romance of Umar un Numan had already found a way into the collection ; and the various MSS. of the Thousand and One Nights are differentiated among other things by their inclusion or omission of that voluminous romance and by the position which they assign to it in the series. That the frame-story at least goes back to a period considerably more remote than the Galland MS. is established by this fact alone : that it was already known in Italy in the fourteenth Christian century. Already Wilhelm von Schlegel had observed that the story of Astolfo and Giocondo narrated in Canto 28 of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* must have some bond of kinship with the frame-

story of the Thousand and One Nights, although the two differ in not quite unessential particulars. Since then Pio Raina has directed attention to a "novella" of Giovanni Sercambi (1347-1424) which in many features stands nearer to the frame-narrative than does the Canto of Ariosto, while in others it is more akin to the latter. Sercambi, as later Ariosto, transfers the scene of the story to Italy, and the heroes in both cases are Italians. The local colour shows no longer any trace of the Oriental, and one gets the impression that the tale must already have been known in Italy a long while before, probably through travellers who had learnt to know it in the East. If already these Italian parallels allow us to conclude that the frame-narrative must have been widely known in the East in the thirteenth century, positive indications permit us to date back some centuries further not only the frame-tale itself but also the collection to which it forms the introduction. Both Al-Maqrizi and Al-Maqqari have preserved for us a statement of Ibn Sa'îd, who died in 673 or 685 A.H., which he derived from the Târîkh of "Qurtubi"—a name which is here probably a mistake for that of Al-Qurti, who composed a History of Egypt between 555 and 567 A.H. This Qurti had in his work compared the love adventures of the Fatemite Khalîfa Al-Amir bi Ahkâm Illâh (495-524 A.H.) with the tales of the Thousand and One Nights. Under this title the collection was well known in Egypt at least as early as about the middle of the sixth Islamic century. Numerous stories of our Thousand and One Nights are concerned with Egypt and its capital, though it is not an Egyptian Sultan whose name is most often mentioned, but Harûn ar-Rashîd, a Khalîfa of Baghdâd. That of itself brings us near to accept that the collection must have been current in the East of the Khalîfa's empire for a longer time at least; and in fact we find the earliest information as to its origin and contents in the works of two Baghdâdî authors of the fourth Islamic century. Al-Mas'ûdi in his Murûj-adh-dhahab, completed in 336 and revised in 346 A.H., compares certain tales to "the books translated for us from the Persian, Indian and Greek, as for example the book Hazâr Afsânah which, translated from Persian into Arabic, means the Thousand Adventures (Khurâfa). And"—he goes on to say—"people name it Thousand (in some MSS. Thousand and One) Nights. Such is the story of the King and his Wazir whose daughter and her nurse" (some MSS. have "her slave" and others "his two daughters") who are named Shahrazâd and Dînazâd; or the book Kal'âd and Shimâs with the stories therein contained of the King of India and the Wazîr, likewise the book Sindbâd and others of this sort."

Thus we see that, in the fourth Islamic century, there existed in Baghdad a work translated from the Persian, of which the title was Alf Khurâfa but which was known as Alf Laila, and in which the *dramatis personæ* were the same as in our Thousand and One Nights. Moreover, both the other stories mentioned by Al-Mas'ûdi, that of Shimâs and that of Sindbâd (by which the book of the Wiles of Women is here meant, not that of the Seafarer), which in our texts are brought within the frame of the Thousand and

One Nights, had then already been translated into Arabic, but stood outside the Thousand Nights. It further appears from the Fihrist of Ibn Abi Ya'qûb an-Nadîm compiled in 377 A.H. that not only—with the exception of the King's brother—the *dramatis personae* were the same as in the frame-story of our Thousand and One Nights, but they played the same parts. " The first people who composed adventures," so he reports, " who made separate books of them and incorporated them in libraries, were the old Persians. The Ashghani (Arsaki) Kings were addicted to them with especial zeal. In the times of (their successors) the Sassanid dynasty, new material was added and it (this literature) extended and the Arabs translated the tales into their language. Men of eloquence and grammatical knowledge then took them up, began to polish them, embellished them and fashioned them to taste. The first book of the kind to be thus treated was the book Hazâr Afsânah, which means Thousand Adventures, the occasion of which was the following :

"One of their Kings had the custom, when he married a woman and had spent the night with her, to kill her in the morning. Now he one day married a King's daughter who possessed intelligence and wit and was called Shahrazâd, and who when she came to him began to entertain him with adventures. Withal she proceeded with her tale in such a way towards the end of the night that the King was induced to spare her and to beg her on the following night to finish her story, until a thousand nights were thus passed. During this time he lived with her until she had a child by him, the which she showed him, and therewith informed him of the stratagem she had employed against him. He, however, recognised her wit, inclined to her and spared her life. The King had a housekeeper, Dînazâd by name, who supported her therein. It is said that this book was composed for Humaï, the daughter of Bahman; other statements have, however, been made concerning it. Muhammad ibn Ishâq (the author of the Fihrist) says thereof—but whether it be true; God knoweth—that the first who passed the nights with stories was Alexander and that he had people to make himlaugh and recount adventures to him; this he did not for pleasure, but in order to be wakeful and on the alert. And for that purpose the Kings used the book Hazâr Afsân, which contained a thousand nights and less than two hundred stories (Samar), for generally a story stretches over several nights. I have several times seen the book complete : it is a thin, limp (lit. cold) book."

Here, indeed, Shahrazâd is called a King's daughter, whereas already Al Mas'ûdi, like our own versions, describes her as daughter of the Wazîr, and Dinazâd, who by Al-Mas'ûdi is introduced as the nurse and according to the Fihrist was the housekeeper of the King, appears in our versions as the sister of Shahrazâd. In spite of such divergences, however, and although the brother of the King is missing both in the Fihrist and Mas'ûdi, it is clear that the introduction to the Thousand Nights of the fourth Islamic century is essentially the same as that of our Thousand and One Nights.

The change of the title from 1,000 nights to 1,001 nights, as which Al Qurti knew it, is explained by the preference, to be observed also in other matters, of Orientals for uneven numbers, especially those which overstep a round number by one, or fall short of it by one. Thus the Islamic rosary consists of 99 beads, not a hundred; thus according to the Parsis 9,999 Spirits, not 10,000 guard the righteous. Authentic precedents for the number 1,001 seem to be first forthcoming at a time when Turkish influence had already made itself supreme everywhere in the East; and perhaps E. Littmann is right in ascribing the adoption of 1,001 for a large number to the Turkish alliteration "bin bir" (1,001).

An Arabica "Book of the 1,001 Slaves" and also a "Book of the 1,001 Handmaids" is known to us from the seventh Islamic century, and in the same century Nâsir-ud-dîn Tûsi uses 1,001 to indicate a large quantity. From the Fihrist we learn of a further book of the "Thousand Nights," quite different from the Hazâr Afsân, which Muhammad Al-Jahshiyârî, who died in 331 A.H. (942 A.D.), had compiled. "He gathered out of books and from the mouths of the night story-tellers (Musâmirûn) 1,000 tales and adventures of Arabian, Persian, Greek and other origin, of which each stood alone without connection with the others and of which each represented a night. He had elaborated 480 nights, each of which took up about 50 pages when death prevented him from continuing the work." Manifestly Al-Jahshiyârî was not dependent on the already mentioned 1,000 Adventures which, according to Mas'ûdi, people called the 1,000 Nights; he had made his own selection of stories from oral and written sources and cannot have taken over the frame-story of the Thousand Adventures unaltered, if he took it at all. For that would have meant that each story was carried on to the following night, or was brought into connection with the one before it, whereas the Fihrist expressly states that the opposite was the case. Thus much, however, it seems that we must conclude from his words: that Al-Jahshiyârî without the model of the 1,000 Adventures never would have come to name his collection "The Thousand Nights." That model must therefore have been extant at any rate in the year 300 A.H., though whether the Persian original or already an Arabic translation lay before him, who can say. There is nothing improbable in the latter supposition, for translations of Persian works into Arabic had been undertaken much earlier. Instances date already from the time of Hishâm bin Abdul Malik (v. Mas'ûdi Tanbih 106) and several from the time of Mansûr (136–158 A.H.). A poet named Rasti, who is said to have lived in the time of Mahmûd of Ghazni, is also mentioned in connection with the Persian Hazâr Afsânah; it is not clear, however, if it is meant that he translated the Hazâr Afsânah into Persian verse as Rudagi did the Kalîla wa Dimna. Anyhow, as little of this poetical lucubration has reached us as of the prose text of the Hazâr Afsânah. This was not the only Persian story-book that was known in Baghdâd in the fourth Islamic century; the author of the Fihrist mentions a whole series of other similar tales and collections of tales with their names.

It is established from the statements of Mas'ûdi and the Fihrist that our Thousand and One Nights goes back by the roundabout way through the " Thousand Nights " of Baghdâd to the Persian Hazâr Afsânah. Of the age of this Persian work, however, we know nothing certain. According to the Fihrist, indeed, " as people say " it was written for Humaï the daughter of Bahman, but what Persian legend tell us of that lady does not put us in the position to establish her historical identity. This Humaï, also named Chihrazâd, is indeed identified by some Arabic chroniclers with the Esther of the Bible and is said to have afterwards become the wife of Ahashverosh (Xerxes) ; but this identification depends not on contemporary tradition, but is merely the result of a combination of certain biblical data with similar data of Persian origin. After the learned men who were concerned with the Persian national tradition had learnt from the Book of Esther that there had once been a Persian queen of Jewish origin they made the attempt to identify her among the names of Persian queens and so hit on Humâï Chihrazâd. The renowned Dutch Orientalist, M. J. de Goeje, has gone even a step further : since Humaï is identical with Esther and at the same time also bore the name of Chihrazâd, therefore she should be identified with the Shahrazâd of the Hazâr Afsânah. He also thinks that he can recognise in the biblical Book of Esther the frame-tale of the Thousand and One Nights, which therefore must go back to the second or third pre-Christian Century, the conjectural period of origin of the biblical book. But the analogies which de Goeje finds are altogether insignificant, quite apart from the fact that the Hazâr Afsânah were said to be compiled *for* not *from* Humaï. She therefore has nothing to do with Shahrazâd, the teller of stories. Certainly, both in the Thousand and One Nights and in the Book of Esther the part of deliverer from sore peril falls to a woman, but the methods which lead up to safety are quite different : Esther's achievement with those means was to unmask the persecutor of her people, but Shahrazâd knew how to postpone, by means of story-telling, longer and ever longer the decision of her fate, and so in the end converted the tyrant to clemency. Esther delivers her people : Shahrazâd at least does directly save others of her sex, but the life of Esther herself is not threatened while Shahrazâd fights above all for her own life. Though the stories thus run quite differently from one another, still it cannot be denied that they have particular features in common, which is explained simply by the fact that both stories are acted on the same stage, the court of the Persian King.

We had already spoken of the fact that Indian stories and collections of stories had been translated into Persian, or more accurately into Pahlavi, such as Kalîla wa Dimna and presumably also the Book of Women's Wiles. These works, which in the second Islamic century were further translated into Arabic, have retained traces of their Indian origin in the names of the characters as well as in peculiar features. The Hazâr Afsânah, on the contrary, by such names a Shariyâr, Shahrazâd, Dînâzâd at first sight give the

impression of being Persian of the soil. All three are genuine Persian names and only that of Shâhzamân is a hybrid formation, not found in older times, from Persian Shâh and Arabic zamân. But precisely this name and its bearer are unknown to the oldest form of the frame-story, as Al-Mas'udi and the Fihrist have preserved it for us. However, the retention of such Persian names in the Arabic version can only demonstrate with certainty that the story, as is otherwise established, flowed to the Arabs from a Persian channel, not that the Persian version was the original. Moreover, when we remember that even Ariosto and, before him, Sercambi gave the heroes of their story Italian names, we shall be cautioned, and shall deduce from the Persian names nothing more than that the frame-story, whatever its origin, had become at home in Persia in the third or fourth Islamic century. We have no positive data for the theory, but general considerations as well as the existence of Indian parallels closely analogous in all essentials point to it, that the Persian Hazâr Afsânah went back to an Indian original.

Examples of several stories being held together by a frame-narrative are to be found already in Ancient Egypt; but the way in which the tales of the Thousand and One Nights are fitted into the frame is specifically Indian, and just that particular feature is noticeable elsewhere in Indian literature: that stories are strung together with the object of warding off or rendering impossible a dreaded event. Just so, in the Indian Sukasaptati, does the wise Papagai bind to the house the woman who in her husband's absence wished to visit her lover by concluding every day the fragment of a story with the words: "The rest I shall tell you to-morrow if you stay at home." But we can go much further. In one of the canonical books of the Jains the following story is quoted: A King, who had the custom of telling the women of his palace one after another to come to spend the night with him, once married a maiden of low origin whose wit and beauty had enchanted him. When it came to the turn of the maiden to go to the King, she took with her her maid-servant, whom she had ordered to ask for a story at the time when the King should come to rest and so to propound her request that the King should hear it. When, then, the maid begs for a story, her mistress replies that she must wait until the King has gone to sleep. The King pretends to be asleep and the Queen begins to propound a kind of riddle which the servant does not understand, and the explanation of which the mistress defers till the following evening. The King, eager to hear the answer, lets the damsel come again to him on the following evening, and she was able for six months so continuously to bind him by her stories that he neglected all his other women for love of her. So here again a clever woman succeeded in inducing the King to listen to her night after night, though, to be sure, her life was in no way threatened as in the Thousand and One Nights. As an allusion to this story, as E. Leumann has shown, is found already in the versified abridgment of the same Sutra, its diffusion in at least the fifth or sixth century after Christ is ascertained. If thus for the last part of the Frame-story—

the only one which Al-Mas'ûdi and the Fihrist transmit to us—Indian origin is very probable, it is no less so for the two parts which precede it in our texts. The first part of the frame is made up of the story of the husband brought to despair by his wife's faithlessness, who recovers cheerfulness and health when he sees that others of his kind have fared no better. This motive is known already to the Buddhistic Tripitaki, which in 251 was translated into Chinese. The second part of the frame relates the story of the woman kept imprisoned by the Geni, who yet found means to deceive him with another man, and is already to be found in a Buddhistic Jataka. Only the point, first attested by Al-Mas'ûdi and the Fihrist, that the Queen was to have been killed, seems not to be referable to older Indian literature. Of this point we can only say that the Persian Hazâr Afsânah already knew it; not that it is of Persian or of Indian origin. An Indian book that can be regarded as the original of the Hazâr Afsânah, is not known; the parallels collated by E. Cosquin by way of proof, with the fact that Persia of old had to thank the Indians for so many stories, makes it at least probable, however, that the Hazâr Afsânah also were translated from the Indian or wrought upon an Indian model.

If we compare the table of contents given in the Fihrist with the frame-story of our own text we find, as already observed, that it is taken only from the third part. Whether the Hazâr Afsânah said nothing at all as to the reason which led to the King's cruelty towards women, or whether the author of the Fihrist and Al-Mas'ûdi omitted it for the sake of brevity, we cannot decide. Ariosto and Sercambi, on the other hand, know not the part of the frame-story which alone the Arabic writers reproduce, but only the first and second part of the frame-story of our text.

The table of contents of the Fihrist, however, is not sufficiently detailed to enable us to judge in what manner the individual stories were linked together inside the frame. A. Gelber has sought to answer the question, clear to him but never put by any of his predecessors, whether the queenly narrator was only—as in our texts—thinking of delay, or whether she was not really, by the choice and arrangement of her stories, endeavouring to change the mind of her hearer. After the pattern of other Indian collections, one might suppose that alternating stories, which spoke now for and now against the corruptness of women would have been retailed; or such as impress upon the mind the necessity of careful deliberation and the danger of precipitate action. Gelber, however, has not given himself the trouble to reconstruct such an older selection and arrangement approximately from existing vestiges and parallels, and so his book brings us no nearer to a solution of this question; if it is still solvable, which, in face of the alterations which the original Thousand Nights have undergone since then, from the beginning until now, is not exactly probable. In spite of such alterations we might expect to come upon stories of Indian origin, even outside the frame-

story, in our texts if an Indian work were really at the bottom of it. In fact many of the plots are also to be found in Indian stories, which does not, however, in itself prove that the stories must have been derived from India, since the same plots are to be found also outside India ; only where the plots are linked together in exactly the same way as in an Indian story, can a borrowing be held as proved. Peculiar touches have, however, been preserved which become easily intelligible when the Indian manners and customs presupposed by them are taken into consideration. For example, when the condemned physician takes vengeance on the King by poisoning the pages of the book which he bequeathes to him, the case is, as J. Gildemeister has already pointed out, not extraordinary in India, where books are written on palm-leaves and are rubbed with a poisonous fluid as a protection against ants. On the other hand, the presumably original Indian names of the heroes of the frame-story (and perhaps of other stories too) were already, in the version of the Hazâr Afsânah, changed into Persian. For a Persian touching up an original Indian work it was of first importance to replace the Indian names, outlandish-sounding to his readers, by names familiar to them ; although another procedure was possible and had been employed in the case of Kalîla wa Dimna, for example. In our text, however, not only have the Indian names almost completely disappeared, but, outside the frame-story, the probable Persian names of the Hazâr Afsânah have also mostly been replaced by Arabic ; only a few like Shâpûr or Ardshîr may still descend from the Hazâr Afsânah. While the latter may have been a version or translation of an Indian original, and perhaps contained only tales of Indian origin, it is none the less established by the statements of the Fihrist, as we have already seen, that, at the time when the Hazâr Afsânah were translated into Arabic, Persian stories had long been available to the Arabs ; as we know from Al-Jahshiyârî that he gathered such in his Thousand Nights, so they may well have found their way into the older Alf Lailah. All this is mere conjecture, therefore ; for even of the Arabic translation of the Hazâr Afsânah we know only the frame-story, and the oldest text of the Thousand and One Nights preserved to us, as above indicated, dates only from the ninth Islamic century. Besides Indian and Persian stories, Al-Jahshiyârî gathered similar stories of Greek origin, and has likewise preserved for us in the Fihrist the names of a whole series of narratives of Greek origin translated into Arabic in the fourth Islamic century. Even in the Thousand and One Nights we find, if not whole stories, at any rate episodes of which the Greek origin is probable. The reader need only recall the passage in Sindbâd's third voyage where the captain is eaten by the giant, the latter, however, has his eye put out by the other prisoners. Here the agreement with the legend of Polyphemus is so close that we may well derive the Arabic story from the Greek ; probably it reached the Arabs through a prose version of the contents of Homer's epic, such as the Byzantines loved.

But the Arabic light literature of the fourth Islamic century

was not by any means derived only from such loans from Indians, Persians and Greeks. Already in the heathen times the deeds of tribal heroes and the life and vicissitudes of the desert, and of the Arabian princely courts, had formed the subject of "Night Stories" (samar). Islam added to this a new element. The Quran itself is full of stories about the former Prophets, the predecessors of Muhammad. The characters of the Bible history both Old and New Testament, and also Alexander (dhu'l-Qarnain), the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus (Ashâb al-Kahf), the tribes of 'Ad and Thamûd are brought repeatedly before the eyes of the Arabs, for the encouragement of the Prophet and his followers and as a warning to opponents. The new urban culture, which blossomed forth in the most important centres of the newly-founded Arab world-empire, created new themes for the activity of the story-tellers ; we hear of some such who, in the markets, satisfied the requirements of the masses, and of others who beguiled the time for the ruler and his court what time the winecup circled. Al-Mas'ûdi tells us how a public story-teller, " a man who speaks in the street and proffers to the people tales and anecdotes and drolleries " was brought before the Khalîfa Al-Mu'tadid (279-89 A.H.) and had to repeat his stories. Many titles, too, of purely Arabic tales, which were common in Baghdâd in the fourth Islamic century are enumerated for us by the author of the Fihrist. He devotes a special section to the various Arabian lovers of both heathen and Islamic times whose histories had been treated in literary form. From this group he distinguishes another, " of lovers whose names occur in the night-stories " (asma ul-'ushshâq alladhîna tadkhulû ahâdîthuhum fî's-samar), which, in contradistinction to the others, formed the subject of oral delivery and of which several were set in the time of the Ummayyads.

Besides such sentimental or realistic love-tales, the wonderful and supernatural had its lovers, for we hear at the same time, in the Fihrist, of stories treating of the love of men for jinn and of jinn for men, while others are dedicated to the wonders of the sea. The heroes of all these love stories, as well as of the stories of the wonders of the sea, bear true Arabic names and the author of the Fihrist observes in conclusion that this sort of entertaining literature enjoyed special popularity under the Abbasids and above all in the time of the Khalîfah Al Muqtadir (295-320 A.H.) He adds : " The copyists have composed (writings of this sort) and have lied (in doing so)" and he goes on to name two writers who notoriously ascribed their own compilations to other authors. So far as names of Arab rulers appear in these titles they belong exclusively to the Ummayad period ; the Prince who, in the Thousand and One Nights has become the Khalîfah, Hârûn, is not once named in them, and the authors of the works mentioned in the Fihrist had, notoriously, scruples against introducing a member of the ruling house in their stories. Yet it is certain that the name of Hârûn had by then acquired great popularity, not so much owing to his personal

qualities as to the fact that not long after the end of his reign peace and security vanished from Bâghdâd, and his time appeared to survivors, amid the disorders which burst upon them, as a lost paradise. It may be stated for certain that stories which were told at first of other rulers were later on transferred to the time of Hârûn ; to name one example, the public story-teller who was summoned to the palace, as above mentioned on the authority of Al-Mas'ûdi, is shown in a tale of the Thousand and One Nights, no longer at the court of Al-Mu'tadid, but at that of Hârûn, and is introduced there by Masrûr. Hârûn has not, however, been able altogether to drive out the memory of earlier rulers from our texts. There are still in the Thousand and One Nights stories which are set in the time of 'Abdulmalik or Hishâm, not to speak of those which take place under the rule of later Khalîfahs of the dynasty of the Abbasids and other Sultâns. It has even been supposed that the night-wanderings which Hârûn undertook along with his Wazîr and his executioner in order to learn to know the secrets of his capital were transferred to him afterwards ; at any rate some story-writers relate similar adventures of the Khalîfah An-Nâsir (575-622 A.H.). Hârûn figures often in the love-stories which take place in citizen circles of Baghdâd quite extraneously, as a *deus ex machina* to unite the lovers or relieve them from their former woes. But besides these stories in which he must be content with the role of the typical Khalîfah, there are anecdotes in which, more in accord with historical accuracy, he comes on in conversation with his court poets and singers—anecdotes such as are regarded as authentic in historical and historico-literary works. Popular fantasy imagined an offset to the brilliant ruler, who governed all the kingdoms of the earth, in the form of his legendary son, As-Sabti, who, like St. Alexius, left the palace of his royal father to earn his bread as a day-labourer—an Islamic saintly legend which the ascetic's flight from the world glorifies. We may suppose that a part of the stories grouped around Hârûn had their origin in Baghdâd somewhere between the fourth and fifth Islamic centuries, and that they there found their way into the collection.

We have already seen that the Thousand and One Nights was well known in Egypt in the sixth Islamic century, and all our texts also present stories of undoubtedly Egyptian origin. These stories, then added, depict by preference the life of the merchants and artisans, are well told, and in many of them the wonderful plays a very modest part. In particular, a number of tales of roguery belong to this stratum, in which the dishonesty and corruption of the police appear in the light of criticism. This kind of story—as Th. Nollinger has pointed out, who was the first to characterise the Egyptian stratum—has been familiar in Egypt from of old ; already Herodotus offers us an example of it in the legend of Rampsinitos. On the other hand these tales bear much resemblance to the " genero picaresco " of the Spaniard ; and that stories of this kind were told in Spain as early as the Islamic period we learn from a passage in Al-Maqqari, in which a distinguishing feature of

one of these Egyptian tales of the Thousand and One Nights is transferred to Seville of the fifth Islamic century; the thief already fastened to the cross—in the Thousand and One Nights it is a woman thief—manages to beguile a passing Bedawi, who sets him free, whereupon he binds his liberator to the cross and slips off with that liberator's property. Many stories of the Egyptian group seem to have been enlarged afterwards by the inclusion of plots of wonder and of witchcraft. One peculiarity, as J. Oestrup has brought out, distinguishes the demons who figure in these Egyptian legends in contrast to those of the Indo-Persian group: whereas in the latter the superhuman beings take an intimate interest in the fate of the heroes, in the late Egyptian group they are altogether dependent on the possessor of the ring or other talisman which governs them without there being any question of their own feelings. V. Chauvin, in his work "La rêcension Egyptienne des mille et une nuits" has attempted to prove that these later Egyptian insertions—whole stories as well as mere postscripts to those earlier existing—are the work of a Jew who had gone over to Islam; only thus can be explained the fact that conversions to Islam are so frequent in these stories, and that they are strongly flavoured with Jewish ideas. But stories of conversion of a similar kind are to be found already in much earlier times in authors of pure Islamic origin, and the originally Jewish ideas in question had by then been long the common property of Islamic popular belief and were not at all restricted to the Jewish converts.

The three principal categories—the Indo-Persian from Hazâr Afsânah, the Bâghdâd stories from the spheres of the city and the court, and the Egyptian tales of roguery and witchcraft stories do not at all account for the whole contents of our text. These and similar writings owe their inclusion first to the endeavour to fill out the frame and complete the number, not at the outset meant to be taken literally, of 1,001, but also to the changing taste of the readers or hearers who ever demanded something new. The introduction and the stories which were there at the beginning have been least affected by this effort; for the rest, however, the public story-tellers, for whom the collection served as a text-book, had, as already stated, no special interest to respect the original text as it had been handed down to them. As a text-book of such a story-teller the Tübinger MS. of the story of Sul and Shumûl declares itself by the occasional occurrence in it of the address "My Masters," directed to the audience. While eminent persons suffered them to come to their houses for the entertainment of their guests, the simple folk crowded in courtyards and even in the public squares around these story-tellers and later on followed them into the coffee-houses to which, from their coming into vogue in the ninth Islamic century, they transferred their activity. We have evidences of the way in which these story-tellers delivered the Thousand and One Nights only at a later time, through European travellers of the eighteenth century. The most intimate is the description which the English physician Patrick Russell, who

from 1750-71 practised at Aleppo and to whom we are indebted for a "Natural History of Aleppo," furnishes us in that work. He describes to us how the narrator paces up and down the room, standing still only when the scene described calls for an emphatic pause. He then goes on to say: "He is commonly heard with great attention and not unfrequently in the midst of some interesting adventure, when the expectation of his audience is raised to the highest pitch, he breaks off abruptly and makes his escape from the room, leaving both his heroine and his audience in the utmost embarrassment." Russell then describes how those who sit near the door try to prevent him, and demand that he shall end the tale before he leaves the place; how he, however, always contrives to escape, and how the audience must reserve their curiosity for the following evening. This trick of the story-tellers has its traces in our texts in the fact that a "Night" often breaks off in the middle of the story; the story-teller, who derived a modest revenue in some places from the sale of sugar which he furnished for the coffee, in others only from the voluntary contributions of the audience, must have been as concerned as the keeper of the coffee-house to secure his audience also for the next evening. Not long after Russell, the Thousand and One Nights seems to have disappeared from the repertory of the public story-tellers, for E. W. Lane, who lived in Cairo from 1825 to 1828 and has also in his "Manners and Customs of the modern Egyptians" made detailed mention of the activity of the public story-tellers, declares that the stories of the Thousand and One Nights, which only a few years before had been recited, were now no more to be heard, and manuscript copies of the work were so rare that the hard-worked story-tellers could not afford them. Soon after Lane, printed editions of the text of the collection made it generally accessible, and the public story-tellers, whose audience consisted essentially of the illiterate had no longer any difficulty in procuring a copy; but, nevertheless, the Thousand and One Nights still remained excluded from their programme. Yâ'qûb Artin Pasha reports that it is a common superstition in Cairo that he who reads the Thousand and One Nights right through must die in the same year. A story-teller, questioned by me in Cairo in 1906, knew nothing of that, but explained that the language of the text was not correct enough for him, whereupon, on a close investigation of his argument, it transpired that he had never read the Thousand and One Nights. Another peculiarity of the story-tellers must be signalised, which is also to be observed in our text: they like to transpose the scenes which they depict to the immediate neighbourhood, well known to their hearers, so that they can turn now and again to one or other of them with such words as: "Thou, Hasan, knowest the house full well. Thou passest by it every morning of thy life." Our editions all depend on manuscripts of Egyptian origin, and so show intimate acquaintance with the topography of Cairo and its neighbourhood.

Let us now throw a glance on the books, once independent, which in the course of time became absorbed in the collection.

There is first of all the story of Sindbâd or the Seven Wise Masters, the Indian original of which has not yet indeed been discovered, but which in design and spirit betrays its land of birth ; some have even wished to derive the name Sindbâd from the Indian Siddâhpati, a theory with which the long " A " of the Arabic form is not, however, to be harmonised. Its theme is that, so often treated in India, of the wiles and infidelity of woman, of which the stories inserted in the frame-tale furnish proof. The work had been done into Arabic verse by the poet Abân al-Lâhiqi who died in 200 A.H. ; the Arabic prose version which served as groundwork must therefor have appeared in the second Islamic century. In the frame-narrative this book shows some kinship with another collection which, as we have seen, is mentioned as early as in the third Islamic century under the name of Kal'âd wa Shimâs : the individual stories, however which the frame encloses are quite different from those in the Sindbâd book. The Shimâs book is avowedly of Indian origin, but seems to have reached the Arabs by way of some Christian recension. We possess other such recensions, though in the versions received into the Thousand and One Nights the specifically Christian passages are discarded.

The voyages of Sindbâd, also, formed originally an independent work. In the fourth Islamic century there existed a number of such travel-romances, and even in the Thousand and One Nights this literature of Mirabilia is represented by other stories besides that of Sindbâd, as, for instance, by the history of Saif ul-Mulûk. In such tales we have before us the Arabic adaptation of older travel-legends known to East and West, to which, however, all sorts of information, true and false, has been added, just as the Arab merchants and seafarers brought it home from their voyages to countries of the East. Reports of several such voyages have been preserved to us, and one of them goes back to a merchant who in 237 A.H. travelled all through China. From this and from a similar work, the Ajâibul Hind of Captain Buzurg ibn Shahriyâr, much has been incorporated in the voyages of Sindbâd. M. J. de Goeje has shown that the " Navigatio " of St. Brandan is very strongly influenced by the voyages of Sindbâd and other Oriental writings and Asin y Palacios has recently carried his proofs still further. The author of the " Navigatio," or his authority, seems to have been in the East about the year 1000 A.D., and to have heard these stories there.

There are also two great chivalry-romances in the Thousand and One Nights, that of 'Umar un-Numan, which the Tübinger MS. of the ninth Islamic century recognises already as belonging to the Thousand and One Nights, and that of 'Ajîb and Gharîb While the former reflects the shock of the encounter of Islam with the Frankish chivalry—a period which has left behind its echo also in other stories of the collection–in 'Ajîb and Gharîb survives in some sort the remembrance of the struggles between Arabs and Persians in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times ; there crops out in it a spirit of fanaticism which was altogether foreign to those early times and was first roused by the inroads of the Crusaders.

In the once similarly independent book of the learned slave, Tawaddud, we have before us a story less noteworthy for its content than for its literary after-effects. In the slave-market Tawaddud, who had herself advised her husband to free himself from want by selling her, fell to an officer of the palace and was offered to the Khalîfa for purchase. The Khalîfa, however, to make sure whether she really possessed all the excellences ascribed to her, subjected her to a searching examination, in which she not only answered all questions, but on her side also put questions to her examiners, which they were unable to answer. Therefor the Khalîfa bade her ask a favour for herself and, in accordance with her request, united her to her former lord. Possibly we have to see a prototype of this story in a work, quoted in the Fihrist and translated from the Greek, of which the title runs: *Kitab al-failsuf alladhi buliya bi'l-Jariati Qitar Wahadith al falasifah fi amriha.* To the narrator of Tawaddud the fate of his characters is of secondary consideration, the essential part for him is the questions and answers which cover the most diverse fields of knowledge —theology, astronomy, medicine and philosophy. Works of a similar nature were multifarious and common in the Middle Ages, not only among the Arabs but also among the Persians, in the Christian East and in the West. In the Islamic world the most renowned example of this literature is the Questions of Adbullah ibn Salam, which, besides the Arabic, has been adapted into Persian, Turkish, Urdu and Malay, and which, through a Latin translation, became known in Christian Europe as early as the thirteenth century. All these Question-books are in arrangement and even in contents akin to one another, but the relations in which the story of Tawaddud stands to a Spanish folk-book the *Historia de la doncella Teodor* which continued to be widely read till the end of the nineteenth century is much closer. Not only is the frame-story in both exactly consonant, but even the name of the heroine is the same in either case, for Teodor is derived from the Arabic Tûdur, as the name actually runs in one Arabic MS. through alteration of the terminal "d" into "r." Many of the questions, also, in the Spanish version are in agreement with the Arabic text and it is noteworthy that the oldest Spanish text preserved to us contains nothing specifically Christian; the Christian elements introduced into the later Spanish versions are taken from a similar folk-book, the Dialogue of the Emperor Hadrian with the Child Epitus. In the Arabic text, only one of the examiners is mentioned by name, the renowned Ibrâhîm an-Nazzâm (d. 231 A.H.), who also lives again in the Spanish under the nearly corresponding name of *Abrahem el trobador*, the surname Nazzâm, which Ibrâhîm bore on account of his handicraft—*Kana yanzimu 'l-hirz*—is here wrongly taken in the sense of versifier, a meaning which Nazzâm can also bear. The Arabic book probably originated at a time when the memory of those philosophers of the second Islamic century was still alive, whereas the oldest Spanish versions known to us date from the fourteenth century at latest, possibly from the thirteenth century. The Spanish text first appeared in

print in 1520, an edition followed by numerous others in unbroken succession till 1890, while a Portuguese edition is catalogued as late as the year 1906.

The *Hasaniya* of Abul Futuwwa, which in Sir John Malcolm's time was much read in Persia, represents a Shî'a adaptation of the above.

Another story of the Thousand and One Nights which equally is still preserved as an independent book in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, the Story of Saif ul-Mulûk, attracts attention on account of its introduction. In this it is reported that a King Muhammad ibn Sabā'ik caused search to be made for the finest story and finally received that of Saif ul-Mulûk through a merchant Hasan in Damascus. Now there is no King of this name, though Mahmûd ibn Sabuktegin is famed throughout the whole East of the Islamic world and the Persian version of the story names him in place of that Muhammad. It is there told how Mahmûd heard from his court poet, Unsuri a story which greatly pleased him. The Wazîr of Mahmûd, the same Ahmad ibn Hasan Maimandi who still survives in numerous anecdotes, being tormented by envy, thereupon set to work to move heaven and earth in order to discover an even finer story, till at last he secured that of Saif ul-Mulûk. This introduction of the Persian version clearly preserves the original, and in the Arabic setting the famous Wazîr has been made into the merchant Hasan. The story itself is of no particular consequence, nor had it its original home in Persia, but presents itself in essentials as an adaptation of Sindbād's voyages.

In like manner the group of marvellous travels appertain to the story of Bulûqyâ ; for it is not a question here of journeys into lands inhabited by foreign folk, but of journeys for religious motives into realms which are otherwise inaccessible to mortals. Bulûqyâ is the name of a King of Bani Israîl in Egypt who in searching through the treasure-chamber of his father finds a book in which the appearance of the Prophet Muhammad is foretold. Bulûqyâ then sets out in search of him, reaches Jerusalem and there hears from 'Affân that whoever can get hold of the signet-ring of Solomon will become by its possession lord of genii and of men; the ring, however, is still on the finger of Solomon, whose body rests in a place beyond the Seven Seas. In order to pass over the seas a herb is needed with which the feet must be rubbed, and which is said to be in the possession of the King of the Serpents. 'Affân persuades Bulûqyâ to take him with him, saying that, once in possession of the ring, their every wish will be fulfilled and they will be then able to live until the appearance of Muhammad. They come at last to Solomon's corpse, but as 'Affân is trying to pull off the ring he is burnt to ashes, while Bulûqyâ's life is saved, thanks to the intervention of the angel Gabriel, from whom he learns that it will be a good while before the Prophet appears. Thereupon he continues his journeys and reaches the realm of the believing genii, Jabal Qāf, the Confluence of the Two Seas, and finally the Earthly Paradise ; whence Al-Khidhr in a second whisks

him back to his own home. In this story we have before us, in the form of travel description, a whole compendium of Islamic cosmology and eschatology. Even Hell, which he did not himself visit, was described to Bulûqyâ by the King of the believing genii. The story stands near to the Heaven and Hell journeys such as are common among Jews and Christians, Parsis and Muslims and reach their highest point in Dante's Divina Comedia. How strongly Dante was influenced by Islamic eschatology M. Asin y Palacios has lately sought to prove in his book *La escatologia Musulman en la Divina Comedia* published in 1919. The name of Bulûqyâ has its ultimate origin in the biblical Book of Kings and is miswritten from that of Hilqiyâhû, the High Priest who in the reign of Josiah finds the Book of the law which had been left to oblivion just as Bulûqyâ finds the Taurāt in his father's treasure-chamber. In an extant version apart from the Thousand and One Nights Bulûqyâ is expressly said to be the son of Ushiyâ, *i.e.*, Josiah. As Hilqiyâhû has become Bulûqyâ, so Shâfân, who according to the biblical account also took part in the finding of the Book of the Law has become 'Affân. Already at the beginning of the fourth Islamic century Hamza al-Isfahāni names the story of Bulûqyâ, together with that of King 'Og, as an example of Jewish tales. King 'Og is in fact much mentioned in the Jewish legends, but Hilqiyâhû (Bulûqyâ) hardly at all ; none the less is Hamza right to characterise his story as Jewish, because apart from the disfigured Hebrew names of the characters, the eschatological lore depends in many respects on Jewish ideas, and the wanderings of Bulûqyâ show much resemblance to the Jewish tales of Rabbi Joshua ben Levi and the Midrash Konen. The oldest extant version of the Bulûqyâ-story is to be found in Thalabi's Qisas ul-Anbiyā and is there reported in the name of Al Jauzaqi(d. 388 A.H.) who traces it back to Abd us-Salâm, the Jewish convert of the Prophet, to whom it is nowhere ascribed in older sources ; at latest, however, it must have originated between 250 and 300 A.H.

Finally, there is yet another tale to be mentioned, which is not to be found in the ordinary editions of the Thousand and One Nights, but in certain MSS. of Christian origin—Christian Arabs have also of yore acquired merit for the maintenance of the Thousand and One Nights—the tale of the wise Haiqâr. Haiqâr, the Wazîr of Sanherib, King of Babel, adopts his nephew in childhood, but afterwards turns him out of the house because he will not take to heart his instruction. To avenge himself, the nephew forges a letter of Haiqâr to the Kings of Egypt and Persia which he plays into the hands of Sanherib, while at the same time he arranges for his uncle to receive an equally false letter of Sanherib. In his pretended letter Haiqâr promises the two Kings to betray the empire of his lord on their arrival at the Eagle's Plain, while Sanherib in his letter to Haiqâr orders the latter to make a sham attack on himself in order to offer a war bait to the two rulers. When Sanherib read Haiqâr's letter and by the subsequent conduct of the latter thought himself confirmed in the opinion that he was betrayed by him, he determines to have him put to death.

Hiqâr's wife, however, induces the executioner to kill another in his place, while Haiqâr remains hidden. On the news of the fall of the wise Wazîr the neighbouring Kings grow overbearing and demand of Sanherib the solution of apparently insoluble problems unless he wishes to be deprived of his Kingdom. In the country's hour of need the executioner resolves to confess the truth to the King. Whereupon Haiqâr is restored to favour, solves all the problems and in the end once again attempts, by a series of wise admonitions, to lead his nephew Nadan back into the right way. This story was known in the Middle Ages to all the Christian peoples of the East and also to the Slavs and Byzantines, and traces of it are to be found in the Talmud as early as the fourth century. But some five hundred years earlier, the Book of Tobit in the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, which knows the wise Akiakaros and his nephew Nadan, plays upon it, and finally the excavations at Elephantine in Egypt have brought to light a papyrus which preserves for us fragments of the tale in Aramaic script of the fifth pre-Christian century. Some have wished to ascribe a Jewish origin to the story because it was common among the Jews at such an early period, but already the names of the chief characters are all Assyrian, not only Haiqâr and Nadan but also that of the executioner Abu Sumaik, who is called in the papyrus version, in good Assyrian, Nabûsumiskun ; the scene is the court of the Assyrian King and everything favours the theory that we have here a popular tale which had its origin somewhere about the seventh pre-Christian century in the Assyrian capital, Niniveh, or at least was located there.

Besides such whole books or independent tales, several collections of smaller pieces inter-related by their contents have been taken into the Thousand and One Nights. Animal fables, legends—these latter mostly of Jewish ancestry—anecdotes about verses and their origin, controversy-stories (like that in which the various complexions strive for supremacy) stories of stupid answers and other fooleries. Most of these pieces are also to be found elsewhere in Arabic literature, especially in books of *Adab*, and are taken from them, so plainly that even the names of the authorities to which they go back originally are preserved in the text.

All printed editions of the Arabic text agree, as already observed, in this : that they none of them contain some of the stories most beloved in Europe since the time of Galland, such as that of Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp and that of Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves. That Aladdin does actually form an ingredient of certain variants of the Thousand and One Nights, however, is proved by the discoveries of Zotenberg, who found Arabic texts of this story in Paris. The case of Ali Baba is somewhat different : After all attempts for a decade to discover an Arabic text of this tale had been in vain, D.B. Macdonald observed that one had been lying in the Bodleian at Oxford since 1860 and was even correctly indicated in the MS. catalogue of the collection. This text, written about 1800, which was made known by Macdonald in 1910, has,

however, nothing to show that it belongs to the Thousand and One Nights. The Oxford text, indeed, is not very different from that used by Galland, though it does not accord with it in all particulars, and the hitherto undiscovered Arabic text of Galland might quite well, despite the Oxford version, figure as part of the Thousand and One Nights like that of Aladdin.

The tales of the Thousand and One Nights are narrated in prose, and that is the proper form of narrative. True, the insertions of rhymed prose or verse are extraordinarily frequent, but both very seldom serve to carry on the story ; their function being above all the description of men and things and the expression of emotions. Rhymed prose (*saj'*) was customary among the Arabs of old in the pronouncements of seers and judges. It then almost disappeared—except for its use in the Koran—from Arabic literature. From the middle of the third Islamic century it first appears again, more frequent, till by the beginning of the fourth century it has made good its entry into solemn and official speech and finally into the style of private correspondence. In the Thousand and One Nights, too, it is repeatedly employed for letters and dialogues.

Whilst rhymed prose does not occur in the older Arabic narrative literature, it has at all times known poetical insertions. Already in the accounts of the Ayâm ul-'Arab they are usual ; the biography of the Prophet (Sîrah) does not disdain them, no more does the historical literature of the first century of Islam. But there the same thing is to be noted as in the Thousand and One Nights : the inlaid verses are not a continuation but an interruption of the narrative. The hero himself expresses his emotions in verses which indeed frequently contain allusions to the events in which he is taking part, but furnish no account of them. He sings the fame of his ancestry ; participators in the events praise him in eulogy, lament for the fallen in elegy—that is especially the task of women—or insult the enemy. It is true that Arabic literature, from the third Islamic century, knows stories brought into the form of verse ; Abân al-Lâhiqī, for example, (who died in 200 A.H.) wrought narrative works of Indian and Persian origin into poetic shape. In the Thousand and One Nights, however, we extremely seldom find narrative verse properly so called. There the verses which are put in the mouths of the personages give expression to their feelings, or to the judgment of the author, and often are brought in to transport the readers to general considerations from the tension of the moment ; letters and inscriptions, too, are often composed in verse-form. Again, it is very seldom that the name of the poet is mentioned ; often, however, the verse is stated to be a quotation by such formulas as "as the poet saith," or "as it has been said," and often quotations of this sort are strung together, verses of different poets on the same theme being cited one after another. Even where verses are not expressly acknowledged as quotations they are generally recognisable as such. Cases in which the verse has been a part of the story from the first are not very frequent, the great majority even of

those verses which are introduced with a simple " Then he began to speak " are not composed by the narrator but are borrowings made by him from other poets. I have devoted some attention to this question and from about 1,280 various verses or verse-groups in Macnaghten's edition some 350 poets can be pointed out with certainty to whom, on the evidence of their own Diwans or various works of Adab, they belong. It is noticeable also that the poets of heathen or early Islamic times are only seldom quoted, while on the other hand the poets of later times up to the eighth Islamic century are quoted frequently. It would be interesting to ascertain how far the oldest texts, especially the Galland MSS., contain the same verses as our own editions. The fixing of the origin of the verse is of importance as well for the history of the origin of particular tales as for the rectification of the text, for very many of them appear to be disfigured in our editions.

The old book of the Thousand Nights is not preserved to us and, except Al-Mas'ûdi, the author of the Fihrist, and Al Qurti, no Arabic man of letters has anywhere mentioned it. After it ceased to serve for the entertainment of the cultivated, it no longer appertained to the literature of which learned men took note. What the public story-tellers offered to their ignorant audiences appeared to them unworthy of attention. It was the aim of the story-tellers to entertain their hearers, not to hand on a book in the form in which it had come down to them. It is therefore not easy for us to circumscribe the scope and contents of the Thousand and One Nights, for the contents have not always in different countries and times been exactly the same ; and nothing else is left for us but to reckon as included in it everything which in any of the texts which have come to us is produced as belonging to the Thousand and One Nights. What is no better attested than, for example, Sul and Shumûl, we have a right to exclude, for the narrator who wished to insinuate it into the collection only half carried out his attempt. Where, however, such attempts have succeeded, we must recognise the accomplished fact. We are not dealing with a work handed down in a fixed form, but with a collection which is constantly being supplemented. The Thousand and One Nights had become the basin into which all the numerous streams of Arabic Story discharge their flow ; or, to express it otherwise, a microcosmos in which all the various *genres* of the Arabic story-teller's art appear. There remains the important problem of classifying the individual stories under these various *genres*, and to compare the stories inside the Arabian Nights which belong to one and the same category one with another, as also with representatives of the same *genre* outside the collection. V. Chauvin, in his *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes* has provided data for the solving of this problem.

The fables, parables, legends, traditions, fairy-tales, jokes, novels and learned stories do not always occur in independent shape, but appear sometimes bound to others by ever fresh entanglements, from which they must first be extricated ere we can

compare them, as original literary entities, with others of their kind. In the case of anecdotes, especially, there is a foundation of definite historical events, which often have undergone only trifling alterations; while in the traditional stories such events have left but a faint echo. Certain traits which recur in all literatures are appropriated in the Thousand and One Nights to specified personages of the Arabo-Islamic sphere of culture, and are by preference transferred to places which lie within the horizon of that sphere. Finally, the stories and legends abound in themes which recur not only in the literatures of the most widely different peoples of the East and West, but also in the popular traditional lore of every part of the earth, even among illiterate peoples.

The Thousand and One Nights is a mirror of the Arabic-Islamic world of the first six centuries; it resembles a kaleidoscope in which the plots of the popular story-teller's art of all peoples and times pass before us in their motley variety.

JOSEF HOROVITZ.

THE SHALIMAR GARDENS OF LAHORE

ONE feels one must apologize for writing a paper on a subject like the above because at least half a dozen books are available which deal wholly or in part with the antiquities of Lahore to satisfy the curious and instruct the student, and every one of these books devotes some space to the Shalimar Gardens. The books in question include the admirable work of Thornton[1]—its section on the Shalimar being almost literally[2] repeated in the Lahore Gazetteer[3], the ampler work[4] of Sayyid Muhammad Latîf, the relevant chapter of Mrs. C. M. Villiers Stuart's charming work, the "*Gardens of the Great Mughals*[5], Kanhaya Lal's '*Tahrikh-i-Lahore*' in Urdu[6] and M. Nur Ahmad's *Tahqiqat-i-Chisht*[7], the last being in point of time the earliest of them all.

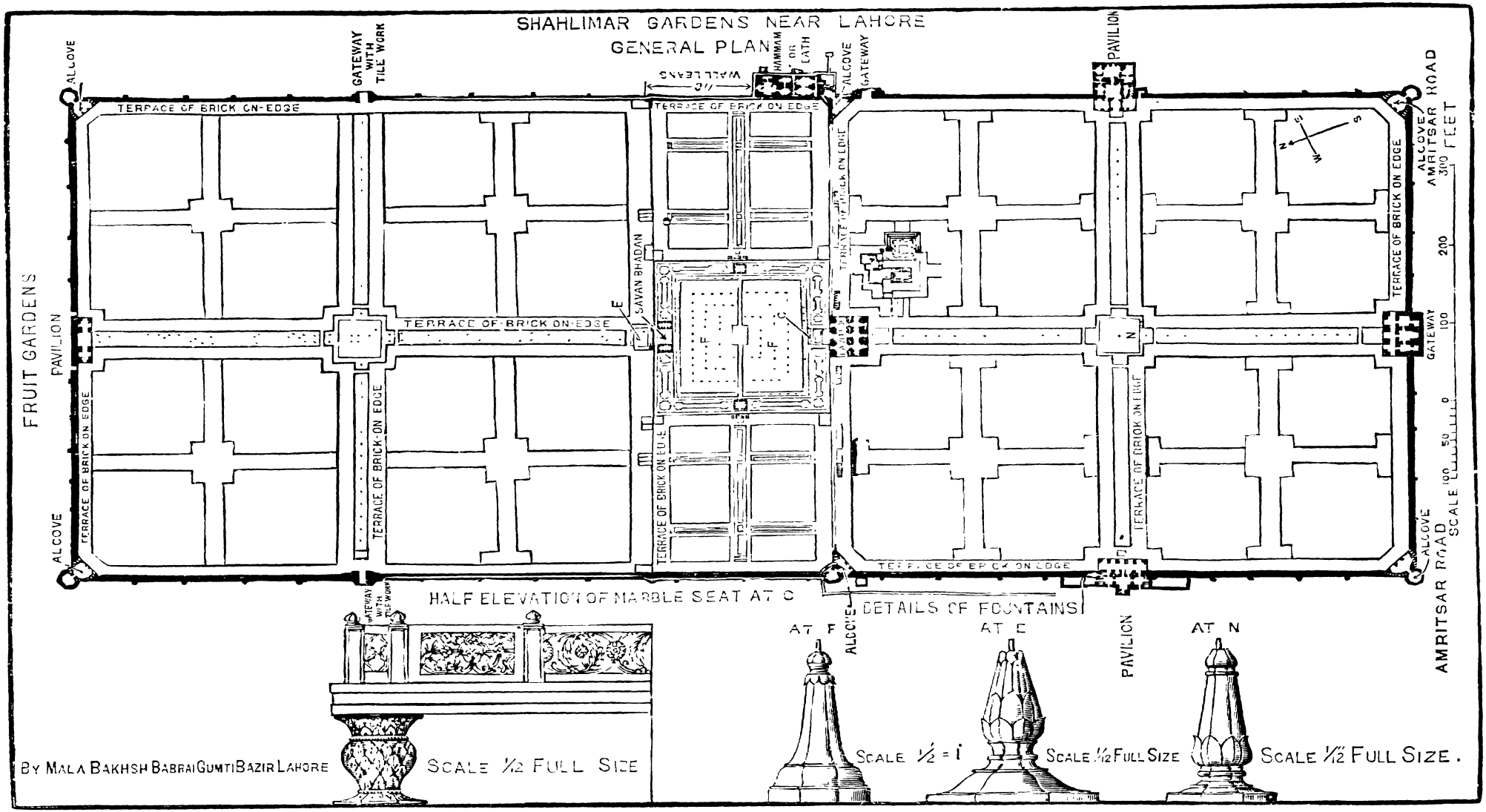
While admiring the attempts that have been made in these works to describe and trace the history of these gardens, I find, that partly due to confusion arising from a similarity of names and partly from other reasons, strange errors and conflicting statements have crept into these accounts. It is for this reason that I have dared to believe that the story of these gardens will bear repetition.

In the following narrative I rely mainly on two authorities :

Firstly, the *Badshah Namah* of 'Abdul Hamîd, a native of Lahore, and a pupil of the famous Abul Fazl who, under the orders of Shâhjahân, compiled from official sources a history of the first twenty years of the reign of that Emperor. This work contains the fullest official account I know of, of the gardens as they had been laid out by Shâhjahân. The accuracy of this account is further corroborated implicitly by the fact that Mohd. Sâlih Kambo of Lahore, another historian who wrote his '*Amal-i-Saleh* towards the end of the reign of Shâhjahân, repeated in that work 'Abdul Hamîd's account of the Shalimar almost literally. Some of the main facts in Bâdshâh Namah, and the dates, are supported also by Khâfi Khân[8] and Shâhnawâz Khân[9].

Secondly, the *Umdatu't-Tawarikh*[10] by L. Sohan Lal Sûrî, the Court Historian of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. This author has

(1) '*Lahore*', 1st edition 1872 ; revised edition, Lahore, 1876 (2) Two alterations have been made in the Gazetteer. The date 1637 has been changed into 1667 and the area given as 80 acres instead of 39. Kanhaya Lal gives the area as 160 Bigahs. (3) Lahore 1893-4. (4) '*Lahore*', (Lahore, 1892). (5) London, 1913. (6) Lahore, 1884. (7) Lahore, 1867. Compiled in Urdu at the request of Mr. W. Coldstream,' Assistant Commissioner ; see p. 17. (8) In his *Muntakhab At-Tawarikh*. (9) In his *Maathir al Umara*. (10) Lahore, 1885-9.


SHAHLIMAR GARDENS NEAR LAHORE
GENERAL PLAN
ALCOVE
GATEWAY WITH TILE WORK
WALL 440
HAMMAM OR BATH
ALCOVE
GATEWAY
PAVILION
TERRACE OF BRICK ON EDGE
TERRACE OF BRICK ON EDGE
TERRACE OF BRICK ON EDGE
TERRACE OF BRICK ON EDGE
TERRACE OF BRICK ON EDGE
TERRACE OF BRICK ON EDGE
TERRACE OF BRICK ON EDGE
TERRACE OF BRICK ON EDGE
SAVAN BHADAN
E
F
F
C
N
N
S
W
ALCOVE
ALCOVE
AMRITSAR ROAD
300 FEET
200
100
0
GATEWAY
SCALE 100 50 0
FRUIT GARDENS
PAVILION
ALCOVE
AMRITSAR ROAD
HALF ELEVATION OF MARBLE SEAT AT C
GATEWAY WITH TILE WORK
DETAILS OF FOUNTAINS
AT F
AT E
AT N
ALCOVE
PAVILION
SCALE ½ FULL SIZE
SCALE ½ = 1
SCALE ½ FULL SIZE
SCALE ½ FULL SIZE.
BY MALA BAKHSH BABRAI GUMTI BAZIR LAHORE

To face p. 58.

numerous references to these gardens yielding some information about the condition of the gardens in the Sikh period, which can be further supplemented from some books of Travels.

Before commencing an account of the Gardens, it may not be out of place to mention that the exact meaning of the name Shalimar is not known[1]. It is common knowledge that the name was first applied to the famous Gardens in Kashmîr. But the name already existed before those Gardens were laid out. Abul Fazl in his section[2] on Kashmir speaks of a cascade called Shalimar which was formed by the waters descending from the ridge of Shahkote in the village of Bâzwâlpûra. The authorities on the topography of Kashmîr for about the century and a half immediately preceding Akbar's annexation of that Province in 1586, such as Rajtrangni of Jona Raja (1459) and its continuations know nothing of the Shalimar, and Dr. Stein infers from this that the place did not claim any importance in that period. Apparently, then, Shalimar was a local name, probably of Kashmîrî origin, of which the real significance is lost.

A courtier[3] of Ranjit Singh in A.H. 1220 (1805) is said to have explained to him that the word is Turki and means " House of Joy." There is, however, no such Turki word known to the dictionaries and the explanation seems to have been derived from such books as *Bahar-i-Ajam*[4] where the meaning "' House of Desire" is given, though there the word is untenably held to be a Sanskrit word[5]. Mîrza Mehdî, the historian of Nâdir Shâh, gives the form " Shu'la mâh[6] to this name, but that is obviously an attempt to give the word a familiar form and a meaning[7]. Ranjit Singh changed the name Shalimar into Shahla Bâgh, as will be explained later.

As has been stated above, Abul Fazl tells us that in his days the name Shalimar was applied to a cascade near the Dal Lake. But a passage in Jahângîr's Tuzuk[8], implies that the region about the cascade was also Shalimar. He says : "Shalimar is near the lake. It has a pleasant stream, which comes down from the hills and flows into the Dal Lake." This is further corroborated by a

(1) See for various explanations an article in the *Humayun* (an Urdu monthly of Lahore) for January, 1922, P-57. (2) See Jarrett II, 361. Badauni (II 385) seems to insinuate that the section on Kashmîr in the *Akbar Namah* came wholly or partly from the pen of Shâh Fathullâh Shirazî. (3) *Tarikh-i-Ahd-i-Ranjit Singh* by Dewan Amar Nath, Professor Azad's MS. in the Punjab University Library J. 13. The Professor has the following note on the margin " *Tahqiq-i-Shalimar kih ghalat-i-mahd ast.* See also Mohammad Latif's *History of Punjab* P-360 Seq. (4) Completed in 1152/1739. (5) See Khalifa Muhammad Hussain's criticism of this explanation in the *Safar Namah-i-Bernier* (Amritsar, 1886) II 67. (6) It must be noted however that Mirza is referring to the Gardens of this name near Delhi and not to those in Lahore. In later times the name Shâlîmar was applied to many gardens. Masson (Travels, I, 276) refers to one in Qandahar, and ' Umda (Khulasa-i-Daftar II. P-36) to one in Rajaur and (on I. 124) to another in Sirhind. It may also be added that Latif's remark that the first mention of the name Shalimar occurs in the historians of Nadir Shah (See *Lahore* P-144) is not correct as the name occurs in *Khulasat at-Tawarikh* of Sujan Ray (written in the reign of Aurangzib) See P-60 (Delhi edition of 1918). (7) This remark applies also to Shu'lamâr which is another form of the name and which is a cross between Shu'la Mâh and Shalimar. (8) Roger's *tr ;* II 151 Tuzuk.

passage in a *Firman* of Shâhjahân which speaks of his having laid out a garden in the well-known place called Shalimar[1]. In this garden of Shalimar, we are told by Abdul Hamid[2], Shâhjahân had himself planted the first tiny chenars and poplars. Fourteen years later in 1043/1633-34, he visited it again and was so pleased at the sight of the full grown trees that he changed the name Shalimar to *Farah Bakhsh.* On the same occasion he ordered the laying out of another garden behind it, of the same dimensions as the *Farah Bakhsh,* with such buildings as a Privy Council Chamber, a Jharoka and a public Audience Hall and to that he gave the name Faidh Bakhsh. After this second garden was ready the *Farah Bakhsh* was to serve as the residence of the Emperor.

This was in 1043 (1633). Five years later an incident happened which made it possible for the Emperor to plan similar gardens in Lahore, to which the same name was given as to the gardens in Kashmir . This was 'Alî Mardân Khân's arrival in Lahore. That Persian noble, formerly governor of Qandahar, was won over by the Mughals and, delivering the town to the agents of his new master, he came to India. He was very kindly received at the Court and made Governor of Kashmîr and next year also of the Punjab. He informed the emperor that he had on his staff some expert canal engineers who had with them the necessary appliances used in Persia for making canals and begged permission to bring a canal from the Ravi to Lahore. His prayer was granted and a sum of one lac of rupees was paid to him early in 1050/1640 to meet the cost. In over a year the canal reached Lahore, but before its completion 'Ali Mardân Khân had been transferred to Kabul.

In June[4] 1641 Khalilullah Khan was ordered by the Emperor to select a suitable site[5] on the canal for a garden and within a few days the foundations were laid and two months later the garden was planted with cypresses and chenars, flower-bushes and fragrant herbs and with the fruit trees[6] of hot and cold climates.

Towards the end of October, 1642 (on the 4th of Jumâdâ II

(1) Târîkh Gulzar-i-Kashmîr by Dewan Kirpa Ram Lahore, 1970 P-208 Seq. (2) *Badshahnamah* (Bibliotheca Indica Series), Vol. 1. Part 2, P-24. (3) Cf. *Khulasat ut-Tawarikh* of Sujan Ray, P-66. (4) See *Badshah Namah,* Volume 2, page 233 Seq. (5) The site had to be such as was " naturally terraced, so that it could have tanks, canals, cascades and fountains, as the Emperor 'desired' " (Badshah Namah E. C.) Such a site was found at a few miles from Lahore formed by the old dry bed of the Ravi and its high bank. (6) Among the fruit trees were those of mango, cherry, apricot, pear, apple, almond, quince, mulberry, and orange. (7) Sayyid Muhammad Latîf (see *Lahore* P-142) tells us that the Shalimar gardens of Lahore were laid out in the sixth year of Shâhjahân's reign or in 1634 A.D. and in a footnote quotes a chronogram which gives the year 1047 and remarks that 1047 was probably the date of final completion of the gardens. Both these statements are wrong. 1634 (A. H. 1043) is the date of Shâh Jahân's orders for additions to the Shalimar of Kashmîr, as has already been stated above, and has no reference whatsoever to the Lahore gardens. Latîf was probably misled by the phrase " *Sal-i-Sashum* " in the *Badshah Namah,* not noticing that it was the 6th year of the *Dawr-i-Duwum* or the 2nd decade, that was in question. The chronogram probably records the completion of the addition to the Kashmîr Gardens ordered in 1043. The Lahore Gazetteer P-259 which places the foundation of the gardens in 1667 is also hopelessly wrong. The same applies to the date given by Thornton, (P-294) *viz.*, 1637. Mrs. Stuart (P-136) has apparently followed Latîf and made the same mistake.

1052)—one year, five months and four days from the date on which the foundations were laid—it was reported to the Emperor that the gardens were ready for his visit. An auspicious hour having been selected by the astrologers, the Emperor "graced the Gardens with his beneficent presence" and received the felicitations of those who had the honour of being in attendance.

What the Emperor saw on this occasion will be clear from a official description of the Gardens which Abdul Hamîd has inserted in his narrative of these events (Bâdshâhnâmeh II. 233 seq.) It runs as follows :—

This delightfully pleasant garden is divided into three terraces. The uppermost was named *Farah Bakhsh* by the Emperor and the middle and the lowest terraces which really form one division are comprised in the name "*Faidh Bakhsh.*"

The first or uppermost terrace[1] is 330 yards by 330 yards. It has eight buildings, four in the middle of the four sides and four at the four angles. The northern building is the Emperor's [2] place of repose. It has a wainscotting of marble and decorative work, which is wonderfully fascinating. It is in shape like an open-fronted summer-house, ten yards by seven, in the middle of which is a square basin each side of which measures four yards.

The basin is ornamented with inlaid work and presents the appearance of a bubbling spring. On either hand, there is a room seven yards by five, and in front of it, all along, is a pavilion (25 cubits $\times 8\frac{1}{2}$ cubits) supported on columns, from which spring three arches while behind it is a raised platform (*Shah Nashin*) six yards by two and a half. The canal water enters below this building from the south and, passing through a covered channel, appears in the garden. The canal through which it flows is seven cubits wide and has on both sides parterres twenty-three yards wide. It thus runs to the building in the northern side of this garden which is also wainscotted[3] with marble and has decorative work of marvellous beauty. It is a double pavilion, one inside the other, supported on columns and open on all sides. It is twenty-five cubits by eighteen. The longer side has three arches, the shorter two.

The water passes under the first pavilion, in a channel, and then falls through the middle arch of the second pavilion, in the form of three cascades, each 7 cubits[4] wide, into the water pavilion[5] of the second terrace, each side of which is 7 yards. In the

(1) Refer to the Plan. The First Terrace is the Southern Terrace on the Amritsar Road. (2) Not the Sultan's pavilion 'as in Mrs. Stuart's book, P-147. (3) This remark corrects the statement of Sayyid Mohammad Latîf (*Lahore* P-247) that this pavilion was a structure of pure marble covered externally and internally with that material (marble) from base to summit. " Cf. Kanhaya Lal P-355. (4) ' Yards' in ' *Amal-i-Salih*, in place of ' cubits.' (5) This water-pavilion does not exist now. At a later date it must have been filled up and the surface covered with red sand-stone, uniform with the flooring of the rest of this pavilion. This is practically an unknown feature of the Garden, as it existed in the time of Shâhjahân.

middle of this water-pavilion is a fountain which throws out a fine spray. The sides of the pavilion have recesses (*Chini Khana*), faced with marble, of exceeding great beauty. Golden vases, filled with flowers, are placed in the recesses in the day-time, while at night candles are lighted in them. They present at all times an enchanting view.

In the middle of the eastern side is a building which has the *Jharoka* of the Public Audience Hall. In front of the *Jharoka* outside the garden is the Audience Hall, which is surrounded by an enclosing wall, covered with plaster.

In the middle of the western side is a similar structure which is the residence of the Empress. Between the two buildings runs a canal 7 yards wide, the parterres about it being 23 yards wide. Where the two cross-canals intersect each other, there is a square basin, each side of which is 23 yards. All the fountains of the terrace (numbering 117)[1] throw out jets to the height of 4 feet and are fed from a well.

At each angle of the Garden is a tower, comprising a vaulted octagonal chamber, surmounted by octagonal cupolas of red sandstone. In front of each is a pavilion, supported on three arches and in shape like a bisected octagon.

The Second Terrace,[2] is the upper section of the *Faiz Bakhsh*[3] Gardens. It is 330 yards by 96. The water falls from the water-pavilion referred to above in the form of a cascade into a canal, 12 by 8, at the beginning of this terrace in the middle of which has been set a marble platform [4] with recesses on its four sides. The water races across this platform and then down its sides. In front of it is a marble throne [5]. The water passes from here into the central reservoir (822 yards by 72), which contains 152 fountains. In the middle of the reservoir is a *chabutara* 11 yards by 8. On the eastern and western sides of the reservior, stand two pavilions of red sandstone[6]. On the northern side of the reservoir also there are two pavilions but of marble.

The water from the tank passes through a covered channel and rushes down in three sheets between the two pavilions into the water-pavilion (10 yards by 8) of the third terrace.

The recesses (*Chini Khana*) of this pavilion are similar to those[7] of the *Farah Bakhsh* Gardens.

(1) " 17 in the tank, 90 in the canals, each canal having one line of these. " *Ibid.* (2) Refer to the Plan. This is the middle Terrace. (3) Syed Mohd. Latif incorrectly applies this name to the first terrace. (See *Lahore* page 248) but he, like Kanhaya Lal (P-256) is following Chishti (P-710) who is the first to make the mistake. (4) This account takes no notice of the marble corrugated slope which now exists below the central pavilion. Evidently some alterations were made probably in the Mughal period no account of which has yet been traced. (5) See the elevation of this marble seat in the Plan. (6) Thus there is absolutely no justification for the statement of Syed Mohd. Latif (*Lahore* p. 247 bottom) that these summer houses were of marble. (7) As noted above no *Chini Khana* exists now in the Farah Bakhsh.

On the east wall of this terrace are the royal baths,—a beautiful structure, embellished with mosaics and comprising a hot bath and a cold bath, with running water and a large dressing-room.

The Third Terrace[1] is the lower terrace of the *Faidh Bakhsh* Gardens. In its extent, in the design of its flower-beds, in its cross canals and the square shallow basin formed by their intersection in the middle of the gardens, this terrace is exactly similar to the *Farah Bakhsh* gardens, with this difference only that in the *Faidh Bakhsh* the canal running from north to south has three lines of fountains instead of one of the Farah Bakhsh) which in this terrace number 143 in all.

The fountains are fed with canal water and throw out a jet five yards high. On the middle of the northern wall of the Gardens, facing south is the Privy-Council-Chamber. This is a pavilion, 25 yards by $8\frac{1}{2}$ yards, supported on columns, the longer side having three arches and the smaller, one.

This also is wainscotted with marble and has decorative work which astonishes with its beauty even the much-travelled. In the middle of this pavilion is a basin, four yards by three yards, designed like a bubbling spring. The canal water passes under this pavilion into the Fruit Garden to the north which has the same dimensions as the Farah Bakhsh Gardens.

Beside these buildings there are quarters for the domestic establishment. In fact there are so many buildings in these graceful gardens that when the Emperor visits them in company with the Ladies of the Royal Harem, tents are not wanted.

These celestial Gardens cost six lakhs of rupees. The water-supply by the canal which had been made under the supervision of Alî Mardân Khân at a cost of one lakh of rupees, was unsatisfactory. A similar sum was paid in several instalments to a body of officials to improve the water-supply but through their stupidity and inexperience they wasted half the sum in an attempt to improve the old canal. Ultimately, under the advice of Mulla 'Alâ-al-Mulk,[2] an efficient canal Engineer, only five miles of the canal of 'Alî Mardân Khân were retained, and thirty-two miles were remade. Now the supply of water is abundant and continuous[3].

(1) Refer to the Plan. This is the northern Terrace.

(2) For a protrait of his See the *Court Painters* of the *Grand Moguls* by Binyon, Plate XXVI. Khâfi Khân (Muntkhab I. 595) tells us that the water-supply was insufficient for the city, therefore, the Mulla was asked to widen the canal as well as the canal head. (3) The author of the "*Gardens of the Great Mughals*' (p. 147) characterises the above description of the Lahore Gardens in the *Badshah Namah* as "long, but not very lucid" but surely that is due to no fault of the *Badshah Namah*. Mrs. Stuart has made the usual mistake of taking the description of the Kashmîr Shalimar in Bâdshah Nameh (Vol. 1. part 2 pp. 24 sec. 9) to be that of the Lahore Shalimar, as would be evident from a comparison of her remarks on page 147 of her book with the account given in the *Badshah Nameh*.

The Gardens were well looked after during this and the following reign but with the weakening of the Mughal hold on the Panjab in the eighteenth century synchronizes, as might be expected, a period of decay for the gardens. As early as A.H. 1120/1708 (reign of Shâh 'Alam Bahâdur Shâh I) we hear of a Sikh raid in which much ruin was caused in the suburbs of Lahore up to the Shalimar Gardens[1]. Whether or not the Shalimar itself was included among the places ruined, the historian does not tell us. After Muhammad Shah's reign, however, the worst befell the Gardens. That they had ceased to be habitable between 1748 and 1767 is proved by the fact that Ahmad Shâh Abdali who invaded India several times between those dates, though he stayed in the buildings of *Hazrat-i-ishan*[2] in 1748, did not stay even once in the Shalimar. It was in the Abdali period that the garden was robbed by the Sikhs of much of its decorative work. The local tradition about the removal of costly stones from the various parts of the building and copper tubes from the fountains, especially by Lehna Singh (of the triumvirate), are preserved by Chishtî and later writers though it has not been possible for me to verify these statements from any other source. The gardens were ultimately restored by Ranjit Singh, who came into power towards the end of the eighteenth century.

The Maharaja seems to have taken a fancy to the Shalimar gardens from the early years of his reign. We find him encamping there in 1805 (the sixth year of his reign) and discussing with his courtiers the meaning of its name. We are told that he did not like the name, as *Shalimar!* would be a horrible imprecation in the Jhang dialect. He, therefore, altered it to *Shahla Bagh*[3], (*i.e.* the Narcissus Garden), which name is in fact still commonly used in Lahore.

Ranjit Singh frequently stayed in the gardens for a day or two, especially when going to Amritsar which he did almost every year. He often held his parties there when tents, carpets, canopies, silver and golden chairs, golden lamps and other requisites were brought in from the Lahore Fort.

The gardens restored by Ranjit Singh.

Sohan Lal the author of the '*Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*' records several attempts at restoring the water-supply of the gardens in this period. In 1806 the King's canal (or Hansli) which must have silted up in the anarchy that prevailed before Ranjit Singh's reign, was remade[4]. Two years later the water-supply became adequate throughout the year, though towards the end of the reign (in 1838) it again failed[5].

Ordinary repairs to the buildings are mentioned by Sohan Lal, but any detailed restoration is not noticed. There are documents,

(1) Khâfi Khan, (Muntakhab II 660). (2) 'Umdat ut-Tawârîkh, I 123. (3) This is the form of the name which is to be met with, as a rule, in Persian histories of the Sikh Period. (4) '*Umda*, II 64. (5) *Ibid*, III 4.78. In 1848 water again reached the Gardens and orders were given to carry a branch of it to Anarkali.

however, in the Sikh Records at the Panjab Secretariat which show that about Rs. 9,000 were spent in the year 1823-24 by the Sikh Government on re-roofing the so-called *Khwab-Gah*[1] and in repairs to the fountains and the buildings generally[2].

Apart from this restoration some minor additions and alterations were also made, which will be presently referred to. On the other hand the marble pavilions to the North of the large reservoir in the second terrace were pulled down and the present structures substituted, as would appear from what follows.

Several European visitors visited Shalimar in the Sikh period. Moorcroft who came to Lahore in May, 1820, stayed in it "in a chamber erected by the Raja close to a well[3]." "Ranjit Singh," says he, "has to a considerable extent put the garden in repair." "There are some open apartments" he further adds, "of white marble of one story on a level with the basin, which present in front a square marble Chamber with recesses on its sides for lamps." This could only refer to the pavilions to the north of the reservoir. The remarks are interesting, for this is, as far as I know, the last reference to the pavilions by an eye-witness. It seems that soon after this they were pulled down, the marble being in demand for the Râm Bâgh[4] of Amritsar, for the laying out of which orders had been issued to the *Thanadar* of Gobindgarh only a few months before (in Muharram 1235 October-November 1819)[5]. Moorcroft found the gateways "lined with enamelled porcelain," in very tolerable repair. They have now ceased to be so. He found 'scattered[6] about the garden, sometimes even in the walks', 'fragments of marble sculpture and beautiful mosaic taken from some splendid baths built by the Mohammadan ruler and suffered by the Sikh prince to fall into decay." The fragments may have been from the baths of these very gardens for all that we know.

A French traveller Monsieur Jacquemont[7] who came to Lahore in 1831, visited the Shalimar and, as we are told by Sohan Lal[8], prepared a drawing-(Naqsha) of it as also of the Fort of Lahore, of the Octagonal Tower (*Thaman Burj*) and of Jehângîr's tomb. The Lahore Museum possesses a drawing of the Shalimar which was presented to it by Lord Curzon and which is believed to be very old but which cannot be older than the Sikh period, as

(1) *i.e.*, the room which in the *Badshah Namah* are called "the Residence of the Empress." (2) Some idea may be formed of the scale on which these operations were carried out from the fact that in the first half year alone over 3,000 masons, over 500 stone-hewers and some ten thousand labourers were employed. (3) *Travels in the Punjab*, (London, 1851), I, 91. The details about Moorcroft's visit given by Sohan Lal (2.275) do not fully agree with the traveller's own account. (4) Thornton's *Lahore* p. 86. (5) '*Umda* 2.264. (6) Moorcroft p. 92 (7) His glowing description of the Gardens where he was putting up does not, however, refer to the Shalimar as Sayyid Muhammad Latîf would make us believe in his *History of the Punjab* (Calcutta, 1891) p. 450, but to the Gardens of General Ventura (of '*Umda* III 1.14 and Baron Hügel's *Travels* (London, 1845) p. 313. (8) '*Umda* III I. 17.

it shows the Chamber[1], where Moorcroft stayed and which had been erected by Ranjit Singh. Moreever it shows several European ladies and gentlemen in various parts of the gardens, which fact further supports the conjecture that the document dates from the Sikh period and may possibly be a copy of the one which Jacquemont prepared.

Baron Hügel visited the gardens in January 1836, three years before Ranjit Singh's death. He found them " well kept, producing many very fine fruits, particularly the Santarah oranges." " A straw hut " he remarks, " built by Ranjit Singh has a strange appearance in the middle of so much that breathes of royal magnificence [2]." It would appear from what the Baron states that the entrance of the building was, at the time of his visit, from the south, as at present. For he says : " The entrance of the building which is constructed of fine marble is the prettiest part of it and is at present occupied by the family of a poor gardener [3]"—a statement which does not agree with what Chishti (p. 711), Kanhaya Lal (p. 357) and Mohammad Latif (p. 248) tell us, *viz.*, that the doorway is recent and was opened in the commencement of the British period by Major Macgregor.

(1) It had its counterpart to the west of the central canal. The drawing shows it but the building does not exist now. (2) *Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab* (London 1845), pp. 312 and 313. (3) Ibid p. 312.

MOHAMMAD SHAFI

BANAT SU'AD OF KA'B BIN ZUHAIR

ARABIC poetry holds the highest position in all classical literatures, and the *Banat Su'ad* which was recited before the Prophet (peace be on him) possesses a special interest besides being an exquisitely beautiful specimen of Arabic poetry. A short account of the genesis of this poem together with some historical information regarding its author will, it is hoped, be of use to those who are concerned wth the study of Arabic literature.

The author of the poem is Ka'b, the son of Zuhair, the son of Abū Sulmā. He was descended, like our Prophet Muhammad, from 'Adnān. He had a brother called Bujair. These two brothers were poets of a high order, but Ka'b's poetical genius was superior to that of his brother. Ka'b had two sons who also were poets. One was called ' Uqbah and the other was called 'Awwām.

Zuhair*, the father of Ka'b, was the greatest poet of Arabia according to Caliph 'Umar, and is the author of one of the pre-Islamic poems, known as the *Mu'allaqat*. He is said to have frequented the society of men learned in the various religions then existing, and he thus became aware of the impending appearance of a great Apostle who would unite mankind in the pure worship of one sole God. He is said to have seen in a vision a rope let down from heaven, which he tried to catch, but which he found to be beyond his reach. This he interpreted to himself as a revelation that the advent of the long expected Apostle was at hand, but that he himself would not live long enough to see and hear him. He told all these things to his two sons, and advised them to accept the teachings of the new Apostle if he should appear in their time. Zuhair died.

When the fame of the teachings of our Prophet Muhammad began to spread among the cities of Arabia, Ka'b used to satirise the Prophet. When Mecca was conquered, all the enemies of Islām fled thence, among the fugitives being Ka'b and Bujair.

(*). Zuhair bin Abī Sulmā belonged to the tribe of Muzaina and came of a family possessing the poetic gift. His father-in-law Aus bin Hajar, his sister Sulmā and al-Khansā' are very famous in the history of Arabic literature. He had two wives. One was Umm Aufa, whom he mentions in the first verse of his "Mu'allaqah." The poet divorced her on account of her jealousy, but afterwards repented having done so. The children she bore him died young. The second gave him two sons : Ka'b, our poet, and Bujair. He was eighty years of age when he composed his Mu'allaqah 608 or 610 A.D. His verses have much beauty and are free from frigid conceits. Their richness of thought is as remarkable as their judicious economy of words. *For details see Clemant Huarts History of Arabic Literature, p.* 15 and *Brocklemann's Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, Vol. I, p. 23.

It happened that the two poet-brothers came to a pasturage called *Abraq-al-'Azzaf* with their flocks and herds. The victory of the new faith, and the spread of its doctrines, often led them to discuss its founder and its principles ; and one day Bujair proposed that he should interview the Prophet personally. Ka'b agreed. Bujair accordingly went to Madinah ; and when there, the sublime principles of the new Faith were so much impressed upon his mind that he at once embraced Islām, neglecting to consult, or even to inform, his brother Ka'b.

When the news reached Ka'b, he became very angry, and composed a lampoon on his brother and the Prophet and the new religion. This he sent by the mouth of a messenger to his brother. The lampoon begins as follows :—

ألا ابلغا عنى بجيراً رسالة فهل لك فيما قلت ويحك هل لكا

Oh, convey from me a message to Bujair.

Hast thou really determined on that which thou hast said ? Woe to thee Hast thou determined.

سقاك بها المأمون كأساً روية فانهلك الماموم منها وعلكا

The Māmūn (*i.e.*, the Prophet) made you drink of it, a thirst-quenching cup.

The Māmūn made you drink from the cup a first draught and then a second one.

فعارت السباب الهدى واتبعته على اى شى ويب غيرك دلكا

And you have departed from the right path (*i.e.*, your religion) which was idolatry), and you have followed him (*i.e.*, the Māmūn)

To what thing has he guided you ? May you perish as others have perished !

على مذهب لم تلف أماً ولا أبا عليه ولم تعرف عليه أخاً لكا

He guided you to a religion in which you did not find your mother or father, nor did you know a brother professing it.

فان كنت لم تفعل فلست بآسف ولا قائل إما عثرت لعالكا

If you will not do it (*i.e.*, recant), then I shall not grieve, and I shall not say لعالك if you stumble.

Bujair thought it his duty to reveal this to the Prophet. As *Islam* was then in its infancy, and many people were trying to put out the light of monotheism, the Prophet thought it prudent to save the new faith from the lampoonists, and announced that whoever came across Ka'b might kill him. Bujair, aware of this, became alarmed for his brother. He therefore wrote to him the following poem, informed him that the Prophet had passed a sentence of death on him, and advised him to come to Madinah and ask his pardon and embrace *Islam*, as the Prophet was very generous and was sure to forgive him. The poem is as follows :—

من مبلغ كعبا فهل لك فى التى تلوم عليها باطلاً وهى أحزم

Who will bring to Ka'b this message : Will you (Ka'b) accept the religion for embracing which you wrongfully reproach (me) whereas it is the more prudent course ?

الى الله لا العزى ولا الات وحده فتنجو اذا كان النجاة فتسلم

Return to God who is one, not al-'Uzzā and al-Lāt. Then you will be delivered, when the time of deliverance comes, and will, be safe (from being killed in this world and from punishment in the next).

لدى يوم لا ينجو وليس بمفلت من الناس الا طاهر القلب مسلم

(You will be safe) on that day on which no one of mankind can escape or be saved except him who is pure of heart and professes the faith of Islām.

فدين زهير وهو لا شيء دينه ودين ابى سلمى على محرم

And so the faith of Zuhair, which is nothing—his faith and the faith of Abū Sulmā are unlawful to me.

When Ka'b received this information, he had recourse to one of the Arabian customs, and asked protection of a powerful neighbour and old friend belonging to the tribe of Muzaina. But protection was refused, through respect for the Prophet.

Ka'b then formed the resolution of going to the Prophet and seeking his protection. He started secretly for Madīnah, found there an old friend (some say that this friend was 'Alī bin Abī Tālib), and the next morning at dawn, was conducted by him to the mosque where the Prophet and his followers were engaged in the worship and praise of Almighty God. The friend pointed out the Prophet to Ka'b. When the service was concluded Ka'b approached the Prophet, and the two sat down together. Ka'b placed his own right hand in that of the Prophet, whom he addressed thus, " O Apostle of God, were I to bring thee Ka'b, the son of Zuhair, penitent and professing the faith of Islām, wouldst thou receive and accept him ?" The Prophet answered, " I would." " Then," said the poet, " I am he."

When the bystanders heard this, one of the *Ansar*, (*i.e.*, the men of Madīnah), caught hold of Ka'b and asked the Prophet's permission to kill him. But the Prophet ordered the zealous partisan to desist, as he had embraced Islām. Ka'b then recited before the Prophet his famous poem, which he had evidently composed before coming to Madīnah. When the poet reached this line :—

ان الرسول لنور يستضاء به مهند من سيوف الله مسلول

" Verily, the Apostle is a light from which illumination is sought—A drawn sharp blade from among the swords of God."

the Prophet took from his own shoulder the mantle he wore, and threw it over the shoulders of the poet, as an honour, and as a mark of his appreciation of the poem. It is for this reason that this poem is called by many eminent 'Ulamā " The poem of the Mantle,"

The poem of al-Būsīrī, (died, A.H. 694, A. D. 1294) which is generally known as *Qasidat-al-Burda* or the poem of the Mantle, should really be named *Qasidat-al-Bur'*, *i.e.*, the poem of Cure : because when Būsīrī was attacked with paralysis and no physician could cure him, he wrote a poem in praise of the Prophet whom he saw in a dream ; the Prophet rubbed his hand over his body and he was instantly cured.

When Mu'āwiya became Caliph, he offered Ka'b ten thousand *dinar* for the Prophet's sacred mantle, but the poet refused to part with it. When he died, Mu'āwiya sent a messenger to his heirs, offering twenty thousand *dinar*, for which they sold it to him. It has, ever since, been reverently preserved by the head of the realm of Islām.

When Ka'b had finished reciting this poem, the Prophet observed that there was no verse in praise of the Ansār (*i.e.*, the people of Madīnah), and said it would have been better if he had said something in their praise. Accordingly he wrote a Qasīda in their praise, which is as follows :—

من سره كرم الحياة فلا يزل في مقنب من صالحي الانصار

One whom honoured life pleases ought to remain always in the company of the pious Ansār.

ورثوا المكارم كابراً عن كابر ان الخيار هم بنو الاخيار

They inherited greatness from ancestor after ancestor.

Verily, the choicest men are the sons of the choicest men.

المكرمين السمهري بالذرع كسوالف الهندي غير قصار

They value the spear with the coat of mail, as (also) the old trusty Indian swords.

الناظرين باعين محمرة كالجمر غير كليلة الابصار

They see with red eyes like live coals, which are not blunt of sight.

والبائعين نفوسهم لنبيهم للموت يوم تعانق وكرار

They sell their lives for death on behalf of their Prophet, on the day of battle and assault.

يتطهرون يرونه نسكاً لهم بدماء من علقوا من لكفار

They purify themselves with the blood of those heathens with whom they fight, considering this purification as an act of worship.

واذا حللت ليمنعوك اليهم اصبحت عند معاقل الاعفار

If you go to them that they may protect you ; (then) you will be (as safe, as) in the fortress of the giants.*

لو يعلم الاقوام علمي كله فيهم لصدقني الذين اماري

If the tribes (of the Arabs) knew all that I know concerning them, verily those with whom I contend, would have believed me.

* The word has a double meaning. It means strong lions and also little pigs. This poem to the Ansâr though couched in language which could be taken as eulogistic, is really a satire---Ka'b disliked the Ansâr because one of them had wished to cut his head off. Editor, " Islamic Culture."

Tirmidhī mentions in *Tabaqat-an-Nuhat* that Bundār Isfahānī knew by heart about 900 pœms, each of which began with the expression *Banat Su'ad*, with which our poet also commenced his poem. *Suyuti*, mentions ten of them in his work. Among them is a poem by Zuhair, the father of Ka'b, which begins thus :—

بانت سعاد و امسى حبلها انقطعا وليت وصلاً لنا من حبلها رجعا

" Su'ād (Beatrice) has departed and her cord (of affection) is severed. Would that the bond uniting her to me might be restored." But when *Banat Su'ad* is given as the name of a poem, it only refers to the poem of Ka'b ; because it attained great distinction and wide publicity from being recited before the Prophet and accepted by him, and consequently many scholars wrote commentaries on the poem*.

It is customary with Arabian poets to commence their poems of eulogy with *Ghazals* (erotic poems) and this is called *tashbib*, which is divided into four kinds. The *first* kind gives a description of the lover's state, such as leanness, sorrow, and the violence of love. The *second* kind describes the attributes of the beloved, such as redness of the cheeks, elegant stature, grandeur, modesty. The *third* kind gives a description of things which are connected with the lover and the beloved, such as separation,

*(I). Abū Bakar Muhammad bin al-Hasan bin Duraid al-Azdī, born at Basra in A.H. 223, (A.D. 837), and died on 17th Sha'bān, A.H. 321; (11th August A.D. 934) : see Ahlwards, Berlin Catalogue, No. 7489.

(2). Abū (Bakr) Zakarīya Yahyā bin 'Alī bin al-Khatīb at-Tabrīzī, born at Tabrīz in A.H. 421,(A.D. 1030), and died in A.H. 502, (A.D. 1109) : see Berlin Catalogue, No. 7490/17. An abridgment of this commentary is mentioned in the India Office Catalogue No. 802, II.

(3) Jamāl ud-Dīn Abū Muhammad 'Abdullāh bin Yūsuf bin Hishām al-Ansārī, born in Dhū'l Qa'da, A.H. 708, (April A.D. 1308), and died on the 5th Dhū'l Qa'da, A.H. 761, (18th September, A.D. 1360). Edited by Guidi, Leipsic 1871-4, and also in Egypt in A.H. 1307.

(4) Ibrāhīm bin Muhammad al-Bājūrī ash-Shāfi'i, born in A.H. 1198 (A.D. 1783), and died in Dhū'l Qa'da A.H. 1277, (May-June, A.D. 1861) Printed in Egypt on the margin of Ibn Hishām's commentary, in A.H. 1307.

(5) Abū'l Mahāsin Taqī ad-Dīn Abū Bakr bin 'Alī bin Hijja al-Hamavī al-Qādrī al- Hanafī, born in A.H. 767, (A.D. 1366), and died on the 15th Sha'bān 837, (March A.D. 1434). See Berlin Catalogue No. 7495.

(6) Abū'l Fadl 'Abd al-Rahmān bin Abī Bakr as-Suyūtī, born on the 1st Rajab, A.H. 849, (October A. D. 1445) and died on the 18th Jumādā I., A.H. 911, (17th October A.D. 1505). See Berlin Catalogue No. 7497.

(7) 'Alī bin Sultān Muhammad al-Qārī al-Harawī, died in A.H. 1014, (A.D. 1605): See Berlin Catalogue, No. 7498/9 ; Munich Catalogue, 886.

(8) 'Abdallāh al-Hītī : see Berlin Catalogue No. 7496.

(9) Lutf 'Alī : see Berlin Catalogue No. 7500.

(10) Sālih bin as-Sidīq al-Khazrajī : see Derenbourg, Escuria Catalogue No.304.

(11) 'Isā bin 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Jazūlī. See Fagnan, Alger Catalogue No. 1830.

(12) Muhammed bin Ahmad Su'ūdī. See Munich Catalogue No. 542.

(13) 'Abdallāh al-Mausilī. See Paris Catalogue No. 3078.

(14) Muhammad bin Humaid al-Kafavī, see Paris Catalogue No. 3078.

(15) Jamālad-Dīn al-Makallī : see Die Refāiya Fleischer, 17.

(16) Shihāb ad-Dīn ad-Dawlatābādī, died A.H. 849 (A.D.1445). Printed at Dāyarat al-Ma'ārif, Hyderabad, Deccan.

(17) 'Abdallāh bin 'Alī al-'Akkashī at-Tabīb, Imperial Library, Calcutta, No. 436, IV.

(18) Ahmad bin Muhammad bin 'Alī bin Ibrāhīm al-Ansarī al-Yamanī ash-Shirwānī, died A.H. 1241, Imperial Library, Calcutta, No. 434. Printed in Calcutta,

union, faithfulness, disappointment. The *fourth* kind gives a description of rivals, slanderers, reproachers. Our poet uses all four kinds of *tashbib*, before he begins the praise of the Prophet. He employs the first kind in the first line, the second kind from the second line to the sixth line ; the third kind from the seventh line to the thirteenth, after which he gives the description of his camel, which is the only means of taking him to the beloved, and he continues the description of the camel up to the thirty-fourth line. This long description of the camel which covers twenty-one couplets is in accordance with the Arabian custom. From the thirty-fifth line the poet begins the fourth kind of *tashbib*, in which he describes the slanderers, and continues up to the thirty-eighth line. Then from the thirty-ninth line he begins the praise of the Prophet and continues it up to the fifty-second line. There are fourteen lines in praise of the Prophet. He concludes his poem with the praise of the *Muhajirin* (*i.e.*, the emigrants from Mecca to Madīnah). Thus, the poem consists of three parts. First the *tashbib*, second, the praise of the Prophet, and third, the praise of the *Muhajirin*.

THE POEM

بانت سعاد فقلبی الیوم متبول متبیم اثرها لم یفد مکبول

" Su'ād (Beatrice) has departed, therefore, my heart to-day is sick, raving after her traces ; and it has not been ransomed and is still enchained."

وما سعاد غداۃ البین اذ رحلت الا اغن غضیض الطرف مکحول

" And Su'ād, on the morning of separation when she departed, was like a bleating antelope, with downcast glance, and with eyes naturally set off with collyrium."

Here the poet by using the expression غداۃ البین " morning of separation," apparently suggests that it was impossible to see her, as she lived in seclusion, except when she departed on a journey. In this line سعاد, is again repeated instead of the pronoun وهی for it gives pleasure to the lover to repeat the name of the beloved.

In the first couplet the poet gives a description of his own wretched condition owing to separation from his beloved. In the second he describes his beloved, giving particulars of her beauty. He compares her to an antelope which has three qualities, (1) its bleating (2) its downcast glance and (3) its eyes naturally set off with collyrium.

هیفاء مقبلۃ عجزاء مدبرۃ لا یشتکی قصر منها ولا طول

" When she approaches, she looks slender-waisted, and when she turns her back, she seems to be broad ; there is no complaint about her shortness or tallness of stature."

The poet means that she appears elegant and beautiful in every state and is of middle height.

تجلو عوارض ذي ظلم اذا ابتسمت كأنه منهل بالراح معلول

She displays two rows of lustrous teeth when she smiles, as if it had been dipped in wine once and again.

Here the poet by mentioning the lustre of the teeth alludes to two beauties of Su'ād : her tender age, because as a person grows old the colour of the teeth changes ; and her cleanliness. By using اذا ابتسمت, the poet suggests two other attributes : that she was of cheerful disposition in addition to her beauty ; and that she was modest, since she smiled only and did not like laughing. As Farazdaq says in praise of Imām Zain al-'Abidīn 'Alî bin al-Husain يغضى حياء و يغضى من مهابته ولا يكلم الا حين يبتسم. He looks down from modesty ; and from awe of him men cast down their eyes. He is not spoken to but when he smiles. The poet does not think smiling to be contrary to modesty.

شجت بذي شبم من ماء محنية صاف بأبطح اضحى و هو مشمول

" It (the wine) is mixed with cool water, (taken from) a meandering stream, pure from a broad pebbly channel, in the forenoon, and chilled by the North wind."

There are six characteristics of the water that is mixed with the wine: The *first*, its coolness ; the *second*, that it is taken from a winding stream, because the blowing of the wind from all sides purifies and makes the water cool ; the *third*, that it is pure and free from mud, the *fourth* that it is taken from a broad pebbly channel, which being broad contains cool water, and whose pebbles purify the water ; the *fifth*, that it is taken during the forenoon because then the sun's rays have not made the water warm ; the *sixth*, the North wind has blown upon it, as the North wind makes water cool in Arabia.

تنفي الرياح القذى عنه وافرطه من صوب سارية بيض يعاليل

" The wind drives away all dirt from it (*i.e.*, the pebbly channel) ; and white mountains have filled it with rain from a white cloud.

This couplet proves the purity and coolness of the water mixed with wine described in the preceding couplet.

أكرم بها خلة لو انها صدقت موعودها أو لو ان النصح مقبول

" Of what an excellent birth she is for friendship ! If only she were faithful to her promises and would accept advice."

لكنها خلة قد سيط من دمها فجع وولع واخلاف وتبديل

" But she is a darling in the (very) blood of whom are blended this causing of grief, falsehood, the breaking of promises and the changing (of friends)." In the preceding couplet two qualities are attributed to Su'ād—one is unreliability and the other resistance to advice. In this couplet four other characteristics, which follow from those two, are described with some additional

qualities. By using the expression, من دمها, the poet means that the qualities are ingrained in her, and have become a second nature.

فما تدوم على حال تكون بها كما تلون في اثوابها الغول

" She does not remain constant in the state which she assumed, just as the demon varies in its garb."

ولا تمسك بالعهد الذي زعمت الا كما تمسك الماء الغربيل

" She does not hold to any promise she has pledged or spoken, any more than sieves hold water."

فلا يغرنك ما منت وما وعدت ان الامانى والاحلام تضليل

" Then let not the desires (which she has raised in thee), and the promises (she made), deceive thee. Verily, desires and dreams are delusive."

كانت مواعيد عرقوب لها مثلاً ومواعيدها الا اباطيل

(The expression) " The promises of 'Urqūb[1] " became (as it were) a by-word for her ; and her promises were nought but lies !

ارجو وآمل ان تدنو مودتها وما اخال لدينا منك تنويل

" I desire and hope that she will become a friend ; and (yet) do not think that she would bestow such a blessing on us."

The lover has described the inconstancy and infidelity of the beloved, he has become confused and almost lost his senses. When he regains his senses he gives up hoping for her friendship. Some commentators say that in these lines he is giving consolation to his soul in order to save himself from utter despair.

آمست سعاد بارض لا يبلغها الا العتاق النجيبات الهراسيل

" Su'ād arrived at evening in a land, whither nought can convey me save the noble, excellent and swift-going she-camel."

ولن يبلغها الا عذافرة فيها على الاين ارقال وتبغيل

" And, certainly, nothing can carry (me) to that land, except a huge and dauntless she-camel, such as, in spite of being fatigued gallops and trots."

من كل نضاخة الذفرى اذا عرقت عرضتها طامس الاعلام مجهول

" (And such as belongs to) that class (of camels) whose roots of ears when they sweat, flow (*i.e.*, perspire) plentifully ; whose energy

(1) 'Urqūb is the name of a person noted for breaking his promises. The reason is that he had a date tree in *Yathrib* and he promised his brother to give him the fruit and asked him to come when the tree should blossom. His brother came as promised but 'Urqūb told him to come when the fruits should become بلح (unripe dates) being in the middle state between خلال and بسر which signify also unripe dates in different stages). His brother went there as directed but was again told to come when the dates should be yellowish-red زهو. His brother came, but he was told to come when the dates were ripe (رطب). He came at the appointed time, but was asked to come again when the dates were dry. This time 'Urqūb secretly took down all the dates at night, and did not give anything to his brother. For this reason his name has become proverbial for falsehood, and many Arab poets have quoted his name for falsehood.

is to travel on unknown roads, of which the marks are obliterated."

It is a great quality of a camel to be able to travel on unknown paths because sometimes the rider may fall asleep and there is fear of his being led astray and perishing in the desert ; but if the camel knows the path it will carry him to his destination. The other quality of the camel mentioned, the sweating of its ears, shows that it goes very fast and exerts itself to the utmost ; because the sweating of the ears of a camel is supposed to happen only under great exertion.

ترمي الغيوب بعينى مفرد لهق اذا تو قدت الحزا زو المیل

" She looks at the paths whose traces are obliterated, with the (keen) eyes of an isolated white addax (even) at the time when the rocky flats and sand-hills are most hot."

The poet has described the swiftness of the she-camel in travelling on paths whose traces are obliterated. Here he speaks of the keen eyesight, which enables her not to lose the path.

ضخم مقاد ها فعم مقيد ها فی خلقها عن بنا ت الفحل تفضيل

" Her neck is thick ; her legs are plump ; in her appearance there is a superiority over other daughters of the noble stallion-camels."

The thickness of the neck shows that her bones and skull are very strong ; the plumpness of the legs proves that she can travel to a great distance and bear heavy loads ; her superiority over other she-camels proves that she is very strong and handsome.

غلباء وجناء علكوم مذكرة فی دفها سعة قدامها میل

" Her neck is thick ; her cheeks are plump ; she is strongly formed and she is like a male ; her sides are capacious and her neck is long."

Here six other points of the camel are described ; first the thickness of her neck ; second the plumpness of her cheeks which is a great quality of a camel ; third she is strongly built, and this quality is repeated here because it is a great attribute of the camel ; fourth she is like a male, implying that she is of huge shape and she can bear troubles like a male ; fifth her sides are capacious, which emphasises the hugeness of her shape ; sixth her neck is long, in addition to being thick as described in the first line, because if in a camel the neck is thick without being long, it is considered a fault.

وجلد ها من اطوم لا يو يسه طلح بضاحية المتنين مهزول

"And her skin is (as hard and smooth as) that of the sea-turtle ; the lean (*i.e.*, hungry) tick-worm cannot make any impression on the hide of the two sides exposed to the sun."

حرف اخوها ابوها من مهجنة وعمها خالها قوداء شملیل

"She is (like) a mountain bluff (in strength and hardness); her brother is her father[1] out of a noble race of camels; her paternal uncle is her maternal uncle; she is long of back and neck; she is swift of pace."

Here four attributes of the camel are described; she is very strong and hard, she is of noble race, her neck and back are very long, which is a great point in a camel, and she is swift.

یمشی القراد علیها ثم یزلقه منها لبان وافراب زها لبل

"A tick crawls upon her, and (immediately) her sleek chest and flanks shake it off."

The poet has specially mentioned the chest and flanks as dropping off ticks, for this reason that these two parts, in comparison with other limbs, are generally very rough and hard, because the camel sits with the chest and flanks touching the ground. Now, if those comparatively rough and hard parts are smooth and make the ticks slip, the smoothness of other parts may be imagined.

عیرانة قذفت بالنحض عن عرض مرفقها عن نباتات الزور مفتول

"She is a wild-ass; who from plumpness on every side, is accused of (too much flesh); her elbows are separated from the parts sprouting out of the chest, (*i.e.*, ribs.)"

Here three qualities of the she-camel are described.

(1) Strength and firmness; she is like a wild-ass. This quality has already been described in other words (2) Plumpness, also already described in different words; (3) largeness of the legs, because the elbows are at a distance from the ribs; and legs wide-apart will help the camel in her movements, while if the legs were short there would be fear of tumbling.

کانما فات عینیها ومذبحها من خطمها ومن اللحیین برطبل

"As if her nose and jaw-sides, which lie beyond her two eyes and (also beyond) the stabbing-place of her throat, (*i.e.*, the part

[1] اخوها ابوها وعمها خالها Her brother is her father, and her paternal uncle is her maternal uncle. This expression indicates the purity of her genealogy and it can be explained in two ways: The first explanation is that in noble qualities her brother is *like* her father, and her paternal uncle is *like* her maternal uncle. But the true meaning is that her brother is really her father, and it may be explained by supposing that a she-camel gave birth to a male camel which brought out of his mother a she-camel, so the male-camel would be both father and brother. And the paternal uncle being maternal uncle may be explained the same way. That all the relationship of father, brother, paternal and maternal uncle may be borne by one single camel to another, can be shown thus:—There were two brothers and a sister: one of the brothers, himself got out of the sister, gets a filly out of her also; he is thus father and brother; the other brother is paternal and maternal uncle. The point of the genealogy is that the she-camel thus born would be very strong and would possess noble qualities; because animals have more inclination and liking for their relations than for strangers and the issue is stronger in proportion to the inclination. It is just the opposite in human society, where intermarriages between relations do not produce such strong offspring as marriage between strangers. The Arab poet says:— ان اردت الابحاب فانکح غریبا

"If you desire to have a stout child then marry a stranger."

of her face between the eyes and the neck)—were a long stone or a large piece of iron." Here the poet describes that her nose and jaws were long and as hard as stone.

تمر مثل عسيب النخل ذا خصل في غارز لم تخونه الا حالبل

She whisks (a tail) the like of a palm-branch, set with tufts of hair, upon a small udder, which the milk[1] has not diminished (or which is not taken care of on account of milk but on account of her noble birth).

Here the poet tells us that her tail is very long and thick, and that she has never foaled and so her udder is small, and she is not milked and is hence strong for distant travel.

قنواء في حرمتيها للبصير بها عتق مبين وفي الخدين تسهيل

" She is aquiline of nose ; in her ears there is mainifest nobility to one who knows (the points of) a camel ; and in her two cheeks, there is a smoothness. Here the poet praises the camel for possessing an acquiline nose, because it is a great attribute for a camel ; and her two ears are described for the reason that those persons who know the points of a noble camel, can distinguish her nobility by observing the ears. A noble camel also should have smooth cheeks.

تخدي على يسرات وهي لاحقة ذوابل مسهن الارض تحليل

" She runs swiftly on her legs and they are slender (or she overtakes those camels that have started long before her), and they are like lances, and they scarcely seem to touch the ground."

Here the camel is praised for her swift movement, as her legs are slender and as hard as lances.

(1) In the expression لم تخونه الا حالبل, if the word تخون means to lessen, then the expression would mean that the milk has not lessened the udder. And it completes the sense of her udder being small, because when the poet described his camel to possess an udder which was small, then it might be supposed that her udder is small owing to her possessing little milk, as it is generally the case that the camel which has less milk possesses a small udder. Then this doubt is removed by the expression لم تخونه الا حالبل, *i.e.*, less milk has not made it small but it is naturally so.

We find in the Arab poetry that one of the good qualities of a camel is to have a big udder ; but here the poet describes the udder as small, for the reason that to have a large udder is an attribute for a milch camel only, but for a camel which is used for journeying it would be a good quality to possess a small udder and give little milk, because the camel becomes weak by giving much milk. Here the poet's camel is for travel, and therefore that it possesses a small udder is a good point.

If the word تخون means to take care of, then the explanation would be that when the poet had praised the camel as having a small udder, it might be doubted that taking care of that camel was to increase her milk ; as it is generally the case with camels giving less milk, so that it might give more milk ; to remove this doubt the poet says لم تخونه الا حالبل, *i.e.*, the milk is not the cause of her being cared for, but her noble birth and good qualities, are the causes for which she is taken care of, (To my understanding the word تخون here means " wronged, insulted". Ed. I C.)

سمر العجايات يترکن الحصي زيما لم يقهن رؤس الاکم تنعيل

" (Her legs are) dusky in their tendonous parts (or fleshy parts from the knee to the hoof), (and they) leave the pebbles scattered; and no leather shoeing protects (her legs) from the top of the hills; (that is, no leather shoeing is required for her to protect her legs; even on the top of the hills)."

Her hoof is so hard that when it falls on pebbles, they are scattered, and for this reason it is not necessary to shoe her with leather.

کان ایوب ذرا عیها اذا عرقت وقد تلفع بالقور العسا قیل

" As if the alternating movements of her forelegs at the time she perspires when the mirages have covered the hills."

Here the poet gives a description of the quick movement of her legs, (for the sense will be complete by taking the fourth line below, where the poet compares it to the rapidity with which a terribly afflicted woman beats her breast with her two hands alternately) and such rapid pace she has even at the time of excessive heat.

یوماً یظل به الحربا ء مصطخدا کان ضاحیه بالشمس مملول

" On a day when the chameleon becomes scorched by the sun as if the chameleon exposed to the sun were on account of the heat a bread baked in hot ashes." A description of excessive heat. Even the chameleon which is said to delight in the sun's heat becomes as bread baked in hot ashes.

وقال للقوم حاديهم وقد جعلت ورق الجنادب یرکضن الحصی قیلوا

" And the camel-driver of a (travelling) party has said to them—when the dusky locusts are kicking the pebbles,—" take your siesta."

In these lines also the day's excessive heat is described. Even the dusky locusts, which are accustomed to heat, are restless on pebbles, because it is extremely hot. The locusts could not fly because the air too had become very hot, so they were beating the pebbles to find a resting place under the ground. In such heat, the camel of the poet has the endurance to move on rapidly, when other animals would have been exhausted.

شد النهار ذرا عا عیطل نصف قامت فجا وبها نکد مثاکیل

" The alternating movement of the forelegs of the camel in the heat of the day are like those of the two hands of a tall bereaved middle-aged woman, standing up, and answered by other bereaved and mourning women."

Here the poet compares the quickness of the movement of the forelegs of the camel to that of the movement of the hands of a middle-aged tall woman who has lost her first-born (which will be described in the next two lines), with whom other bereaved women are sympathising and mourning. Quick as her movements of the

hands in lamenting are the movements of the camel's legs in such heat.

نواحة رخوة الضبعين ليس لها لما نعى بكرها الناعون معقول

"She is lamenting very much, her arms are limp, she is deprived of reason, when the bringers of sad tidings announce the death of her first -born."

The comparison is this, that this woman who has heard the news of the death of her first-born would beat her breast very quickly; similarly during this excessive heat the camel of the poet travels on very quickly without feeling any fatigue.

تفرى اللبان بكفيها و مد رعها مشقق عن تراقيها رعابيل

"Who tears her breast with the two palms of her hands, when her corset is torn from her ribs and is burst into tatters."

Here the poet compares the camel to the woman whose condition is this that she has lost her senses and she does not feel pain, similarly the camel has lost her senses on account of the heat and for this reason she does not feel the fatigue of the journey. Here the description of the camel of the poet ends.

تسعى الوشاة جنابيها و قولهم انك يا ابن ابى سلمى لمقتول

"At her (*i.e.*, Su'ād's) side the slanderers calumniate; their words (addressed to me) are: "O son of Abū Sulmā, verily thou art already slain."

The poet says that the slanderers had adopted two measures, one was to backbite him before the beloved, and the other to threaten him with death.

وقال كل خليل كنت آمله لا الهينك انى عنك مشغول

"And every friend of whom I had entertained hope (of help), said (to me) "I will keep aloof from thee; I am engaged in other things than thee."

Here the poet describes his utter state of ruin, because from every side disappointment has overwhelmed him. Even his most trusted friends desert him.

فقلت خلوا سبيلى لا ابا لكم فكل ما قدر الرحمن مفعول

"Then said I; leave my path, you have no fathers; because every thing the Most Merciful has ordained will come to pass."

When the poet was disappointed of the help of his friends, he began to prepare himself to go to the Prophet direct, because he had come to know through the letter of his brother that the Prophet pardoned those who came to him as penitents.

In the previous line the poet had said that his friends had told him that they could not help him. Here in these lines he tells his friends to leave his path, because although the friends could not

help him, they might prevent his falling into danger. Therefore he says " Leave my path " meaning " put no obstacles in my way."

كل ابن انثى وان طالت سلامته يوماً على آلة حدباء محمول

" Every child of a female, though it live long, will be carried one day on the ridged or raised implement (*i.e.*, the bier).

By these lines the poet consoles himself, saying that it is useless to be afraid of death, because it is certain every one will die some day.

انبئت ان رسول الله اوعدنى والعفو عند رسول الله مامول

" I have been informed that the Apostle of God has threatened me ; but pardon is hoped for from the Apostle of God."

These lines and the next lines are like answers to questions, because when the poet asked his friends to leave him so that he might proceed to the Prophet, one of the hearers asked, as it were, why he was rushing to destruction. The poet replied that, though the Prophet had threatened him, yet there was hope of his pardon as the Prophet was known to be forgiving.

فقد اتيت رسول الله معتذراً والعذر عند رسول الله مقبول

" And verily I came to the Apostle of God making apology, and apology is acceptable to the Apostle of God."

مهلاً هداك الذى اعطاك نافلة القرآن فيها مواعيظ وتفصيل

" Respite ! May He guide thee more who has given thee the *Qur'an* as supererogation, in which are exhortations and detailed explanation."

In these lines the poet seeks mercy and pardon from the Prophet in five ways ;—First, by using the word مهلاً which means to wait and not be in a hurry to punish; secondly by his good wish for the Prophet in the words هداك ; thirdly by reminding the Prophet of the blessings of God in the word اعطاك, so that pardon may be given to the poet by way of thanksgiving by the Prophet to God ; fourthly by his believing the *Quran* to be a revealed book ; fifthly by reminding the Prophet of the exhortations and detailed explanation in which there are many verses about pardon.

لاتاخذنى باقوال الوشاة ولم اذنب وان كثرت فى الاقاويل

" Blame me not for the words of the calumniators : because I have not offended, though stories have multiplied concerning me."

These are the last lines about asking pardon from the Prophet

لقد اقوم مقاماً لو يقوم به اراى وسمع مالو يسمع الفيل

" (I swear by God that) I presented myself into such an assembly that if the elephant presented itself in that assembly, and were to see and hear what I hear and see,"

لظل يرعد الا ان يكون له من الرسول باذن الله تنويل

" Verily the elephant would have continued to tremble unless protection was given to him by the Prophet with the permission of God."

After these lines we find two other lines in Wüstenfeld's edition of *Sirat*[1] *Rasulillah* by Ibn Hishām. These lines are not found in other texts, they run thus :

ما زلت اقتطع البيداء مدرعا جنح الظلام وثوب الليل مسبول

" I ceased not traversing the wilderness, penetrating the folds of the darkness, the skirts of night having dropped (over all)."

حتى وضعت يمينى لا انازعه في كف ذى نقمات قيله القيل

" (I was afraid) until I placed my right hand in the palm of one who takes vengeance and whose word is the word, and whom I will not contend against."

These lines refer to the incident described in the introduction, when Ka'b came to the mosque where he met with the Prophet, and placing his hand in the hand of the Prophet said " If I were to bring K'ab son of Zuhair to you, and if he were to repent and accept Islām, would you forgive him ?" upon which the Prophet answered " Yes " and K'ab revealed himself.

لذاك اهيب عندى اذ اكلمه وقيل انك منسوب ومنسئول

Verily he was more fearful to me when I spoke with him, and it was said (to me) " Verily thou art accused and answerable."

من خادر من ليوث الاسد مسكنه ببطن عثر غيل دونه غيل

Than the lion of the forest—a lion of the lions (living) in the centre of 'Aththar, whose abode is forest surrounded by forest.

The poet says that he was more afraid of the Prophet than he was afraid of such a lion. The four succeeding lines contain the description of the ferocity and strength of the lion.

يغدو فيلحم ضرغامين عيشهما لحم من القوم معفور خراديل

" (Such a lion) as goes forth in the morning, then gives flesh to his two cubs whose food is the flesh of a nation soiled in the dust and torn into pieces."

اذا يساور قرنا لا يحل له ان يترك القرن الا وهو مفلول

" When he (such a lion) fights with his equal, it is not permissible for him to leave his equal (in any other state) but thrown on the ground."

منه تظل سباع الجو ضامرة ولا تمشى بواديه الاراجيل

" (A lion) on account of whom the wild beasts of the plain remain (perfectly) quiet, in whose valley pedestrians or hunters or horses cannot walk."

1. Page 841.

ولا يزال بواديه اخو ثقة مطرح البز والدرسان ماكول

" (Such a lion) in whose valley, a brave person whose weapons and old and torn garments have been thrown down and (himself) eaten, is always found."

By old garment is meant the garment of the brave which the lion has torn in eating him. The dress might have been new or old but as the lion had torn it, it had become useless like an old and and torn garment.

ان الرسول لنور يستضاء به مهند من سيوف الله مسلول

" Verily the Prophet is a light from which illumination is sought ; a blade from the swords of God, drawn out of its sheath."

Here in these lines two attributes are given to the Prophet, *first* his being a light, and *second* his being a sword because when he proclaimed himself a Prophet there were two classes of people, one which accepted him, and the other which denied him. And by these attributes his treatment towards the two classes is pointed out. So that the Prophet was a light for those who accepted him and who got the path of God from him, and he was a sword to those who did not believe in God and attacked religion. When the poet reached these lines the Prophet at once gave him the black mantle which he wore, as described in the preface. Here the praise of the Prophet ends. The praise of the مهاجرين begins in the following lines.

في عصبة من قريش قال قائلهم ببطن مكة لما اسلموا زولوا

" Among a small band of the Quraish a speaker of them said, in the valley of Makka, at the time of their embracing Islām, " Emigrate " (to Madīna)."

When K'ab recited these lines the Prophet looked at his companions in astonishment as this showed that he was fully aware of the conditions of the Prophet, which he narrated here in elegant style. The Prophet told everyone to listen. The expression قال قائلهم indicates the strength and bravery of this small band of Muslims for two reasons : because they were of the tribe of Quraish which was noted for its bravery and nobility, and because to give up one's own home and to evade the clutch of so powerful an enemy and to flee to a foreign land are deeds of great heroism. Also قال قائلهم indicates that this emigration was undertaken as a result of the counsel given by the followers who thought it proper, and not through cowardice.

زالوا فما زال انكاس ولا كشف عند اللقاء ولا ميل معازيل

" They departed. But there departed not (among them), the weak, the persons having no shield at the time of battle ; the persons sitting badly on the saddle, and the persons having no spear."

These lines have been explained in two different ways. (1) They left Makka and proceeded to Madina. And those people

who were left behind fought with the enemies though they were weak and had no weapons. Those who had weapons and were strong went and fought in the foreign land, (*i.e.*, Madīna) because fighting in a foreign land required much fortitude and bravery. (2) The other meaning is that those who went to Madīna were not such people as described in the lines. But they were strong and were fully armed so that when they were called for battle they at once joined it.

شمّ العرانين ابطال لبوسهم من نسج داؤد فى الهيجا سرابيل

"They have high and straight noses, (or they are noble) ; they are brave ; their clothing in battle being woven by David is a coat of mail."

" Their coats of mail are said to have been made by David, (meaning that they were very strong like the coat of mail of David).

بيض سوابغ قد شكّت لها حلق كانها حلق القفعاء مجدول

" (Such coats of mail as were) bright, long, one coat of mail put into another, having rings, which were like the rings of the Qaf'ā plant, and which were firmly woven together."

لا يفرحون اذا نالت رماحهم قوما وليسوا مجازيعا اذا نيلوا

" They are not joyful if their lances reach the unbelievers, and they do not piteously bewail when they are wounded or defeated."

Here the poet describes their strength of mind after describing their bodily strength in the previous lines. Their mind is so strong that victory or defeat does not affect it. They entirely rely upon God whether good or evil befalls them. It may also be explained that when they wound the unbelievers, they do not become happy. By this is meant their extreme soft-heartedness, that is, they are very gentle hearted, and they are not joyful when their lances wound the enemy. Also they do not piteously bewail when they are wounded. This shows that they are very brave and can bear misfortunes calmly. The expression that they are not joyful when they wound the enemy or very sad when they are wounded, metaphorically alludes to the state of the unbelievers, who became very joyful when they sometimes wounded the believers, and piteously bewailed when they were themselves wounded.

يمشون مشى الجمال الزهر يعصمهم ضرب اذا عرد السود التنابيل

" They walk with the gait of white camels, the striking (of the sword) protects them when the dwarfish black men run away."

Here the poet compares the walk of the men to the walk of camels, showing that they walked with gravity, were tall, and white-coloured, all qualities which show that they were leaders of men. The expression "striking of the sword protects them," means that they were very brave and did not hide themselves in castles, but protected themselves with the sword. The expression "dwarfish black men " refers to the people of Madīna. The poet was displeased with them, because some of them wanted to kill him on

account of his writing the lampoon on the Prophet. When he had come to the Prophet one of these people of Madīna asked permission to kill him as described in the preface.

لا يقع الطعن الا فى نحورهم وما لهم عن حياض الموت تهليل

" The spear hits not except on the front part of their throats ; and for them there is no shrinking from the pools of death."

In these lines the poet speaks of their bravery. They never run away from the battle and never shrink from it. And as they do not turn back, the lances strike their breasts and throats, and not their backs. When the above two lines were recited, the Prophet looked to the gathering of his followers as if he wanted them to listen attentively.

With these lines the poem comes to an end. It should be noted that it concludes with an idea similar to that with which it began. It commenced with the separation from the beloved, and ends with the mention of death, and there is not much difference between separation and death to lovers.

M. Hidayat Husain.

MUSLIMS AND GREEK SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY

It is generally asserted that the Muslims knew no other school of philosophy than that of Aristotle. One European writer has even gone the length of saying that the Muslims were simply yoked to Aristotle's chariot. Our late lamented master, Allâma Shibli Nomâni writing on " Greek philosophy and Islam " in An-Nadwa (1322 A.H. part 2) tried to refute this allegation concisely. But as since then many old manuscripts on the subject have been published and much other valuable materials brought to light, it seems proper to review the situation in the light of the last thirty years.

Students of the history of the Islamic philosophy know full well that Islam came in contact with the science at the time when Syria and Egypt were conquered. In Egypt, Alexandria was the centre of the " Christian-Greek " philosophy and was the home of many advocates of Aristotle's philosophy. Though Amir Mu'awîyeh patronized the medical branch only, his grandson Khâlid added Chemistry to it. In the Omayyad period books on these two subjects only were translated. When in 130 A.H. the 'Abbâsid dynasty was founded, the Greek sciences began to flourish till in the reign of the seventh Caliph Al-Mâmûn their study had assumed gigantic form.

In those days, whether in Egypt, Byzantium, or Greece, Aristotle's philosophy had become the order of the day and the Christian " Philosopher-Theologians," finding it suitable to their purpose, had adopted it as their own. As the Muslims borrowed philosophy from these Christians, it was not at all unnatural or surprising that they should have given earnest and in most cases complete attention to that particular school, and should have written so many books on that school that it would have been no wonder if Muslims of later days had not even known the names of other schools and philosophers of Greece. To make the situation worse, Aristotle found such advocates and exponents as the eloquent Avicenna (Ibn Sîna) in the East and the high minded, intelligent Averroes (Ibn Rushd) in the West to expound his thoughts and theories. The result was that their voices thundered through the length and breadth of the Islamic world. But come, let us listen closely : are not sweeter, softer voices also, to be heard?

In this connection the first point we have to consider is whether any other Greek philosopher's works had been translated into Arabic or not, that we may know whether the Muslims were acquainted with other schools of philosophy. Seven great philoso-

phers flourished before the birth of Aristotle :—Thales, Anaxagoras, Anaxamanes, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato and Empedocles. Outstanding Muslim sages are acquainted with the thoughts and theories of all these seven philosophers and, have mentioned them in their works. Abdul Karîm Shahristâni (548 A. H.) has written their lives and theories concisely and correctly. Even the best histories of philosophy to-day cannot furnish fuller information concerning these seven stars of the firmament of philosophy.

Another wrong notion about the history of Islamic philosophy is, that it consists of the works by Fârâbî, Avicenna (Ibn Sînâ), Averroes, (Ibn Rushd), Ghazâli Rases (Imâm Râzi), Tûsi Shîrâzî, Qutub Râzi, etc. ; while the fact is that the true Islamic philosophy does not consist of the " religio-philosophical " works of those writers, but of those of 'Allâf, Abul Huzail, Nezzâm Jâhiz, Abul Hasan Asha'ri, etc. ; who have made the ancient philosophy their special subject and have discussed it under various headings in their works.

The theories of Empedocles were current among the Muslim writers. Abul Huzail, in his treatise on " Attributes," was largely indebted to this ancient philosopher[1]. Mohammad bin Abdullah of Cordova was a follower of this philosopher and studied his works only[2]. His works were in the Jerusalem Library till the seventh century of the Hijra[3].

Several works of Pythagoras were translated into Arabic—Kitâb-ul-Fâdin (the book of Phedon, on psychology) 2, Kitâb-us-Siyâsat-ul-Madan (on political philosophy) 3, Timâwash-ur Rûhânî (on the relative formation of the Metaphysical, Intellectual and psychological worlds) and 4, Timâwash-ut-Tabî'i (on the formation of the material world). These books were obtainable in the days of Ibn-i-Nadîm of Bâghdâd, *i.e.*, till the middle of the fourth Islamic century[4].

Qâzi Sâ'îd writes, that among the later writers were numerous followers of Pythagoras, who had consolidated and revived his ancient theory of Physics. The famous Muslim physician and philosopher Abu Zakarîa Râzi was one of them. He was a great opponent of Aristotle's philosophy, and has written books supporting Pythagoras and refuting Aristotle. He believed that Aristotle had not only ruined philosophy but also had perverted its very principles[5]. Qâzî Sâ'îd, who himself is the author of a book on the sciences of the contemporary nations, under the title "Tabaqât ul Umam," knew all the schools of philosophy fully. Though himself a strict follower of Aristotle, he has given a very honest account of all the different schools of Greek philosophy[6].

Another famous sage and philosopher Ibn-i-Hazam of Andalus, also, was acquainted with all the different schools of Greek philo-

(1) Tabaqât-ul-Attibbâ of Ibn Abi Qsâba Vol. II p. 37 Egypt 5 d. & Tabaqât-ul-Umam of Sâ'îd Al-Andalusi p. 23 Beyrût Ed. (2) Tabaqât-ul-Umam p. 21. Ibid. (3) Akhbâr-ul-Hukamai p. 12 and Al Fahrid Ibn Nadim Egypt Ed. p. 245. (4) Tabaqât-ul-Umam p. 23. (5) Tabaqât-ul-Umam Sa'îd Andalusî p. 33 Beyrût Ed. (6) Ibid.

sophy, as readers of his book, Kitâb-ul-Fusal fî'l-Malal wa'n-Nahal, are aware; withal he was strongly opposed to Aristotle's Logic and has written a book exposing its fallacies. At-Taqrîb li Hudûdil Mantiq was the name of the book[1].

The Motazelite Nezzâm was also one of the opponents of Aristotle's philosophy. At the Durbâr of the famous Abbasid Wazîr Ja'far al-Barmaki, he not only recited the works of Aristotle, but refuted them then and there, and also wrote a book on the subject[2]. The famous Motazalite doctor Abu Ali Jubbai has written a book refuting Aristotle's book on Cosmos and Chaos[3].

Hasan bin Musa Naubakhti the famous schoolman under whose direction and supervision, Thâbit bin Qurah and others translated Greek works, had himself written a book on the Aristotleian fallacies. This book was in use till the time of Ibn-i-Taimîyeh, *i.e.*, till the seventh Islamic century. Ibn Taimîyeh mentions it in his work; Ar-Raddu' alal Mantiqīyîn. Whatever Hasan Naubakhti wrote was nothing more than a collection of the opinions of his predecessors, showing the fallacies of Aristotle. The name of Naubakhti's book is Kitâb-ul-Arâ wad Diyânât.

There is one man more, by name Hebatu lla bin Ali Abu Barkat, a courtier of the Caliph Mustanjid billah, who wrote a book in refutation of Aristotle's philosophy. Ibn-i-Taimîyeh has referred to it in his work.

The martyr Shahâbuddin Suherwardy (556 A.H.) was the man who supported the philosophy of Plato and opposed the rival schools. The name of the book in which Neo-Platonism is discussed is Hikmat-ul-Ishrâq. In my opinion he has mixed it up with Persian philosophy. Qutb-ud-dîn Shîrâzî has written a commentary on it, which has been published. Shahâbuddin has given the outlines of the ancient and modern systems of philosophy in his book, Al-Mashâri' wa'l-Mutârihât[4].

Mas'ûdî, who is famous all over the world as a historian and geographer, was also a great philosopher. He had complete knowledge of Greek and Persian philosophy ; he has alluded to them in Murûj-uz-Zahab here and there ; and has discussed them at length in his Akhbâr-uz-Zamân. Moreover, in the introduction to the former work he has mentioned the following other books of his :—(1) Kitâb-ul-Abânah 'an Usūl-ud-Diyânah, (2) Kitâb-ul-Maqâlât fî Usûl-id-Diyânât, (3) Kitâb Sirr-ul-Hayât, (4) Kitâb Nazm-il-Adillah fi Usûlil Millah. In the preface to Murûj-uz-Zahab he has enumerated the books in which he had mostly expounded the scope and principles of philosophy.[5]

The famous Muslim philosopher, Abu Zeyd Ahmed bin Sahl-Al-Balakhi was also a master of Indian, Chinese and Greek philosophy. The bulky volumes of his Kitâb-ul-Badû wa't-Târîkh

(1) Ibid p. 76. (2) Malal wa Nahal Ahmad bin Yahya edited by Dr. Arnold Hyderabad edition. (3) Ibid. (4) Tarikhul Hokamā, Shaherzori Nadwa Library. (5) Murûj uz Zahab Vol. I. p. 3 & 6. Paris edition.

give an idea of his vast learning and wide information. The book was published by M. Clément Huart in 1899 in Paris.

Muslim philosophers from the very beginning were acquainted with Democritus' theory of the indivisible Atom. For this reason they rejected the "Primitive Matter" theory of Aristotle in favour of the theory of Democritus and strongly defended the latter. They also sympathised with the Prototype theory of Plato and discussed it in their works. On the strength of this theory the Sûfîs of the Naqshbandi-Mujaddadi order conceived the idea of the World of Prototypes.

In the 4th century A.H. the books of Plato were widely current in the Muslim world. Fârâbi writes in his Al-Jama'. Beyn-ur-Rayeyn, that the object of his book is to remove doubts from the minds of readers of Plato and Aristotle. Ammonius had written a book on the Cosmic theory of Plato and Aristotle. The book was to be found even in the time of Fârâbi (339 A.H.)[1]

Fârâbi himself wrote a book on the schools of Greek philosophy; setting forth their names, theories and opinions. This work was printed with his other works at Leyden in 1890, and is fourth of the series. In this he has described the schools of Pythagoras, Aristophanes, the stoic system of Phoren, the cynic system of Diogenes, the Epicurean system and that of Aristotle. Fârâbi has also tried to reconcile the two different points of view of Plato and Aristotle in his Al Jama' Beyn-ur-Rayeyn, which has also been published. In it he showed that there was really very little difference between them.

Poor Avicenna, who is labelled as the most slavish follower of Aristotle, has apologised for it in his Mantiq-ush-Sharqîyîn saying :

"We have seen in this book collected those things which are the subject of discussion among the learned. This is free from prejudice. For the general public we have written many books. Though we protest against the unjust claim of the followers of Aristotle that they have the sole monopoly of guiding the people yet it is our firm conviction that their master was greater than all his predecessors for the following reasons :—

(1) He separated the different branches of science from each other, which the former had not done.

(2) He systematized those branches in a better way.

(3) In many matters he discovered the Truth.

(4) He also discovered many new things.

(5) He made the public aware of his opinion through intelligible writings.

"Now it is the duty of the people of these later days to investigate and correct mistakes. As we have been studying his philosophy from the very beginning, it has taken possession of us. Still

(1) Resâil-ul-Fârâbi, p. 24. Leyden ed. 1890.

we are not ignorant of its weakness. But as the general inclination of the people is towards this school of philosophy we did not think it proper and advisable to oppose it openly, and joined the same party, veiling and hiding their mistakes. If we have opposed them we have done so on such subjects where silence would have been fatal. We have written Ash-Shifâ for the general public and this book for ourselves only[1]. "

Abur Rîhân Al-Beyrûni, though a contemporary of Ibn Sînâ, was not short-sighted like the latter. He was learned not only in Greek philosophy, but also those of India and Persia. Al-Athâr-ul-Bâqia and many other works of his bear witness that he was a man of vast learning. His Kitâb-ul-Hind is a living testimony to his knowledge of Indian philosophy.

Qâzi Jamâluddîn Qifti (646 A.H.), who was the patron of the famous geographer Yâqûtî, was also fully aware of the opinions of all the Greek schools of philosophy. In his book, Akhbâr-ul-'Ulama bi-Akhbâr il Hukama, he has given the lives and theories of all those philosophers.

Whatever Abul Fazal has written in his 'Aîn-i-Akbari about Hindu philosophy, goes to show that he was also familiar with the six schools of Hindu philosophy.

In concluding this brief note I must again mention the name of that unequal genius, who is known as Ibn-i-Teymîych. Though he was a religious doctor, yet in reality he was the man who had come safe out of the enchanted house of philosophy. All his works are full of the bitter condemnation of philosophy and yet he was a great philosopher himself. He has amusingly described the confusion and amazement of the philosophers, in his book Kitâb-ul-'Aql wa'n-Naql. He has written a whole volume, Ar-Raddu 'alal Mantiqîyîn, in refutation of Aristotle's system of logic. A perusal of the book gives the reader the impression that in reality he was the first founder of Mill's system of logic and the forerunner of Hume's philosophy. In his Kitâb-ul-'Aql wa'n-Naql, he writes:

" Look at the followers of Aristotle ! They are following him blindly. While many of them know full well that their master's theories are wrong, still it is their pious belief which prevents them from refuting them in spite of the fact that many wise men have proved that there are undeniable and indubitable errors in his logical system ; and they support them only for the reason that they are associated with his name. In metaphysics also Aristotle and the disciples of his school have committed blunders. (pp. 85 and 86).

" The philosophy adopted by Fârâbî and Ibn Sînā was that of Aristotle. Aristotle's disciples are at variance with one another and his followers hold different views. Abul-Hasan Al-Asha'ri, in his book Mâqâlât Ghair-ul-Islamîyîn and Qâzi Abu Bakar Baqalâni in his Kitâb-ud-Daqâ'iq have exposed more inaccuracies than Shahristani and others.

(1) P. 3. Saefia Press, Egypt. 1910.

" Ibn Sînâ has invented many things in metaphysics, and all of them are wrong. The simple-minded reader thinks that whatever he has written represents the thoughts of Aristotle. Ibn-i-Teymîyeh in his works has repeatedly unmasked them and has shown that these things are the inventions of the fertile brain of Ibn Sînâ, and Aristotle is not at all concerned with them. Ibn-î-Teymîyeh has also written about the differences between the philosophers themselves and has given a long list of those Muslim philosophers, who have written on such differences. He writes :—

"There is no limit to the differences which exist among the philosophers themselves. Abul-Hasan Al-Asha'ri in his Maqâlât Ghairil Islamîyîn has written much which Fârâbi and Ibn Sînâ have not mentioned at all. In the same way Qâzî Abu Bakar Baqalani has quoted them in his book Kitâb-ud-Daqâ'iq. In this book the learned Qazi has written against the philosophers and astronomers and has given preference to the Scholastic Logic of the Arabs over that of Aristotle. In like manner many Shî'a theologians have written against the various philosophical theories. But the school of philosophy which Fârâbî, Ibn Sîna, Abû Bakar bin As-Sâigh, and Ibn Rushd followed is that of Aristotle. Imâm Ghazâli has described it in his Maqâsidul Falâsafa and has written its refutation in his Tahâfat-ul-Falâsafa. Râzi has mentioned it in his Molakhkhas and Mabâhethul Mashriqia, and Amdi in his Daqâiq-ul-Haqâiq and Rumûz-ul-Kunûz and elsewhere. Abul Barakat, the author of the Mu'abbir has followed the same path blindly. But the last named has not followed Aristotle blindly, he has given his own independent opinion too. Râzi and Amdi, also, have objected here and there. Even Avicenna has refuted some theories of the ancient philosophers. For this reason he says in the Shafâr that whatever he had thought to be true he has written in his Hikmat-ul-Mashriqîyeh while he has given expression to the real thoughts of Suherwardi in his Hikmatul Ishrâq. Râzi has followed suit and has given his new ideas in his Mabâhith-ul-Mashriqîa. Three Greek philosophers are said to be strict followers of Aristotle :—Heraclitus, Alexander and Thomas Aquinas. They have written commentaries on Aristotle's works. When Râzi says that all the philosophers are unanimous, he means these three. For there are many schools of philosophy and between them there are great differences in Physics, Metaphysics and so forth. Of these philosophers Aristotle was the first to admit that the world was old.....Pythagoras was the teacher of Socrates, and Plato was the master of Aristotle, and the Muslim philosophers are for ever writing against these philosophers. Not only the Sunni writers but the Motazalite, the Asha'rite, the Karmaite and Shî'a doctors have also been exposing their fallacies to the public."

In another passage of the same book he writes :—

" The philosophy which existed before Aristotle became a target for his objections. In the same way one school of philosophy

quarrelled with another school, and consequently Abu-Barakat wrote against Aristotle."

In his same book Ar-Radd' alal Mantaqîyîn he writes :—

" The followers of Aristotle say this....there are two schools of philosophy (1) that of Pythagoras and his followers, and (2) that of Plato and his followers. As these philosophers were wrong, Aristotle had to write against them."

Ibn-i-Teymiyeh's Kitâb Ar-Radd' alal Mantaqîyîn deserves the full attention of all lovers of Islamic sciences. It is worthy of publication. In India two manuscripts of this rare book have been discovered. One of them is in the Asafîa Library of Hyderabad, Deccan and the other in Sindh. Of the former two copies have been made, one of them is in the library of Nadwat-ul-'Ulama and the other at Dâr-ul-Musannifîn (Shibli Academy), Azamgarh. One of the Fellows of the Academy is busy with its correction and arrangement. The Executive Committee has also sanctioned its publication. When the book comes to be translated into any European language the world will clearly realise that the research of the Muslims was not simply " yoked to Aristotle's chariot," but that they had paused at his fountain merely to quench their thirst on the way to the ultimate goal of Truth.

SYED SULAIMAN NADVI.

*A NOTE ON MUSLIM JURISPRUDENCE**

THE source of all Islamic laws being the teachings of the holy Prophet, anything which has been definitely laid down therein and was agreed upon by the majority of the Companions and their immediate followers Tâba'în should be regarded as an unquestionable item of the Islamic code ; and all the four well-known Sunni schools of jurists unanimously accept them. For example, Interest on money in all its forms was known in Arabia and was prohibited by the holy Prophet and remained so in the " First Era," (*viz.*,— of the Companions). It was, therefore, unanimously pronounced unlawful by all the four schools of Fikh. Thus all the unanimous precepts come under the category of being explicitly taught by the holy Prophet, although the 'Ulama have explained their merits from many a different point of view.

But for the points and problems about which no definite decree of the holy Prophet exists the jurists have established certain rules and principles for pronouncing judgment according to the spirit of the Prophet's teachings. These principles, called the " Usûl-i-Fikh," may be broadly divided into two classes :—

(1) One is based on the correct and comprehensive interpretation of the literary idiom of the Quranic verses and the holy Prophet's sayings. With the help of such interpretation ambiguous cases have been successfully circumscribed and the drift and spirit of law made so clear as to comprehend problems which did not otherwise fall under any direct decree of the holy Prophet. For interpretation and deduction of this kind definite rules have been laid down. The following instances may illustrate the method :—

(*a*) The word Nikah (نکاح=marrige) literally means carnal intercourse and this is the reason why Imam Abu Hanifa interprets the verse ولا تنکحوا ما نکح آباؤکم (Do not wed those who had been wedded by your fathers) as comprising unlawful mistresses also.

(*b*) The intent and purpose of the lawgiver in prohibiting wine was judged by the leading jurists as the prevention of the

* (The following is a free translation of an Urdu article kindly written for " Islamic Culture " by a well-known authority on Fiqh. The learned writer who served as Chief Mufti in Tonk State for a long time, has lately come to Hyderabad in connection with the publication of his encyclopædic work on the biographies of the Muslim authors in twelve volumes—a monument of patient labour and profound research. Editor.

use of all intoxicants. The word employed by the Prophet for wine was " Khamr," which also means intoxicant, so having their clue from this expression the jurists interpret the prohibition to include all intoxicants though it has not been explicitly laid down by the Quran.

Numerous brief maxims of the Quran and the holy Prophet have been so expounded as to apply to the practical needs of society and fittingly embodied in Islamic Jurisprudence. For instance, almost the whole law of pre-emption is based (amongst the Hanifites) on the holy Prophet's saying : " جار الدار احق بالدار "

(The neighbour of the house is better entitled to the house).

The rules governing " Security " were derived from the pithy saying الزعيم غارم and so on.

On these principles of Islamic Jurisprudence innumerable works have been written and most of them preserved till this day. But to study these books and to apply their principles, a mastery of the Arabic language and comprehensive knowledge of the Qurān and the Prophet's sayings is required. A satisfactory acquaintance with this literature, however, considerably facilitates the study of the books which have been classed in the second division.

The first to record these principles in book form was Imam Shâfaî. No other founder of any of the three other schools of Fikh has left any work on the subject. The great Imam, Abu Hanifa, used to teach these principles in the course of his lectures on law and one of his most distinguished scholars, Imam Mohammed, mentions them in the same indirect way in his books on Islamic Law. In a like manner Abu Abdullah Abdurrahman bin al Kasim (d.191 A.H.) has treated these principles, as taught by his master, Imam Malik, in his book " Mudawwana," which, afterwards reconstructed and improved by a disciple of the author, still retains its high position amongst the Malikite section of jurists. The fourth and the last School, the Hanbalites, also produced a remarkable work on the subject during the fifth century of the Hijra called " Almu'tamid," by Ibnil-Fara, the Hanbalite.

Among the Hanifites, Jassâs Alrâzi (d. 370 A.H.) was the first author to attack the subject and his " Usûlu'l-Fikh," was followed by some others of the same name. These were, however, superseded by the comprehensive and excellent work of Ali bin Mohammed Al-Bazdui (d. 482 A.H.), whose " Usûl " with its famous commentary, " Kashful-Israr," is rightly recognised to be one of the most useful standard books on the principles of Islamic law.

On the side of the Shâfaî's, who had shown the way, perhaps the best book was compiled by Alau'd-dîn Ali in the seventh or early part of the eighth century (Hijra), and is known by the name of " Ghayatû's-Saûl fî'l-Usûl." Another notable work of the period was the book " Muntaqi," and its abridgment called

" Mukhtasar," whose author Jamâlu'd-dîn Abuâmar is better known as Ibn-i-Hâjib, the Malikite (d. 646 A.H.). He did not content himself with merely discussing the views of his own school but tried to bring together the principles of all the different schools of Jurisprudence. This laudable precedent was followed by 'Alau'd-dîn Ali's more renowned pupil, the learned Tâjûd-dîn 'Abdul Wahâb Subaki Ashshâf'aî (d. 771) who published his " Jamul-Jawamae " with his own commentary. Two more books in which the same method of collecting and comparing different points of view has been followed, may be mentioned here. One is the " Tahrîr," of Ibn Hamâm with its excellent commentary by Mulla Nizâmu'd-din of Lucknow, and the second was compiled by the well-known Indian theologian Muhibbu'llah, who was appointed chief Qazi of the Deccan by the Emperor 'Alamgîr and was given the title of Fâzil Khân by the Emperor Shâh 'Alam.

(2) The second division of the principles of Jurisprudence consists of certain rational rules deduced from the details of Islamic law. No great learning is required to understand them and every intelligent person can recognise their utility.

The fundamental rules or principles were first collected, among the Hanifites, by Shaikh Abu Tâhir Muhammad bin Muhammad ad-Dabbâs, and numbered seventeen in all, each having its subdivisions or bye-laws. Some examples of these fundamental principles and their bye-laws are given below :—

First Principle. الضرر يزال that is, harm is to be removed. This has been extracted from the holy Prophet's saying :

لا ضرر ولا ضرار في الإسلام

(There is neither suffering nor doing harm in Islâm). Under this head several regulations have been enacted :—

(*i*) " Emergencies legalise the forbidden."

(*ii*) " What is legal during an emergency, shall not remain so when the emergency no longer exists."

(*iii*). " Particular or individual harm shall have to be borne to avoid general harm." etc.

Second Principle.

الفعل ينسب الى المباشر لا الى المختار الى السبب

(An act is to be attributed to its rational agent and not to the agency).

Third Principle.

الاعمال بالنيات

(Acts should be regarded according to intentions). This is also directly taken from a well-known saying of the holy Prophet.

Fourth Principle.

العادة محكمة (Prevailing custom is valid).

These examples should suffice to give an idea of the so-called fundamental principles, which have been most thoroughly and voluminously discussed by the doctors of theology and religious law. Numerous books commonly named الاشباه و النظائر (Likes and illustrations) appeared on this subject, Subaki and Siyûti also contributing their quota to the great collection. Two other writers of the Shafaite school, Shaik-ul-Islam 'Azizu'd-din 'Abdul 'Azîz and Badru'd-dîn better known as Zarakshi, also published valuable books on these principles, while some authors gave the subject a philosophic turn by inserting reasons and logical arguments. The first author to write a thesis of this kind was Abû Yûsuf Yâqûb Al-Kandi, the famous doctor of philosophy, medicine and physical sciences of the third century of the Hijra. One of his numerous works was devoted to Islamic Law, in which philosophic reasons for each institute were advanced. Historians and ancient critics vie with each other in praising the merits of this master-piece of religious philosophy which seems to have been unfortunately lost long ago. But other books of this class, though rare, still exist ; and the writer of this article was fortunate enough to find a manuscript of Kaffâl's memorable work on the science of jurisprudence, in the Muhammadîa library of the Jâmi 'Masjid of Bombay. Kaffâl was one of the most learned and profound scholars of the Shâfaite school and his book is all the more valuable as one of the earliest rational vindication of the orthodox view of the laws of Islam.

" Munakzat," " Talkhîs" and " Badai'-us-Sanai " are three other prominent works of this class, while the famous Hidâyah of the Hanifite school needs no introduction and has already been translated into several languages of the West. Lastly, the work of the renowned philosopher, Ibn-i-Rushd, (the "Averroes " of the Europeans) may be mentioned, in which the author treats the subject in a remarkably original manner of his own, setting forth the differences of the various schools of jurists and their cogent reasons in an attempt to bring them all together or justify their existence as natural. This learned treatise is named " Bidâyat-ul-Mujtahid " and has recently been printed.

Thus a survey of the history of Jurisprudence clearly proves that the Jurist professors after collecting the sayings of the Prophet (*e.g.*, the unambiguous articles of the law of Shariat) and co-ordinating them according to their purport and cause by deduction and syllogism, reduced them in writing and did not lose sight of the literal significance of the words.

Afterwards, the leading jurists and their disciples when they re-examined those principles which they had deduced they found most of them quite compatible with the rational laws, so the later lawyers arranged these principles separately which we have placed in the second division of Jurisprudence, as accounted above.

The Hanifite Jurisprudence is the first that was compiled in the Muslim world. Imâm Muhammad, a distinguished disciple of Imam Abu Hanifa, himself wrote several works on the subject. Of these six may be mentioned here :—

(1) Jam'i-Kabîr
(2) Jama'-i-Saghîr.
(3) Siar-î-Kabir
(4) Siar-î-Saghîr.
(5) Ziâdât
(6) Mabsût.

Besides these there are other books on special chapters as Kitâbu'l-Nawâdir and others.

The Hanifite law literature may be divided into three groups :—

(*a*) based upon unquestionable traditions
(*b*) based upon rare traditions,
(*c*) based upon facts and decrees.

The traditions upon which the structure of this School of Jurisprudence stands and which are current among all its disciples are called ظاهر الرواية (belonging to the obvious). In contrast to this is نادر الرواية (of rare tradition), signifying their source to be those traditions which were not common among all the doctors of this School, but were handed down by an Imam through a single individual. These traditions, too, have been recorded in such collections as نوادر امام محمد or that of Ibrâhîm bin Rustam, who was a disciple of Imam Mohammed and died in 211 A.H.

FACTS AND DECREES

The books of decrees contain particular questions brought to the notice of Jurists, on which, after examining them they enunciated certain rules to deal with them. Some doctors of law have compiled them for guidance and they are called the books of decrees, such as the collection of Abu Laith Nasr bin Muhammad of Samarqand, better known by the name of Imâm-ul-Huda (d. 373 A.H.).

The foregoing works are the chief authorities on the principles of the Hanifite Schools of Jurisprudence. The three Masters of this school are Imâm Abû Hanîfa, Imâm Yûsuf and Imâm Muhammad. But as a matter of fact all these books are the Compendium of Imâm Muhammad's decrees and opinions. Of these, the books containing unquestionable traditions are difficult to be found now except Jâmi'-i-Saghîr (جامع صغير); though common text-books such as " Kanz," " Kudûri," " Wikâya " contain those traditions to a large extent. The leading jurist and divine of his age Abul Fazal Muhammad Al-Marûzi, known as " the Martyr Governor," has collected those six books in a single work, named " Kâfî. " He died in 334 A.H. and this book is still preserved in some libraries.

Another book is " Mabsût Sarakhsi " which has been printed and is everywhere available. As a matter of fact it was written by Imâm Muhammad and is one of the above mentioned six books, but it has been preserved only in this form of a commentary by Sarakhsi (d. 483 A.H.).

There is a large compendium of Imâm Malik's School of Jurisprudence also called " Kâfî." It consists of fifteen volumes and was written by Abû Amar Yûsuf known as Ibn-i-Abdul Bar of Cordova (d. 463 A.H.). He was the leading *savant* of his age ; some doctors of theology have declared that he had no equal in learning in the West.

Of the same name there is another book of the Shâfa'îte School compiled by Abû Abdullah Az-Zubairi who died in 317 A.H. There are several other books of this name written by jurists of the same school ; while the Hanbalite school of Jurisprudence has also its " Kâfî " compiled by Mowaffaqu'd-dîn better known as " Ibn-i-Kadâma (d. 620 A.H.).

Some doctors of theology devoted their labours to social affairs mainly, whithout discussing rituals. This particular branch of jurisprudence afterwards came to be known by the name of ادب القاضي (Function of the Judge) ; and Imâm Abû Yûsuf, the disciple of Imâm Abû Hanîfa, was the first to dictate a treatise on this subject to his pupil Bashar-bin-Al-walîd. Others followed suit, but perhaps the best product of the school, in method and arrangement, was the work of Abu Bakr Ahmed Al-Khassâf (d. 261 A.H.) which was taught as a text-book for a long time and has a number of commentaries, the most popular being that of 'Umar bin 'Abdul 'Azîz bin Maza (d. 536 A.H.).

The Shâfa'ites have also an excellent work of their own on the subject by Hasan bin Ahmad Al-Astakhri who thrived in the early part of the 4th century of the Hijrah.

Doubtless there is great difference of views in these books of the four schools. The Shâfâ'ites differ from the Hanifites. The Hanbalites and the Malikites do not see eye to eye with each other. Then there are conflicting opinions entertained by the authorities of one school itself. But in spite of this diversity, there is complete agreement, as we pointed out above, in matters about which there was no difference among the Companions, their successors and the learned people of the early period of Islâm. It is only when the authorities of the First Era disagree that the latter-day jurist thinks for himself and forms his own theory according to his interpretation of the holy Prophet's teachings. Or, again, when the preceptors of the First Era are silent the juristic method of deduction is employed.

CAUSE OF VARIANCE

The variances of the authorities of the aforesaid four Schools arise from sever alcauses. Sometimes the material becomes the

cause of mutual disagreement; as in a certain case one jurisconsult has a particular saying of the Prophet as the basis of his judgment, while in the same instance another doctor seeks out a different tradition as his authority. The conflict of opinions of the jurists is mainly owing to this factor. To take one example only, in the matters of the neighbours' right of pre-emption, Imâm Shâfâ'i decides on the basis of saying of the Prophet.

فا ذ ا , قعت ا لحد و د فلا شفعة

(that is, after regular partition there is no right of pre-emption while the Hanifite school take their stand on :

جا ر ا لد ا ر ا حق با لد ا ر

(the neighbour of a house is better entitled to the house).

Sometimes the divergence of views arises from the continued practice of the people of Madinah differing from that of the followers of the Companions domiciled in 'Iraq. Then there are differences in the interpretation of the word and spirit of the holy Sharî'at as common as occur in any temporal law.

Now, the question is whether it is possible to do away with this apparently fundamental disunity of the various schools of Islamic Jurisprudence. The problems of law divide themselves into two groups of (1) Beliefs and ritual and (2) Civil affairs. With regard to the former a large number of the sayings of the Prophet exist. This teaching must be regarded as true religion and none of the jurists has ventured to differ in such matters. To question these authentic injunctions would be tantamount to questioning Islâm itself. But the second group of these institutes of Jurisprudence deal with general affairs of society, and in these the human intellect can distinguish good from evil. That is why the holy Prophet of Islâm said " You can better judge your worldly affairs ; my business is only to instruct you in religion." Now, all the four schools of Islamic jurisprudence are unanimously regarded as rightful ; and a Hanifite jurist can give his decree in accordance with Malikite law, and vice verse. Having these facts before us, the best course to bring unity out of the present confusing diversity appears to be, first to take stock of all such older authentic authors as have previously tried to reconcile the differences of opinion among the doctors of jurisprudence, such as the learned Qâzii Sadru'd-dîn Abû 'Abdullah Muhammad bin 'Abdûr-Rahmân Damashqi who wrote " Rahmatu'l-Ummat ," and the philosopher Ibn-i-Rushd whose Bidâyat-ul-Mujtahid has already been noticed above. The author of Hidâyah has also followed this method and relates all the divergent views of different schools in his book. More recently, a valuable compilation of this kind was published by the Turkish minister Ali Pasha in 1286 A.H., named " Al-Mujalleh." It has already been translated into Urdu.

With the aid of these books it seems certainly possible to remove or whittle down most of the differences in a satisfactory manner and produce a comprehensive work which could be recog-

nised as an authority on Islamic Law by the votaries of all the four schools of jurists. But this tremendous task can only be performed by the joint labour of the most trustworthy and competent doctors of theology—men who are not only fully acquainted with the differences but know their secret sources and origins as well.

MAULANA MAHUMUD HASSAN KHAN.

*MUSLIM EDUCATION**

THE opposition to modern education which has been raised by the conservatives in every Muslim country, is based on misunderstanding (1) of the nature of Islâm itself; (2) of the character of proper Muslim education, and (3) of the nature of modern Western education.

The late Lord Cromer wrote, and his remark is often quoted, that, "If Islâm were modernised it would cease to be Islâm." He meant that the Islâm which he and I and all lovers of the Near East knew in those days—the then existing structure in Islamic countries, including despotism and a host of abuses and anomalies, but including also some heroic qualities which made it dignified and certain true Islamic qualities which made it loveable—would cease to exist if it were modernised. He knew of no other structure of Islâm than that old, beautiful, decaying fabric. The strange thing is that many Muslims—men brought up on the Qurân and the tradition of our Holy Prophet—thought, or behaved as if they thought, as he did. They regarded that half-ruinous social and political fabric as Islâm itself, and deemed it impious to seek to renovate it or improve it.

They lived only in remembrance of the past whereas true Islâm is the most present of all living things.

تلك امة قد خلت لها ما كسبت و لكم ما كسبتم و لا تسئلون عما كانوا يعملون

"That is a people which has passed away. Unto them that which they earned and unto you that which ye earn. Ye will not be asked concerning that which they did (in their day)."

We shall be asked concerning that which we did in our own day, and sad will be our plight if we did nothing useful.

The revival of Islamic hope and effort which we see to-day thank God, in every Muslim land is due to the true vision of Islâm as of the present; and that is very largely due to modern education. Only through modern education can a Muslim come to realize the work that Muslims have to do in modern times, the need of the modern world for true Islâm, and the wonderful modernity of the Holy Qurân and of so much of our Prophet's teaching, as if it had been meant expressly for the present time.

As for the language of instruction: that was not the choice of Muslims, but a case of urgency. Everyone would rather have

* Being the substance of an address delivered to the Muslims of Malabar.

conveyed the necessary knowledge in the student's mother tongue. In time that will, no doubt, be done in every country. It is already done in Turkey and in Egypt, and the enlightened Muslim ruler whom I have the privilege to serve, whose care for the education of his people is well known, has inaugurated it in his Dominions by the foundation of the Osmania University where the language of instruction is Urdu and where a staff of learned men is constantly employed in translating into Urdu the best works from other languages. But the need of the Muslims, here as elsewhere, is immediate; the knowledge of the present day is necessary to their welfare and if they were to wait till all that knowledge can be brought to them complete in their own language, the whole Muslim community would be the losers.

Now for the second misunderstanding:—Most Muslims nowadays speak of religious education as something quite apart from education as a whole, as if it meant the teaching of Fiqh (فقه) only. From the proper Muslim standpoint, all education is alike religious. In a real Muslim State there would be no separate religious institutions. The State itself would be the religious institution. In a real Muslim school there would be no separate "religious" education. The school itself would be the religious education. All the points of Fiqh would be brought out in the course of teaching other subjects. I am thinking of the ordinary High and Middle School. To me it seems certain that a school in which the whole school work, however modern, and the whole school discipline, is run on Muslim lines; where all instruction is given earnestly; where students see their teachers honest and sincere, and careful of religious duties; is infinitely more religious in effect upon the student's mind than one in which separate "religious instruction" is given in a stated number of periods, or which practically confines its instruction to the teaching of Fiqh only.

Islâm is the religion of daily life. It includes a man's whole life and it includes a man's whole education. At present it is made to seem something apart from the main stream of life, requiring separate instruction and a different attitude of mind. That is altogether un-Islamic. No such terms as "secular" and "religious" exist in proper Muslim phraseology. The terms in which we have to think are "good" and "evil." We have to bring religion back to daily life and that can be done only by claiming modern education as our own and making it—the whole of it—Islamic.

Now for the misunderstanding concerning the nature of modern education. What would you say of a man who refused to acknowledge his own son merely because that son had grown to manhood since he last beheld him: who used such arguments as these: "My son was small and weak, he had a little voice, and no hair on his face. This creature, on the other hand, is big and strong, he has a deep loud voice and wears a beard. Therefore he is quite a stranger to me." Those Muslims who regard modern scientific education as something altogether foreign to Islâm are hardly

less absurd than such a man would be. For this great forward movement is no child of Christendom. Mediaeval Christendom contained no germ of such a thing. It is the offspring of the old enlightened days of Islâm. It was the Muslim scientists who first hit on the inductive method of reasoning, to which this great material advance is mainly due. That method can, indeed, be traced to the Qurân itself. It was the contact and example of Islâm, it was the teaching of the Muslim Universities, which gave that shock and impetus to Christendom which resulted in the Renaissance and the Reformation ; liberating Europe from the bondage of ecclesiasticism and leading to the era of free thought and free inquiry. When seeking to estimate the effect that our Holy Prophet's teaching has had upon the world, you must not look at Muslim countries only, you must look at Christendom as well. The Christians are the nearest of mankind to us, as the Qurân informs us ; there has been action and reaction between the two communities from the beginning of Islâm, and some day, please God, they will be one in pure allegiance to Allah.

It is to free thought and not to the religion of the Christian Church that this material advancement of the West is owing. Islâm is the religion of free thought. In Islâm there is—or ought to be—no priesthood interested to enslave men's minds. The mind of everyone of us has to perform the functions of discrimination and decision which in other religious communities are reserved to a close priesthood. Again and again, in the Holy Qurân, we are adjured to use the mind which God has given us in order to discriminate in matters of religion and belief, never to trust to mere tradition of the fathers, and never to take others for our Lords besides Allah.

و ا ذ ا قيل لهم ا تبعوا ما ا نزل ا لله قا لوا بل نتبع ما ا لفينا عليه ا با ء نا
ا و لوكا ن ا با ؤ هم لا يعقلو ن شيئاً و لا يهتد و ن

" And when it is said unto them : Follow that which Allah hath revealed, they say : we follow that (belief) in which we found our fathers. What even though their fathers were wholly unintelligent and had no guidance*."

Human intelligence was hallowed and exalted in Islâm. In Christendom it was regarded as an enemy to religion for the simple reason that it questioned, seeking truth, as against dogma ; so the priests condemned it. In Europe and America science is in conflict with religion. There is no reason for such conflict in Islamic countries. There was no such conflict in the great days of Islâm, when science was pursued as a religious duty. If there is something wrong with science as applied to-day; that is due not to science itself but to the divorce of science from religion. This is a political phenomenon of great interest to us, since it proves the truth of our contention. The use of scientific discoveries, which ought to be of benefit to all mankind, for selfish individual or national gain, for the advantage of one individual or group at the

* Sûratu'l-Baqar.

expense of others, or the enslavement or destruction of one nation by another, happens because the people using such inventions have not the Islamic ideal of the progress of mankind as a whole. They have no supreme, religious, thinking head, no Sacred Law of undenied authority. In short they are, in the Quranic phrase, "without guidance" in such matters; which are regarded by them as outside the province of religion. The so-called democratic peoples have lost the very notion of Theocracy, without which real democracy cannot exist. But that does not mean that modern scientific knowledge is itself an evil or ought to be eschewed as such by pious Muslims. On the contrary it is half the Sharî'ah (the Sacred Law); and when they let go that half the Muslims condemned themselves to material decadence as certainly as while they held it they advanced materially.

Modern science is simply making use of natural properties and natural laws which always existed in creation, waiting man's discovery. These did not require revelation because man's mind was capable of finding them out by experiment, and the effort of exploring them was good for man's development. But the no less natural, social, ethical and political laws which man could not discover for himself were revealed through the Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ). This difference it is which led our Muslim theologians of the decadence wrongly to despise natural science while almost worshipping the other half of the Sharî'ah, or natural laws enjoined in the Qurân. We Muslims know all natural laws to be the laws of God; therefor these modern discoveries are part of God's provision for his creatures.

When the great Napoleon occupied Egypt, the Egyptians became restive under the French yoke. In order to impress them with a sense of the superiority of Europe he summoned all Cairo to the meydân below the citadel, and there, in presence of that multitude, he sent up a balloon with men in it—a thing never before seen in Egypt. The historian Ahmad al-Jabarti, who was present in the crowd, has recorded its effect on the Egyptians. He heard people saying: "Look at that insignificant little creature" —meaning the great Napoleon, who was much in evidence— taking all the credit to himself for a thing which he could not do except by the permission of Allah." The Egyptians were quite right. Napoleon could never have sent up that balloon if the natural laws, which are the laws of God, had not permitted it. The Viceroyalty of man does not impair the Sovereignty of God. But the Egyptians were quite wrong in their implied contempt for a discovery, which was due to the cultivation of man's faculties, and study of the laws of nature: therefor well within the province which has been assigned to man.

The boundaries of man's province are quite evident in the physical sphere. He has to live and act in strict obedience to the natural laws or he will perish. He cannot breathe or raise a finger without obeying laws which he never made, nor ever could

have made, and which he is powerless to alter by a hair's breadth. But even here he has a field of choice between good and evil, the useful and the harmful. He can, if he will, thrust his hand into the fire. He can husband and control his breath, or simply waste it. It is the same in the spiritual, social, ethical and political spheres in which the boundaries of his field of choice are not self-evident. He must obey the natural laws revealed in the Qurân, or he and all his works will perish. His position in the world is made quite clear in the Qurân :

و ا ذ قا ل ربك للملا ئكة ا نى جا عل فى ا لا رض خليفة قا لو ا تجعل فيها
من يفسد فيها و يسفك ا لد ما ء و نحن نسبح بحمد ك ونقد س لك قال انى
ا علم ما لا تعلمو ن

" And when thy Lord said unto the angels : Lo ! I am about to place a viceroy in the earth, they said : Wilt thou place therein one who will do wrong therein and shed blood, while we, we hymn Thy praise and sanctify Thee. He said : Surely I know that which ye know not*."

And again in the Sûra which is said to have been the first revealed :

كلا ا ن ا لا نسا ن ليطغى
ا ن را ٔ ا ستغنى
ا ن ا لى ربك ا لر جع

" Verily man is rebellious
" That he thinketh himself independent.
" Verily unto thy Lord is the return**."

Man has a high position—that of Allah's viceroy—in the world, and sovereign powers have been entrusted to him in his sphere. But he is not independent. He will have to stand before his Sovereign Lord one day, and render an account of all his works.

He has been given for his province the Earth with all its animals and plants and trees and minerals, its forces hidden and discovered ; he has been given charge of his own mind and soul and body, and also of the welfare of his fellow-man.

His duty is not one of devastation or oppression, but of cultivation and improvement. He is entrusted with the power of judgment and free-will ; and guidance has been given to him again and again in the world's history. All the Prophets came with the same message of Man's responsibility to God, and human brotherhood. Man's duty of improvement, when fulfilled, leads to فلاح falah (success through full development). Outside the straight path indicated by the Prophets, there may be momentary success of this or that individual or this or that nation at the expense and to the detriment of others ; but there can never be success for mankind as a whole, which is the purpose of man's

* Sûratu'l-Baqar. ** Sûratu'l-'Alaq.

viceroyalty. Those who "deem themselves independent," recognising no higher law than their own interests and no higher will than their own will of the moment, rebel against God's purpose in creation and their success is really failure since it injures others of their kind.

قد ا فلح من تذ کی
و ا ذ کر ا سم ر به فصلی

"He is successful who groweth

"And remembereth the name of his Lord, so prayeth."

And again :

قد ا فلح من ز کها
و قد خا ب من د سها

"He is indeed successful who maketh it (the human soul) to grow

"And he is indeed a failure who stunteth (and starveth) it."

Cultivation, development, improvement of himself and his surroundings, assisting the development of others : that is the duty of Man as Allah's viceroy in the spiritual, ethical and material spheres, according to the teaching of Islâm.

How can that duty be performed by men whose minds are kept in ignorance—men far behind the knowledge of the age in which they live ?

Man is "rebellious" at the present day, for "he thinketh himself independent." He is using all these wonderful discoveries for selfish ends. Islâm alone can save him from a great catastrophe. Islâm means "submission" or "surrender," leading on to peace, the surrender of the rebel viceroy to his Sovereign Lord leading to peace on earth and human brotherhood ; the surrender of Man's selfish, ever-changing will and purpose to the selfless, never-changing will and purpose of Almighty God. This is religion. Nothing else deserves the name.

ا ن ا لد ین عند ا لله ا لا سلا م و ما ا ختلف ا لذ ین ا و تو ا لکتا ب ا لا من بعد
ماجا ء هم ا لعلم بغیاً بینهم و من یکفر بآ یا ت ا لله فا ن لله سر یع ا لحسا ب
فا ن حا جو ك فقل ا سلمت و جهی لله و من ا تبعن و
قل للذ ین ا و تو ا لکتاب و ا لا میین ء ا سلمتم فا ن ا سلمو ا فقد ا هتد و و ا ن
تو لو ا فا نما علیك ا لبلا غ و ا لله بصیر با لعبا د ۔

"Verily religion with Allah (consists in) the surrender (to His will and guidance). Those who have received the Scripture differed only after the knowledge came to them, through jealousy among themselves. He who disbeliveth in the revelations of Allah (will find that) verily Allah is swift to take cccount."

" And if they argue with thee (O Muhammad) say: I have surrendered my purpose to Allah and (so have) those who follow me. And say to those who have received the Scripture and the pagans: Have ye too surrendered? If they have surrendered then truly are they rightly guided. And if they are averse, then it is duty only to convey the truth (to them). Allah is a Spectator of His worshippers*."

As the sincerity of a man's surrender to the will of Allah can be manifested only in obedience to His Law, Who is the Creator and Provider and Sustainer, not of one race or class of people only, but of all the world, there can be only one test, the same for all mankind; and that test is not mere repetition of the formula of any creed, not the correct performance of any ceremony, not anything that man can do or mutter as a charm, *but conduct*—the conduct of a man's whole life in every detail—man's conduct in relation to his brother man and to himself and to the animals and plants and all the life of earth.

فاليوم لا تظلم نفس شيئاً ولا تجزون الا ما كنتم تعملون -

" On that day will no soul be wronged in aught. Ye will be requited only that which ye have done**."

This truth is to be found, perhaps, in all religions. But the Muslims are enlisted to bear witness to this truth of man's responsibility to God and of His Law of consequences, and of the necessity of surrender to Allah if the individual would find true happiness or mankind would achieve true success. Most people do not know, or have forgotten, that this, and nothing else, is true religion. The Muslims are a standing army raised to testify to Allah's Sovereignty; to declare to all mankind that He is King of this world just as much as of the others; that the light of this world is His light, that His laws are the natural laws by which we live and move; and so the aim and object of religion is no remote, obscure or supernatural object situated in another world, which some think problematical, but it is here in this world, in the service of our fellowmen.

It is the duty of the Muslims, to endeavour to bring all the world to recognise the fact of Allah's actual Sovereignty which means universal brotherhood and the establishment of the Kingdom of God on Earth. The way has been revealed to them, the laws of God's Kingdom are with them. They have a message of immense importance to mankind, still undelivered. How can they deliver it, how can they preach effectually, save by example? And how can they show a bright example to the world, such as the early Muslims by their conduct truly showed, while the majority of so-called Muslims in the world are ignorant, and superstitious, and fanatical?

Fighting is no good for such a purpose and in such a plight as ours: and fighting in itself was never any good for the great central purpose of Islâm. It was not the warlike prowess of the early

* Sûratu Ali 'Imrân. ** Sûratu Yâ Sîn.

Muslims, but the example of their righteous conduct which converted half the world. To fight in self-defence is lawful; to strive for right, wherever found, against wrong wherever found, by all means in his power, is the duty of a Muslim. But to attack men on account of their religion: that is not allowed. It is the Kingdom of Allah which the Muslims are to strive to establish, not the empire of their own community; and the tolerance of Islâm—which is complete and glorious, as every student of the Holy Qurân and of the life of the Holy Prophet knows—a tolerance which embraces all the world—will do more for the achievement of their purpose than would the force of arms, if they possessed it, at the present day.

ان الذين آمنوا والذين هادوا والنصارى والصابئين من آمن بالله
واليوم الاخر وعمل صالحاً فلهم اجرهم عند ربهم ولا خوف عليهم
ولا هم يحزنون

"Verily those who believe (*i.e.*, the Muslims) and those who keep the Jew's religious law and Christians and Sabaeans—Whoever believeth in Allah and the Last Day and doeth right—Surely their reward is with their Lord, and there shall no fear come upon them neither shall they suffer grief*."

And again:—

وقالوا لن يدخل الجنة الا من كان هوداً او نصارى تلك امانيهم قل
هاتوا برهانكم ان كنتم صادقين

بلى من اسلم وجهه لله وهو محسن فله اجره عند ربه ولا خوف عليهم
ولا هم يحزنون.

"And they say none entereth Paradise unless he be a Jew or a Christian. Such are their own desires. Say: Bring your proof (of that which ye assert) if ye are truthful.

"Nay, but whosoever surrendereth his purpose to Allah while doing good (to men) verily his reward is with his Lord; and there shall no fear come upon them neither shall they suffer grief**."

Can any other Scripture show such texts as these? The religion of the Qurân is not *a* religion but *the* religion of the human race. In order that the world may see it as it is we must get at least upon a par with others in our knowledge and attainments, and we must put forth this great virtue of Islamic tolerance—a tolerance which the rest of the world did not begin even to contemplate till many centuries later, a tolerance which even the West, with all its progress, has not yet attained.

In Islâm, even as it is to-day, we can at least show one magnificent achievement, and that is an example of sincere and lasting human brotherhood. In Islâm there is no racial or class hatred. Rich and poor, the king, the noble and the labourer, the white, the black, the brown, the yellow peoples mingle in our mosques

* Sûratu'l-Baqar. ** Sûratu'l-Baqar.

and schools and palaces upon a footing of complete equality. But the human value of this world-wide brotherhood, the light it carries for mankind at large, is dimmed so long as Muslims lag behind the standard of the world in general education. Therefor I repeat that modern education is, and must be, Muslim education; for nothing else can serve the purpose of Islâm so well to-day. We must make it our own for the sake, not of Muslims only, but of everybody.

MARMADUKE PICKTHALL.

A NINTH-CENTURY DEFENCE OF ISLAM

THERE is a unique manuscript in the Crawford collection of the John Rylands library at Manchester, which contains one of the earliest known examples of Muslim apologetics. It is the work of one 'Ali Tabari, also known as 'Ali *b.* Rabban, a distinguished physician who belonged to the court of the Caliph Mutawakkil: but derives particular interest from the fact that it was written with the assistance, and at the command, of the Caliph himself.

During the second half of the eighth and the first half of the ninth centuries, the Christians occupied a position of great influence in Baghdad. The tolerant policy of the 'Abbasid dynasty allowed their numbers to increase without restriction: while the East-Syrian Patriarchs whose seat was located in the capital city received many marks of royal esteem and respect. Finally, the fact that at this period the most eminent medical practitioners, including an entire series of court physicians, were Syrian Christians, greatly operated to confirm and strengthen Christian influence. In such an atmosphere as this, intellectual curiosity concerning the relative claims of Islam and Christianity was naturally fostered: and it seems clear that public discussions between the learned upholders of each religion were the order of the day. There is sufficient evidence to show that a very considerable literature, controversial in tone, took its origin from these conditions. A number of specimens of Christian tracts have survived, of which the best known is perhaps the "*Apology of Christianity*" of Kindi: but until the discovery of 'Ali Tabari's "*Book of Religion and Empire*," the Islamic side of this ancient controversy could only be deduced from tracts of a later date.

'Ali Tabari's book, which has been admirably edited by Dr. Mingana, of the University of Manchester, possesses considerable intrinsic interest, quite apart from its value as a specimen of a class of Islamic literature not otherwise represented. Internal evidence would place its composition about A.D. 855—in other words, some six years after the Caliph Mutawakkil had promulgated his edict against the Christians. There are, indeed, grounds for believing that 'Ali Tabari's book played a definite part in the Caliph's policy. For it is certain that the edict of persecution failed to produce the results which its author had anticipated. The Caliph Mutawakkil appears to have been alarmed at the influence enjoyed by the Christians, and incensed at the boldness with which they encountered in controversy the professors of the State religion. Accordingly

in A.D. 849 he ordered the demolition of all churches constructed since the commencement of Islam : he forbade the employment of Christians in Government service : and he prescribed a distinctive and degrading dress for both men and women. But this drastic enactment seems, in the tolerant and cultured atmosphere of ninth century Baghdad, to have overshot the mark. Either the Muslims themselves convinced the Caliph that his fears were unwarranted, or he himself realised their groundless nature. In any event, the restrictions became, presumably with the full privity and consent of the authorities, a dead letter within a very few years of their promulgation.

It is very significant that 'Ali Tabari in his treatise makes no mention of the recent edict of persecution. Clearly both he and his royal Master were content to pass over in silence a policy which had proved incompatible with the spirit of the age. The whole aim of the "*Book of Religion and Empire*" is to put forward an appeal based upon faith and reason, rather than upon *force majeure*. In tone it is almost a model of theological apologetics. The author writes with full conviction of the truth of his case, but he treats his opponents with courtesy and gentleness. In fact, the policy of persecution has disappeared : and in its place we discern once more the policy of argument. The whole tract—which is far from lengthy—is well worthy of study : not only from its literary merits but from the tribute which it affords to the toleration, the culture and the statesmanship of the 'Abbasid House.

L. F. Rushbrook Williams.

THE REFORM OF MUSLIM SOCIETY

BY

THE LATE PRINCE SAID HALIM PASHA *

(*Translated*)

IT is with infinite satisfaction that I see, in my own day, the Muslim peoples waking from their torpor and aspiring to throw off the foreign yoke. That means that they have understood, at last, that the duty of every Muslim, a duty sacred above all—is to have liberty and that without it there can be neither happiness nor real progress. I must confess, however, that my satisfaction is not unmixed, since I observe that the great majority of representatives of the Muslim intellectual classes are intent only on endowing their countries with hardly disguised copies of Western institutions; and think that they can only compass their revival by adopting the principles and concepts of the Indo-Aryan world. This state of mind in the Muslim "intelligenzia" distresses me, because it shows that they no longer perceive that Islam, when teaching us to worship the One God, at the same time endowed us with a complete set of moral and social principles proceeding from belief in the Divine Unity; that those principles are imposed on us by that belief; and that all Muslim societies have been engendered by them and have lived by them. It would seem then that our intellectual *elite* are no longer able to assure themselves with full conviction, that Islam is the human religion *par excellence:* religion in its highest and completest form; that it is civilisation itself in the most perfect sense; and that, consequently, there can be no social salvation, as there can be no eternal salvation, outside it. They apparently forget that, if, for the Christian world, all roads lead to ROME, for the Muslim world all roads lead to MECCA. In other words, each of these two worlds is called to follow a different direction and destiny, to play a different part in the general evolution of humanity. The difference between the ideals, conceptions, aspirations, needs and means of the Christian world and those of the Muslim world is, without the slightest doubt, as

*This article was written in French for the Review "Orient et Occident" (Paris), edited by that staunch friend of Muslims, M. Gaston Gaillard, only a few weeks before Prince Said Halim Pasha was assassinated in Rome. It contains some of the ideas developed in his epoch-making work in Turkish, "Islamlashmaq" (Islamise). Our present translation is being published in book form by Maulvi Abdullah, Secretary, Jami'at-i-Dawat-o-Tabligh Islam, outside Akbari gate, Lahore—Editor.

great as that which exists between the beliefs, moral and social concepts, general mentality and origin of Christendom on the one hand and Islam on the other. How could it be otherwise when the former spring from the latter ?

It is therefore flagrant error to believe that institutions with which the Christian world has provided itself, as suited to its needs, political or social—in the last analysis the two merge into one—can ever suit us, whatever modifications of detail we may make in them. The two worlds are in fact so essentially unlike that by no effort can they be brought to share the same concept of individual and collective life.

I can only ascribe the distortion of Muslim mentality above-mentioned, which looks for the regeneration of Muslim society as a result of its assimilation to Western society, to the unfortunate influence of the foreign domination endured by peoples who accept the Prophet's Law—a domination which has played the part of an intellectual dissolvent among them. I propose to dispel the errors with which that mentality is laden, and to prove that, from the moral and social point of view, the Islamic world has no reason to envy the West ; that, on the contrary, it is Christendom which must go to school to Islam in those respects. The best way to enlighten minds upon this question of supreme importance is to state in plain terms what has been the social work of Islam. This reminder will convince my compatriots and co-religionists that the Reform of Islam should consist simply in Muslims learning to understand better, and apply better, the teachings of their sublime religion.

THE SOCIAL WORK OF ISLAM

The whole social work of Islam rests upon the fundamental principle of the sovereignty of the Shari'at. Muslim society is that which is subject to that sovereignty.

Now, the Shari'at is the sum total of the natural ethical and social truths which the Prophet revealed to us in the name of the Creator, and on which human happiness depends.

The sovereignty of the Shari'at, therefore, is only that of moral and social laws which have their source in nature itself, and which are thus immutable and independent of human will just as are the physical laws. It is obvious that, before those laws, all men are equal, the liberty they enjoy being limited only by the respect and submission which they owe to the Divine Will, of which those laws are a manifestation. By instituting the Shari'at—or rather its sovereignty—Islam established the principle of true equality, true liberty, and therewith the principle of true human solidarity, thus creating the highest and truest social ideal.

The principle of the sovereignty of the Shari'at is the recognition of the fundamental truth that all existence, of whatever nature it may be, is subject to the natural laws peculiar to it ; and, consequently, that the social existence of men is subject to

natural social laws just as their physical existence is subject to natural *physical* laws. Thus Islam succeeded in establishing the principle that man is no way bound to submit to his neighbour's law, even though it be the expression of the will of the most numerous group, because such law must needs be arbitrary to some extent, and he owes obedience only to the will of his Creator manifested in the natural laws.

Thus Islam subjugated empiricism and rationalism, both the one and the other being a mass of errors and prejudices, which had guided men till then in the formation and development of their social organism. It enunciated principles which allowed men to emancipate themselves from those imaginary sovereignties which they had set up for themselves, to satisfy their natural need of some authority capable of securing order and discipline as well from the social and moral point of view as from the political. It is Islam, incontestably, that has created the truest concept of authority and given it its real significance, by teaching man that indisputable authority proceeds from God alone, and that it is found in practical form in the Shari'at, which is the standard of ethical and social truth, and consequently the guarantee of ethical and social justice in the government of States. Islam put an end to the belief that authority is to be derived from frail human reason, the ethical and social laws of which have created only a tyrannical, usurping power based on violence—a conventional and usurping sovereignty used to satisfy selfish aims which change with those who seize the reins of power.

From all that has been said it follows that the Shari'at is really of Divine essence, but that it has no supernatural character as people so often represent it as having—a fact that explains the absence of a priesthood in the organization of Islam. In fact, the Shari'at is a Divine Code, composed of perfectly natural laws.

If the Shari'at deserves absolute respect and submission, it is because it contains Divine Truth as applied to the organization of society—truth precious above all because it alone is able to give social happiness, and because, to be known, it required a Prophet to reveal it.

Islam at once opened to the human mind ways wider than those of rationalism, which, by its pretentious dogmatism, paralysed the human mind and prevented its normal development. It produced a radical revolution in the domain of human thought, as salutary and conclusive as that which it produced, wherever it was established, in the domain of practical life. Thanks to the new orientation given to the human mind by Islam, man was able to develop his intellectual faculties, his capacity for observation and ratiocination, in full freedom ; which led him to invent the experimental method, and so created modern science. The first scientists, in the true sense of the word, were the Muslim scientists. They were initiators and precursors, whose works will rank among the eternal glories of humanity.

The erroneous belief that the Shari'at is a code of supernatural laws, and that those who submit to it unreservedly are mere fanatics, is due to the fact that the truths contained in this collection did not become known by the same processes as those which served for the acquisition of other natural knowledge. These truths are not the products of observation and thought, but were revealed by a Prophet. Man's faculties and experience came in only to confirm and justify these truths. But I repeat, their origin apart, the laws of the Shari'at contain nothing but what is natural.

Why did the revelation of the Shari'at take place ? That is a question which must now be answered. Why are those faculties of observation and reasoning, which suffice for man's discovery of the scientific laws, inadequate for the discovery of the ethical and social laws. The answer is quite simple. It is obvious that there is an essential difference between the two categories. The former, in so far as they concern man, offer ground for study only from the point of view of his physical being. They are, therefore, of a purely objective order. The second are related to the human being as a moral, conscious and social creature. Therefore, they are of a sentimental, psychological order, that is to say, they are pre-eminently subjective, and afford no ground for positive regulation. Man does possess the mental independence and impartiality necessary for deducing just conclusions from facts and phenomena which are produced mechanically outside his will, and on which his personal peculiarities have no hold. He can deduce from them rules and laws corresponding to the truth. But no sooner is it a question of studying the existence of man as a moral and social being, that is, as a factor thinking and acting on its own account, and of formulating the laws governing his conduct—then observation and reasoning, however disciplined their use, become uncertain and generally defective guides, because they are always marred by the infirmities of him who employs them. The natural incapacity of man to discover the truth in this domain is manifested in a striking manner by the ignorance of the moral and social laws which correspond to natural principles, in which the peoples of the West, though ultra-civilised, are still plunged, and by the sufferings which are the result of that ignorance, at a time when their work has procured them so high a degree of knowledge of the other natural laws. It is thus a fact that man would never have known the natural, moral and social laws, on which human happiness mainly depends, if the Prophet had not revealed them.

The Prophet's insistence on the importance of scientific instruction and on the obtaining of such instruction, which he makes a special duty for the Muslim when he tells him to go " even unto China " to obtain it, is one of the most remarkable and distinctive features of Islam. The Prophet makes science one of the essential factors of human happiness. In short, the social doctrine of Islam consists in teaching us that natural human society—that which conforms to the natural ethical and social laws—is that society which is built upon the principle of the absolute sovereignty of the

Shari'at. The cardinal point of this teaching is that *authority*, the basis of order and stability in society, can only proceed from an incontestable and uncontested source, of the nature of the moral supremacy of God Himself, since science is impotent to furnish such a source.

Islam teaches us, besides, that the happiest society is that which best knows and best applies, not only the moral and social laws, but also the physical laws—in other words, the society which can best obey the totality of the Creator's will. Islam, indeed, insists upon the fact that happiness assured by the ethical and social laws alone, however real and lasting, is nevertheless incomplete because the material side is lacking to it; whereas that which comes entirely from the knowledge of scientific laws doubtless procures material comfort and enjoyment, but does not ensure social peace, which is the real basis of moral enjoyments.

NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY

Despite the manifest superiority of Muslim doctrine as regards the organization of society, Muslim mentality is so falsified in our day as to prefer the principle of the national will, omnipotent and irresponsible, to the principle of the sovereignty of the Shari'at on which such organization depends; although the former is a growth of yesterday and, considered as infallible, has nowhere achieved its end. Dazzled by the material prosperity and power of Western society, a growing number of Muslim "intellectuals" take pleasure in regarding this position of the West, the object of their boundless admiration, as a miraculous result of the principle of a national sovereignty. Having got that principle adopted in some Muslim countries—for form's sake only, for its operation has remained entirely artificial—they would wish the Shari'at to cease to be the source of inspiration and the criterion of Muslim rulers.

Now, that concept of omnipotent national sovereignty is as false as all the other concepts of sovereignty which preceded it in the West. It rests on an imaginary right which the nation adjudges to itself on its own authority and initiative, imitating thus its former masters, the Church and Royalty, which, each in turn, proclaimed, on their own authority, their own almighty, irresponsible and infallible sovereignty. At the base of these sovereignties we find always the same principle: force. The result is a constant struggle for power, in which social hatreds become poisonous and national strength is frittered away. Such sovereignties are, therefore, mere prerogatives imposed by brute force; they are not principles which of themselves command respect by the prestige of their intrinsic moral value. They represent usurpations—that is to say, injustice. The truth is, real sovereignty springs solely from the fulfilment of a duty. It is the guerdon of a duty fulfilled. Otherwise, it is nought but usurpation and injustice

People generally think that they give proof of liberalism when they claim that the human being comes into the world provided

with a set of natural rights, among others that of being free. Nothing is more false and, I may add, more anti-liberal. Man has no natural right. He posseses by nature only the faculty of adapting himself to his environment; that is to say, of observing the natural laws to which his ethical and physical existence is subject, and of conforming to them—in other words, of performing duties. It is by fulfilling his duty that he acquires the right to be upheld; it is by practising virtue that he acquires the right to be respected; and it is by conforming to his moral and social duties that he earns the right to a certain measure of liberty, the worth of which is very exactly determined, by the intrinsic moral and social value of the duties he fulfils and the manner in which he discharges them. That is why Islam taught man by the Shari'at only his essential duties, those the complete fulfilment of which will secure to him, as a consequence, the right to enjoy complete and everlasting happiness.

National sovereignty, being born of the evolution of a false principle, is doomed to vanish like its predecessors by the continuance of such evolution. Moreover that which people call the national will is really but the will of the majority of the nation—it may conceivably be that of half the nation plus one vote, that is to say, the will of a very weak majority in opposition to a very strong minority, a minority almost equal to the majority. The principle of national sovereignty is, therefore, merely the recognition of the right of the majority to impose its will on the minority, a will which is law in all things, whose decisions are without appeal; consequently, an absolute will, prevailing only by numerical strength—supposing that it be not artificial, as it often is. Such a will is, of all, the most unlikely to be inspired by truth and wisdom.

When we remember that, in past centuries, the same right belonged to a minority, aristocratic or clerical (which failed not to abuse it at its will and pleasure) we must agree that the sovereignty of the national will is merely a revenge of the majority on the minority, a revenge which, in its turn, will lead on to some new revenge as well deserved.

It would be ridiculous to ignore or seek to minimise the value of the national will accurately expressed, or to deny that it represents a sum of individual wills which form a very precious manifestation of the consciousness of a society, the exercise of a right and the performance of a duty. It ought therefore to receive a measure of consideration and respect. But, however great our deference for that expression of opinion, it must never be forgotten that whatever exists in the world, social phenomena as well as physical phenomena, is subject to the laws of nature; that every human will, in whatever domain, should be guided by the laws which govern everyone; and that, consequently, wisdom consists in conforming human will to the exigencies of such laws. If the national will is not sovereign and omnipotent in the physical domain; if it is obliged to respect the laws which govern that domain, it cannot lay claim to sovereignty and omnipotence in the

social and ethical domains. It ought, in these, as in the other, to respect the natural laws.

As, however, the determination of these laws is not possible by means of observation and reasoning, belief in the sovereignty of the Shari'at becomes a necessity, national sovereignty taking a secondary place which owes submission and respect to that of the Shari'at.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE PRINCIPLE OF THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE SHARI'AT

These consequences are of capital importance, for they are the birth of a whole new edifice of society built on new foundations which distinguish it very clearly from other societies.

The social work of Islam may be summarised as the establishment of a social order based on equality and liberty in the most natural sense of the words, a social order from which class struggle disappeared and in which no claim for equality was raised—a social order which realized the truest, most sincere human solidarity. It spread from people to people, forming that Islamic brotherhood, a phenomenon unparalleled in human history, which unites in one great family a whole world of about 400,000,000 human beings belonging to widely different races and living in widely different climates. Islam was able, also, to endow the peoples which embraced it with one *constant* ideal which never ceased to preside over their evolution. Thanks to this, for more than thirteen centuries, in their splendour and their decadence, the Muslim nations have sought only to conform their conduct to the precepts of the Shari'at; have sought only to obey those precepts to the best of their ability at all times, looking for salvation only from that law.

Another consequence of the establishment of the Islamic social order was to secure to authority a prestige and influence unknown elsewhere or at any other epoch, making it, at one and the same time, feared, respected and beloved. It made itself beloved because it was born of the Shari'at, to serve the Shari'at and make it reign; it was thus of irreproachable legitimacy, free from any hint of robbery or usurpation. It made itself feared by the omnipotence which it derived from its impeccable origin and its position as the standard of ethical and social truth. The very errors committed in its name could never impair the prestige which clothed it from the first, nor yet the confidence which it inspired. In every age the Muslim people have preserved the conviction that the injustices and arbitrary conduct which afflicted them were not in the authority of the Shari'at, nor in the laws and institutions therefrom derived, but only in the vices of the men who seized the power and acted in the name of the law. The Muslim peoples have never even thought of contesting the legitimacy of the authority established by the Shari'at, nor of belittling it in any way. The remedy for abuses and wrongs they sought by such a change of rulers as

appeared to promise better representation of the Shari'at and better application of the Law.

The absolute justice of the principle of the sovereignty of the Shari'at is thus established by the constant, never-varying respect which that sovereignty has secured throughout the centuries. Its efficacity has been demonstrated in the most striking manner by the creation of a social order which fulfilled all the conditions necessary to guarantee to humanity, individual and collective, real and complete happiness. As if by magic, it suppresses the thousand obstacles which until then had hindered man's development towards perfection, and in a day gave birth to an admirable civilization which for centuries gave light to the world, teaching it science, justice and wisdom; but, above all, securing to the society immediately subject to its Law an unparalleled moral welfare and material prosperity.

THE PERIOD OF DECADENCE

For about two centuries Muslim civilization has been in utter decadence, although the Muslim world has remained unshaken in its belief; still recognises the sovereignty of the Shari'at and still does its best to obey the sublime instructions and commandments of Islam. If the same causes do not produce the same effects, if the action of Islam itself does not give the same results as in the past, it is certainly because the Muslim peoples have become incapable of understanding and performing their Islamic duty with the same exactness.

People have sought to attribute the Islamic decadence to all sorts of causes more or less false and fanciful. Detractors of Islam have gone so far as to pretend, against all logic and historic truth, that the cause of that decadence is to be found in the Prophet's Law itself; and that Islamic peoples must remain in their present state of inferiority so long as they retain their faith in it. Nothing would be easier than to confute the inveterate enemies of Islam. But, considering it futile to enter into a discussion with men so given up to prejudice and preconception, I shall content myself with defining the inability accurately to decipher their Islamic duties which has fallen on the Muslim world. That inability is the only cause of Muslim decadence. Thus we can determine the nature of the fall and at the same time point out the way to retrieve it.

In what does Muslim decadence consist? What are the Islamic duties which the Muslim peoples now do not fulfil so perfectly as of old? Those are the two questions we have to answer.

Can we reasonably claim that liberty, equality and solidarity have disappeared from Muslim society when, on the contrary, we know that class and caste hatred, and racial antagonism are no more manifest in that society than at any other time; when Islamic brotherhood is more strongly evident and more active than ever; when the Shari'at retains its prestige and enjoys the full respect

and confidence of the Faithful ? It is obvious that, in this respect, despite their decadence, the Muslim peoples are more fortunate than the Western peoples among whom authority is flouted with a growing violence because it inspires neither respect nor confidence. But unfortunately it is not the same with the economic condition of the Muslim peoples. It is here that we touch the wound. From that point of view, the comparison is all in favour of the peoples of the West. In proportion as their material prosperity and economic power have increased, those of Muslim societies have declined. In this respect the Islamic polity is greatly to be pitied ; it has every cause to envy Western peoples, and has much to learn from them.

The decline in the material condition of the Muslim world has had for consequence its political downfall. Reduced to impotency by its poverty and the defects of its equipment, it has been unable to defend itself against the ambitious enterprises of the West. It has thus known all the ills and the humiliations of enslavement. But—and this gives the measure of the dominating power of Islam —the calamities which befell it never for a moment made it lose its ardent faith in its religion ; nor—and this shows the strength of the Muslim organization— nor were those calamities able to annihilate it socially, despite its economic and political ruin. Material power and prosperity being the perquisite of those who know how to profit from the benefits of nature by finding out the natural laws which govern them, Muslim decadence, in the last analysis, can be ascribed to that same ignorance against which the Prophet took especial care to put the Faithful on their guard. However deplorable the condition of the Muslim peoples owing to such ignorance, it is not hopeless. It is indeed a case of mere material decadence ; therefore, easy to repair. From the ethical and social points of view, the Muslim structure has survived. That is the essential point, on which we may congratulate ourselves.

The history of the Muslim world provides categorical confirmation of my diagnosis of the cause of decadence. It teaches us in fact that the decline of that world coincided with the appearance in it of a certain scholasticism. The Muslim religion is absolutely opposed to excessive subtleness and quibblings in religious thought —which explain the absence of a priesthood in Islam. The said scholasticism propagated the belief that the very urgent recommendations of the Prophet in favour of research and science related exclusively to the truths contained in the Shari'at, and that meditation of those truths ought to engross the human mind. It was an utterly arbitrary reading of the Prophet's intentions ; for, after having taught us ethical and social truths in the Shari'at, he never ceases to insist on the necessity of acquiring by our own efforts more and more knowledge and of instructing ourselves without a respite. He tells us that by science we shall appreciate our religion better, and shall practise it all the better if we are learned. Thereby he meant to secure to us, by means of a constant striving which would deliver to us the secrets of nature, a material happiness

worthy of the ethical and social happiness which he offered to us freely in the Shari'at. Nevertheless, the mysticism to which the Muslim world became a victim, and which is the work of a pseudo-clergy self-established wrongly in its midst, became so general as at last to dominate the Muslim mentality. As a result of that scholasticism, the Muslim world lost interest more and more in the study of nature and almost altogether abandoned natural science. Thus the Muslim peoples became more and more evidently incapable of securing the material welfare and power of which they stood in need in order to live in freedom and defend their independence against attacks from without. They are thus themselves responsible for their economic and political downfall.

Meanwhile, the constant ill-success of their efforts to rise up, their increasingly close contact with the West and, above all, the teachings which the West provided for them, at length created a conviction in the Muslim world that the laws of the Shari'at were contrary to the exigencies of material progress. Misled by that disastrous notion, some thought that they should sacrifice their material welfare to their ethical and social welfare–in other words, should sacrifice the laws of progress to those of the Shari'at—while others on the other hand, considered that they would act more wisely in sacrificing the exigencies of the Shari'at to those of their material revival; when all the time the two are not only compatible but complete one another. By so doing, the former hoped to resuscitate a glorious but already distant past, ignoring the fact that material progress is the necessary complement of ethical and social welfare; while the latter imagined that they could create a complete new social order, prosperous and powerful, by dethroning the Shari'at from its sovereignty. That is how the desire for " Westernisation " first arose in Muslim minds.

It is true that the partisans of that tendency were never anything more than an infinitesimal minority; but that minority represented the majority in the intellectual and enlightened classes. It, therefore, in the long run, exercised considerable influence on the fate of Muslim society, thanks chiefly to the support which the representatives of western domination accorded to it. The Muslim " intelligenzia " rallied to the idea of " Westernisation " the more easily because that class had, in large numbers, gone to Western centres for their education, or to the schools which foreign powers, in rivalry with one another, were eager to create in Muslim lands, being anxious to establish by propaganda their ethical and social domination of the Muslim world in order to consolidate their economic and political dominion. Formed under such conditions, the Muslim " intellectuals " came to the point where they could no longer judge of their religion save through a mentality more or less westernised—that is to say, they no longer understood the ethical and social truths it teaches. It happened even that they lost faith in its ethical and social principles, treating them either with scornful indifference or strong animosity.

Thus by " westernising " themselves these so-called leaders of thought blinded themselves completely to the ill they wished to cure ; and just as they were ignorant of its nature, so they ceased to discern the springs of society in which that ill resided. In short, they only complicated the already precarious condition of the Muslim world, and disturbed the public conscience by distorting it to their own likeness.

As for the partisans of the Shari'at, misled and subjugated by scholasticism, they were no happier in their efforts to cure Muslim decadence by the method of renunciation. But, to do them justice, it is thanks to them that there arose in the Muslim world a multitude of men who continued to study, meditate and comment on the Shari'at, to feed on it and concentrate their whole brain, heart and intelligence upon it. In the course of time a whole science based upon the cult of the Shari'at was thus created, in which man observes, compares and draws conclusions solely by its merits—a science whose aim is to teach man to conform to the Shari'at in all the manifestations of his moral being, and to apply it in all his acts.

That science, peculiar to Islam and known as " Fiqh " is certainly the most notable production of the human mind in the realm of ethical and social knowledge. It provides a discipline in that sphere, which corresponds to the experimental method in the sphere of positive science. Thanks to it, the Muslim world has been able to preserve its concepts, traditions and principles intact, along with its Islamic spirit and ideal, through the centuries and through a thousand vicissitudes of foreign domination. It is thanks to " Fiqh " that the Muslim world has escaped the ethical and social decadence which would have been irreparable.

Now that we know the nature of the illness by which the Muslim world is being sapped, and the causes which produced it, the remedy is clearly indicated. It seems, indeed, evident that it consists in acquiring the positive knowledge which is lacking. As that knowledge is possessed by the people of the West, it is among them we must go to seek it. It is from them we must re-learn the experimental method which we have forgotten, and the modern technique which we have neglected. But it is important that we should be certain that that is all we have to ask of the peoples of the West. Indeed, if it is indubitable that the only way to put a stop to Muslim decadence is to borrow from the West its positive science and technical progress, that does not mean at all that we should adopt the applications of its scientific knowledge which the West has made, notably in the matter of the organization of Capital and Labour. Far be from us the relations which the West has established between those two factors of production.

The merest wisdom bids us hold fast to the prescriptions of the Shari'at on that point—rules which have proved their worth by saving Muslim society from the dissensions and the strife of classes which have troubled the existence of the Western nations incessantly.

It is to " Fiqh," which is founded on the Shari'at and has developed the spirit and sense thereof, that we must go in order to create and regulate our economic organization. We shall find therein the safeguard of positive laws functioning in a social framework free from the disturbance vitiating Western systems.

These lines will, no doubt, displease our " Westernisers." But, with whatever energy they may think fit to protest, they cannot alter the fact that their judgments, expressive of unreserved admiration for the West, do not rest on sufficiently deep study, nor on comparisons established in a sufficiently philosophic spirit; and that therefore there are serious chances that they may be wrong. The liking they profess, especially for the social order of the Western peoples has been inspired in them merely by the sight of the material prosperity of those peoples; just as the disdain which they display with so much ostentation for the Muslim social order, and for the whole truly admirable social work, in general, of Islam, proceeds from the sight of the inferiority of material conditions in Muslim society.

Now, the material prosperity of a society is the product of its activity in the domain of technical knowledge. It does not constitute sufficient proof of the superiority of its social order. One might even say that in the West prosperity prevails *in spite of* social conditions manifestly far from perfect.

In short, what leads our " Westernisers " to protest their unlimited admiration for Europe and disdain for Islam, a double error which must classify them among amateur sociologists, is the immoderate desire for pleasures which they have derived from the former.

WESTERN SOCIETY

If we follow out the evolution of Western societies from their first formation to the present day, we see that first the spiritual power held sway, which afterwards gave place to Royalty, that is to say, the temporal power. We notice how the latter led eventually to the reign of democracy, wrongly so named, which is marked at present by the omnipotence of the trading classes. Owing to that omnipotence of an industrious, little idealistic and, therefore, selfish class, economic questions have acquired exceptional importance in the latest evolutionary phase of Western peoples; to the detriment of questions of a moral and social kind whose rôle is much more important from the point of view of real human happiness. This *processus* has given a very peculiar character to this latest stage of Western evolution. Its result has been to develop in the individual the thirst for a life of luxury and pleasure, and urge him to the conquest of the wealth which can ensure such a life. The thought of gain exasperates the egoism of the individual, and is the cause of a ferocious exploitation of the feeble by the strong. In the pursuit of pleasure—*i.e.*, wealth—the individual comes to believe that all is permissible. The prodigious

development of industrialism which we witness at the present day—a development unparalleled in history—is the result of that evolution. Industrialism is the foundation on which the whole Western social structure rests.

But if it was the capitalist middle class which created that state of things, it is the proletariate which supports it and keeps it going by its labour. From that fact Labour has acquired in Western society an importance at least equal to that of the capitalists; and we see the proletariate making every effort to impose its will, not only on the bourgeois, but on the whole society, whose institutions it would fain destroy in order to replace them by a new organization, in accordance with its own ideas, which organization it proposes to control exclusively.

So, you see, Western society has not ceased to experience the need to change, and change again, the relative values of its collective existence. From that point of view, its evolution has been nothing but a series of gropings, of researches, of experiments, always of an empirical nature, in which it has let itself be guided by prejudices, momentary needs and passing circumstances. If that has been the case, the reason obviously is that Western society has never managed to provide itself with a *constant* social ideal. Its ideal has changed incessantly at the call of changing sentiments, material needs and technical knowledge. Its ideal, or rather its ideals, do not guide its general evolution; they but follow it. But if a social ideal is not fixed, if it changes every minute under the influence of events, if it depends upon social evolution instead of inspiring it: that means that the ideal is empty and does not rest on natural social and ethical truths, such as are independent of man's will and impose themselves on his respect by their intrinsic worth, but only on the arbitrary and capricious decisions of such and such a group of rulers. It is evident, then, that Western society has not yet learnt true ethical and social principles—I mean, such principles as have their foundation in unchangeable nature and are alone capable of ensuring, to mankind collectively, stable conditions of existence; stability signifying equilibrium, without which social happiness must always be ephemeral and incomplete.

Instability of a social order is a clear proof that it satisfies only one part of the society while making the other discontented; that it favours one to the detriment of the other. It follows that the more unstable is a social system, the more it is oppressive and furiously opposed. It maintains itself only by violence and repression, and eventually is ruined by the very fact of the injustice and abuse of power which it commits in order to maintain itself. That is how it happens that, in Western society, authority, the one thing indispensable to the existence of collective human life, is combated without truce or respite. What a difference, in this respect, from Muslim society, in which authority is unassailed because it inspires unshakeable respect and confidence.

It matters little whether it be Royalty or the Church which governs, whether it be the laity or the clergy who predominate, whether democracy has supplanted aristocracy or socialism be substituted for capitalism: the evil is only reproduced in other terms and under other aspects. There are only fresh abuses, fresh injustices, in place of the old, that in their turn give birth to others from which future generations will have to suffer. Therefore, whatever may be the prosperity, power and material well-being enjoyed by such a society at a given moment, its happiness will be ephemeral and incomplete, since it knows no stability and is deficient in true moral welfare. What is there really enviable in such a condition?

Among the most cherished illusions of our "intellectuals" concerning the West, there is one which ought especially to be dispelled, as false and dangerous. It is that which consists in imagining that in Western society man enjoys a measure of liberty hitherto unknown. Now, the measure of liberty and equality, in no matter what society, is in proportion to the stability of the social equilibrium of that society—in other words, to the weight of justice which exists therein. If, then, in Western society, class rivalries and antagonisms exist to such an extent as to impel the classes to fight one another with the violence which we behold; if solidarity is only secured among members of the same class to the detriment of society as a whole; if, in short, the social equilibrium is continually being broken or menaced: that is a convincing proof that liberty and equality in that society are far from being so complete as our "intellectuals" believe.

Moreover, it is very difficult to instate real liberty and equality in a society founded on the negation of those principles, as is that of the West. For—be not deceived!—favour and privilege, both as touching the individual and as touching certain sections of the collective group, are at the base of the western social organization. In such a society, it is all very well to promulgate so-called "Liberal" laws: the mentality, being radically anti-liberal and anti-equalitarian, by reason of old prejudices anchored in the course of centuries, will still maintain injustices in practice. To mend this state of affairs, the mentality itself must be reformed by means of an appropriate system of education patiently and intelligently applied for generations. Distinctions of class, rank and race will really disappear from Western society only when the spirit of impartiality and tolerance has passed into the public consciousness, and when men, whatever their origin and position, see their fellowmen as equals, differing from them only in their individual capacity to fulfil their duties and exercise their rights.

It is in those terms only that man can form for himself a true conception of liberty and equality, and can enjoy liberty and equality in full measure according to his needs. Indeed, what he has to do first is to understand that the worth of the existing liberty and equality in a given society depends upon the ethical and social value of the individuals composing it; and that the ethical and

social value of the individual, in turn, depends upon the ethical and social principles on which the said society is built, and not upon the occasional laws, more or less accidentally just, which it promulgates in order to correct social injustices which persist in it because of the spirit of intolerance and partiality. Only such a remoulding of Western mentality can put an end to the class-struggles which persist in spite of all the changes made in order to get rid of them. All those aspirations towards liberty and equality, all those social claims pressed daily with more or less of violence, yet never satisfied, will be fulfilled on that condition of a changed mentality. Then only will the West attain the social justice she has sought so long in vain.

From the various observations and comparisons which I have made, it follows—let me say it once again—that Muslim society has no reason to prefer the ethical and social principles of the West to those of the Shari'at. The latter are incomparably superior. It is not by departure from them but, on the contrary, by endeavouring to understand them better and practise them better that we can hope to put an end to the present decadence of the Muslim world.

THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE WEST

Like all political systems, those of the West are born of its various social systems, to serve them and contribute to their evolution. The Western political system must, therefore, necessarily undergo the transformations which changes in the course of evolution in the social system impose; and this must render it as unstable and variable as the social system from which it springs.

I shall not now concern myself with the different phases which the Western political system has traversed in the past. What interests me, at this moment, is its present phase. As we behold it to-day, it also rests entirely on the principle of national sovereignty. That must be so, since Western society has failed to visualise social truth and justice otherwise than in the national will expressed quite freely and without restriction. Till further notice it will not be otherwise. One of the first consequences of the adoption of that principle was the birth of national representation. The institution of national representation has been the chief political work of modern Western society.

Now, since Western nations are divided into social classes having different and often even opposite ideals and aspirations, resulting from their different political and social needs, it happened that from the outset national representation became an enclosure for the struggle of such hostile classes. It is thus that political parties come into existence, parties of which the leaders, though devoting themselves almost exclusively to the interests of their respective classes, more or less claim to strive in the name of the nation. So Western parliaments became the arena for social contests, procuring now for one political party, now another, the

opportunity of seizing power and exercising it for their own ends while occasion lasted. Such is the part played by national representation nowadays in the social evolution of the Western nations. It will last as long as class antagonism continues. The era of political peace and good-will will dawn for Western nations only when they achieve social peace and good-will. At the same time, it is only fair to admit that, good or bad, the political regime with which Western society has provided itself corresponds perfectly to its social regime, and satisfies it completely.

As for the rights and prerogatives of such national representation—omnipotent, infallible and irresponsible, like the national sovereignty from which it springs—they are, of course, exceedingly extensive ; one might even say, boundless. It has the monopoly of legislation, which means, the exclusive right of making known the national will and imposing it in the form of laws. It exercises a control over the executive power which, in some countries, amounts to dominion.

The chief task of national representation is to 'democratise' society—that is to say, subject the minority to the will of the majority ; while the right of control conferred upon it secures advantages for its members rather than wise and honest administration for the country. In such a system, the executive is but a docile instrument of Parliament. As every power which loses independence loses at the same time its essential character and becomes unable to perform its natural function, so the executive is eventually reduced to serving the private interests of the parties and personages who support it in Parliament. It tries to recruit partisans for them by creating and distributing fat posts, and strives to secure the majority for them at elections by all possible means. It lends itself to every sort of compromise and concession, corrupting the administration while making it evermore burdensome. In short, in such a political regime, the executive deals in bad politics rather than wise and honest administration. Moreover, a political system in which the right to legislate is the monopoly of a political body is always of an undesirable kind ; because it is too evidently partial, because it is indifferent to justice, and because Law, in it, is no more than a legal instrument of more or less evident oppression. Laws will be enacted with the primary aim of satisfying private interests, as well as party interests, without sufficient regard for public interest in the general and higher sense. Such laws will necessarily be marked with injustice and partiality. When you consider that the political body which legislates is that in which passions and rivalries are most acute—in which, consequently, wisdom and moderation are most lacking, you can easily imagine the discredit into which the laws enacted under such a system must inevitably fall. Yet the nations living under that form of political organization have made every effort to remove from evil influences those whom they appoint to interpret and apply the Law, with the object of preventing errors and injustice. Unless those nations think that more impartiality

and wisdom, as well as greater learning, is required to administer and apply the laws than to elaborate them, one must see in this an avowal of the flagrant insufficiency of the political regime. It would be a waste of time were I to go on enumerating the defects and anomalies of the regime in question. The list is much too long. The fact just mentioned is enough to damn it. It is the most important, the most serious, and also the most direct result of the principle of national sovereignty. But, however great the errors of that system from the point of view of social justice, let me repeat that it has nevertheless the merit of agreeing with the social order of which it is the political counterpart, of being its logical production and sincere manifestation. If it is defective, that is because it is designed to meet the exigencies of a social order in itself defective. That is the only merit which we can concede to it, though we do not despise it. But it is evident that in a society of which the needs were different from those of Western society it would be disastrous, moreover it would have no *raison d'etre.*

It seems that those of us who proclaim themselves partisans of the Western political regime are influenced, unawares, by the perfect suitability of that regime to the social order which engendered it. Really, their admiration comes from nothing else.

To recapitulate :

The disease from which the Muslim world is suffering comes of ignorance of the natural physical laws, preventing it from taking advantage, of the benefits of nature, condemning it to material poverty, and at the same time compromising its political independence.

On the other hand, the disease by which Western society is attacked proceeds from ignorance of the natural ethical and social laws, which keeps it in perpetual social fever.

The first is deprived of material well-being : the second of social well-being.

To escape from its disease, Muslim society must dispel the ignorance which is the source of that disease. It must therefore turn to Western society, which, more fortunate in this respect, possesses science. On the other hand, Western society, if it is anxious to be healed of its particular illness, could not do better than turn to Muslim society and borrow from it the ethical and social laws which the Shari'at contains.

Thus the help and collaboration which Muslim society has to ask of Western society are limited and of a very definite kind. Such help and collaboration can in no case be of a social or political kind. Indeed, the " Westernising " of Muslim society, in whatever form and to whatever degree, would be the greatest mistake imaginable.

THE MUSLIM POLITICAL REGIME

The best political order is that which best responds to the exigencies of the social order to which it belongs, best interprets its main principles and most faithfully expresses them. Starting from this axiom, I shall endeavour to find out what should be the best Muslim political order.

As I have already explained, Muslim society is that which is subject to the sovereignty of the Shari'at; in other words, it is the society in which everyone has individually to perform the duties which the ethical and social laws of the Shari'at enjoin, and also to see that they are respected and practised by others, *i.e.*, the community as a whole. It is, therefore, a religious duty for every Muslim personally to take care that his government maintains the supremacy of the Shari'at. That Islamic duty has its counterpart in an incontestable Islamic right, that of controlling the government. Thus, the Islamic regime is essentially representative.

In Muslim society, where there are no class rivalries, where the ideals and social aspirations are the same for all, national representation must of necessity assume a form quite different from that which it has assumed in Western society, different in spirit and objective, in its composition, its rights and its prerogatives. National representation in Muslim society should be secured by an assembly of persons elected by the nation—an assembly of which the composition must be such as to ensure that political peace and concord, founded on that fraternity between classes which is one of the distinctive features of Muslim society, shall reign within that assembly. It must establish and maintain in the political sphere the solidarity which is found in the social sphere.

In the Muslim Parliament, therefore, there will be no communists, no socialists, no republicans and no monarchists. There will be only men of good-will, all cherishing the same ideal and aim: to apply to the best of their ability the wise commandments of the Shari'at. They will be men differing among themselves only as to the choice of means wherewith to serve the common ideal.

Consequently, the representatives of the Muslim nation will not have to struggle with one another for victory and dominion. They will only have to help one another to secure the submission of all to the common ideal. Being free from the spirit of rivalry, their control will be exercised without passion, jealousy or hatred: that is to say, it will be exercised under conditions in which human activity can become most fruitful and beneficient.

As for the rights and prerogatives of that Parliament, they will be extensive enough to allow of its exercising the widest, most complete and most effective control over the government. But the faculty of Legislation will not be among them. The recognition of such a right in national representation would be

contrary to the spirit of the Shari'at, whose perfect wisdom and justice never could admit that a group of *political* men, however high their character, should be charged with the making of the laws. Besides, the special reasons, for which that right is ascribed to Parliament in Western society, do not exist in Muslim society. In fact, the Muslim Parliament would not have to spend its time in facilitating transformations, which the fluctuating state of the Western community demands, by passing laws appropriate to such changes.

National representation in Muslim society would thus be *a controlling, not a legislative power :* for its aim would be to secure a wise and honest administration for the society, to promote the reign of the greatest justice between individuals, and thus to aid the nation in its task of constant progress.

THE RIGHT TO LEGISLATE

Since, in Muslim society, the function of legislation is essentially a social function of the first importance, a function in which the political character is not predominant as it is in Western society, the right to legislate must belong to him who knows how to make laws—*i.e.*, to the legist ; for it is not a question of majority and minority, but simply one of competence. If it is competence alone which gives the physician the incontestable right to care for the physical health of the individual ; all the more should competence, and nothing else, confer upon a citizen the very much more important right to care for the social and moral health of a whole nation. And then dispute and objection concerning the exercise of such a right become impossible. In proportion to the importance of the legislative functions, the competence which shall permit a man to exercise them ought to be particularly high, in all respects superior. Obviously the legislator must possess deep knowledge of the *Shari'at*, which will be the source of his technical competence. But he should also possess high moral qualities, moderation, prudence, impartiality, in short, he should have wisdom. He must be a psychologist ; he must know the soul, the mind and temperament of the people intimately. Only on these conditions will the legislator make live laws, laws which will be at once loved, feared and respected. Otherwise such laws will only have the value of police regulations in the nation's eyes.

So it is to the legists that the right to legislate must belong ; that is to say, to that class of specialists who are engaged in study of the *Shari'at.* But their learning must be backed by virtue in order that the legislature may enjoy the popular respect and confidence, and that its laws may be acceptable to the nation. It is therefore for the nation to elect its Legislative Assembly, which will be as free and independent as its Parliament, the controlling power ; and which, like the Parliament, will have for supreme aim the consolidation of the omnipotent reign of the Shari'at.

In this way, Muslim legislation will continue to rest on a foundation thirteen centuries old, the spirit of wisdom and justice of which has stood the ordeals of time with most conspicuous success. In this way, Muslim society will continue to be stable, orderly and progressive. In this way, Islam, secured from violent changes by the maintenance of its traditions, will develop on its own lines, on a meditated and coherent, logical and harmonious plan.

THE CHIEF OF THE STATE

Since authority, in Muslim society, emanates from the Shari'at, of which it is merely the consequence and the guardian, it must be as powerful and efficacious as possible in order that it may ensure all the benefits which are to be derived from the Shari'at. Without power, authority, however well intentioned and inspired, is sterile. Authority, in Muslim society, must dispose of all the moral, social and material means necessary for its efficient and durable functioning. In striking contrast to what is happening in the West, it is a duty for authority in Muslim countries to protect religion, and the whole civilization which proceeds therefrom, against attacks from within and aggressions from without. In Muslim States, more than anywhere, authority should be strong. I need not explain that one of the conditions of strength and effectiveness in authority is that it must reside in one person. And it is just as necessary that the person holding authority should be chosen by the nation. That is one of the nation's most incontestable rights, arising from the nation's duty to take care that the administration functions properly, which can only happen if the supreme power is entrusted to the man most worthy to wield it.

But the possession of a right and the exercise of a right are two very different matters, in affairs of government. Possession of the supreme power admits of neither competition nor participation. It is not the less true, on the other hand, that its exercise can only be effected by delegation—*i.e.*, by the participation of some elements of the nation in enjoyment of some of the rights of the Chief of the State—with his consent, of course.

Thus in a Muslim country, the chief of the State should be the Elected of the nation. He should possess all the rights and prerogatives required to make his power effective. But, by delegation, he gets rid of his functions as supreme head of the executive, granting to his representatives sufficient rights to enable them to replace his action by their own, effectively.

The chief task of the Head of the Executive is to act as regulator of the political system of the country ; to see that it functions regularly ; to maintain harmony between the various powers therein, and settle differences which arise between them. Representing, by the national will, the authority which emanates from the Shari'at, the Chief of the State is *personally responsible* both to the representatives and guardians of the Shari'at—what-

ever be the body charged with those functions—and to the nation (this is a distinctive feature of the Muslim organization); while his delegates are responsible to the representatives of the nation and those of the Shari'at. Thus in the Muslim political regime, the responsibility of the Executive Power to Parliament and to the Legislative Assembly is established.

In the special case where it should happen not to be Parliament which complains of the representatives of the Executive, and where the delinquent should happen to be the Chief of the State himself, whether through incapacity or undue conduct; the nation itself bringing the charge against him; in that case, the Shari'at gives ear to the nation, and decrees his downfall.

By a mechanism and procedure of extreme simplicity, the Muslim nation can get rid of its sovereign, when his faults, his vices or shortcomings have rendered him insupportable. In a day it can depose him from the very summit of grandeur to the condition of an ordinary mortal.

THE EXECUTIVE POWER

Every competence confers a right, and every right implies a competence. Joined together, these two conditions create independence of action.

If national representation has the right to control the government, that is because the nation alone is competent to judge whether its Executive is behaving well or ill towards it. In the same way, it is because the Legislature is composed of persons competent to make the laws that it has the right to legislate. The function of ruler and administrator necessitates a competence which the Executive acquires, if it does not already possess it, by experience; which gives it the right to govern and administer. If then, right and competence secure to Parliament and to the Legislature complete independence, those conditions will suffice to secure the same independence to the Executive. Therefore, the Executive Power must be as free in its domain, which is that of action, as Parliament and the Legislature are in their domains.

The right of Parliament to control the Executive is no infringement of the liberty or independence of the latter; which must be able to act according to its own inspirations and its own consciousness. Only thus can it work effectively and be responsible. *Parliament has only a right to criticise.* It warns; it urges; *it does not command.* In the event of disagreement between Parliament and the Executive assuming a serious form, it is for the Head of the State to intervene with a view to settling the difference in a manner favourable to the nation's protest. But the need to satisfy the nation, also, is no restriction on the liberty of the Executive; since the very reason for its existence is to give the nation satisfaction by providing for its needs; and the need for Parliament to control the government always in the direction of the nation's needs is no restriction on the liberty of Parliament. To maintain

the contrary would be tantamount to saying that by obliging an institution to conform to the purpose for which it was created we assail the liberty and independence of that institution.

As for the rights and appanages of the Executive, they will be those which appertain to every Executive ; the functions being nearly the same everywhere.

POLITICAL PARTIES

In politics, as in every other sphere of action and of thought, differences of ideal, conception and appreciation arise to divide men. But such divergences are always of a very variable nature because of the environment in which they are produced, the changes which produce them, and their very nature. If those which exist in the domain of politics are everywhere represented by political parties : that means only that the generating causes and the nature of the differences are the same. Whereas, in the Western political system, political rivalries are born of the rivalry and antagonism of the social classes—some wishing to overthrow the existing social order in order to replace it by the one which pleases them ; others seeking to modify it only in a way the better to secure their own ambitions ; yet others wishing to preserve it as it is : in the Muslim political system divergences exist only as regards the choice of means for the attainment of the common object, which is to consolidate and to perfect the existing social order. Whereas, in the Western system, the rôle played by the parties is incessantly to change and alter the existing social order : in the Muslim system, on the contrary, it is to preserve the institutions which Islam created. That is why, in the West, political parties, have such monstrous importance, dominating national life and disfiguring the forms of its activity to suit themselves. That is why political parties and their actions play a much more modest part in Muslim countries, where they will never succeed in dominating the national life. That is another proof of the superiority of the Muslim social order over that of the West.

Furthermore, if political activity has acquired such exceptional importance in Western countries, that is because they experience the need to remedy the defects of their social order in that way.

It is a fact that Muslim society is better constituted than Western society.

THE SENATE (Upper House)

The Senate is an essentially aristocratic institution, born of the need to defend the rights and principles of a certain class and certain individuals. Its mission is to moderate and check the "democratisation" of society, and prevent excesses. It has, therefore, no *raison d'etre* in Muslim society, where no legal inequality exists either between classes or individuals ; where, consequently, there are none of the dangers which may threaten Western

society in its evolution. The wisdom and moderation of which Muslim society may stand in need, in its own evolution, will be always amply supplied by its single Chamber aided by the Legislative Power, and both guided by the Shari'at.

Therefore, with institutions such as I have just described—the Controlling Power, the Legislative Power and the Executive Power each made independent by its competence and special functions—and with full power and efficiency secured to authority: the Muslim regime will respond perfectly to the spirit of the Shari'at, and will closely unite all those powers in the common task of safeguarding the integral and perpetual supremacy of the Shari'at. Thus will peace and concord be established in the political life of Islam—the peace and concord which exist in Muslim social life. Thus we shall achieve the perfect harmony which should exist between social and political institutions if the nations are to win real prosperity. Such indispensable harmony is the goal which every constitution, every political reformation must attain; for, without it, the best social order will be paralysed and rendered impotent, while even the most defective social order which has the advantage of being in harmony with its political regime, will always be able to make progress.

In this essay, as you see, I have only sought to explain what would be the spirit and nature of the political regime best suited to the Muslim social order and in perfect accord with it. I have not considered a political constitution properly so-called. Such an undertaking would have been out of place in a work of such a general nature. To frame the constitution of a people is a task for specialists who must take into account the political needs of that particular people and must adapt it to the ethical and intellectual level, mentality and peculiar characteristics of that people. Besides, as it is unimaginable that one form of political constitution could suit all Muslim peoples, despite the multitude of points they have in common, the reader will hardly be surprised at finding no such vain attempt at theorising on my part. My object has been simply to warn my fellow-countrymen and fellow-Muslims of the irreparable error that the Muslim peoples would commit by adopting imitations of the political constitutions of the West and, along with them, the social and political principles of that portion of humanity—the adoption of the former implying necessarily the adoption of the latter.

What would actually happen if the advocates of Western methods had their way, in any Muslim nation? They would very soon discover that they had replaced the social solidarity, which is the most distinctive feature of Islam, by the class rivalry and hatred of the West; that they had wrecked individual liberty and equality in that nation, and had plunged it in the Western chaos—*i.e.*, had reduced it to a state in which it would be always in pursuit of the very liberty and equality which it had renounced, yet would

never attain them. They would very soon discover that the hatred which exists between the peoples of the West—a hatred without truce or mercy—had replaced the beautiful fraternity of Islam; and that the common ideal which unites them now had disappeared, making room for all kinds of fleeting, false, imaginary ideals born of the egotism, faults of character and temporary needs of men; dividing individuals and classes, condemning them to hate each other and so fight incessantly.

No doubt they then would be the first to recognise, although too late, that it is not by disorganising a nation ethically and socially, not by plunging it in social anarchy, that the economic prosperity and political power of that nation can be revived, or that one can guard it against foreign domination.

The dangerous illusions with regard to the effect of "Westernisation" on the Muslim world which are cherished in some Muslim countries, can only proceed from a defective imagination and imperfect knowledge of the questions, which are vital to the Muslim world, and yet are treated with an incredible frivolity unworthy even of the mentality underlying the movement. Such deplorable illusions prevent their entertainers from perceiving that the harm which "Westernisation" must inevitably do the Muslim world will always be in strict proportion to the measure of its Westernisation; and so the more complete the transformation, the more harm it will do the Muslim world, bringing it in the end to utter ruin. Such deplorable illusions do not let their victims realise the truth, which is: that safety for the Muslim world lies in building up its social, political and economic life solely on the unchangeable, eternal foundation of Islamic truth.

In conclusion I must add that Muslim "intellectuals," when they think themselves obliged to imitate the West and seek inspiration in its principles, show that most of them at any rate have formed a false ideal and one most ill-adapted to the task before them. They fail altogether to see that their sole aim—I might even say, the sole justification for their existence—is to represent Islamic principles in all their truth and in their full perfection, and to serve them to the utmost of their power. They fail to see that they should, therefore, draw their inspiration only from the purest, the most lofty spirit and the best traditions of Islam, so that they may guide themselves and not have to be guided by others, may set an example instead of following the example of others. Only on that condition can Muslim men of intellect participate in the general task of human progress, aud play worthily the leading part which belongs of right to Islam. Any other line of conduct on their part must condemn the Muslim world to live under the tutelage of foreign powers indefinitely, therefore in a perpetual state of subjection and inferiority, which would essentially corrupt it and make it subject to the domination of the peoples of the West for ever.

If the task of modern Muslim thinkers is so far from easy, it is glorious. It calls, indeed, for much of perseverance, self-denial,

courage and, above all, faith—a faith that never wavers—in the cause of Al-Islam ; a faith, ardent and absolute, which shall arm our men of intellect, become our champions, with all the confidence in themselves which they must have in order to perform their heavy task. It calls for high moral qualities ; without which Muslim thinkers can claim no right to exist at all.

STUDIES IN INDIAN PAINTING *

MR. N. C. MEHTA, I.C.S., has earned the gratitude of every student of the Indian art of painting by this serious, scholarly, and at the same time characteristically modest, contribution to our knowledge of that vast and fascinating subject. He does not set out to cover the whole field, so much of which has been already cleared by previous writers, though in fact he does cover it sufficiently for the ordinary reader's purpose. His aim is simply to fill some gaps in the historic chain, and to remove certain wrong preconceptions which have taken root in even learned minds merely, as he shows, for lack of proper data. Let him speak for himself. In his Foreword he explains :—" The object of this volume is to bring together some new material for the study of Indian painting. I have been fortunate to have been able to include in the present work examples of the classic age ....in the shape of the frescoes of Sittannanāsal, which are the only remnants of Pallava painting of the time of Mahendravarman I. My next chapter deals with the only remnants yet known of secular painting of mediæval Gujarat. Pictures of this type have hitherto been classified as Jain painting, principally because most of the specimens in the shape of illustrated MSS. are found in works of Jain theology and legends. It now appears that this peculiar style of illustration had nothing to do with Jainism as a creed, but that it was indigenous to and characteristic of Gujarat at least between the 12th and the 15th centuries....There is a considerable amount of material—religious and secular—still extant, but almost entirely in the possession of Jains and Jain Bhandars or libraries, to illustrate the pictorial art of Gujarat....There are also a few examples of portraiture of this school and it is possible that we may discover some old " letters of apology " or *Kshmapna* or Vijnaptipatrā, which the Jain laity and clergy prepared with so much care and embellished for sending to their ecclesiastical head, of the neighbouring place, on the *Samvatsarika*—the last and the holiest of their eight-day festival of fasts. In chapter VII, I have illustrated one such letter painted by a court painter of Jahangir, which vividly recalls the relations between the holy men of the Empire and the great Moghul.....The magnificent development of the Moghul art is shown by a number of master-pieces including the works of the three greatest and best known painters of the reign of Jahangir

* Studies in Indian Painting. By Nanalal Chamanlal Mehta. Bombay, D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co.

—Abul Hasan, Mansūr Naqqāsh and Bishandas. Abul Hasan has hitherto been known only by the panegyric of Jahangir in his charming memoirs. The first authentic picture by this great artist will confirm Jahangir's critical opinion of him and incidentally show what a good judge of painting the emperor was. No example of the Indo-Persian School is known, which approaches this wonderful picture of " The Chariot " in the excellence of its brushwork, or in the spirit of its winged imagination....The Hindu art, which blossomed in the middle of the eighteenth century at the courts of Hindu principalities from Kashmir and the Himalayan valleys to the States in Rajputana and Bundelkhand in Central India, is no doubt in continuation of the older traditions and inspired by altogether different motives and sentiments from the secular art of the Moghuls, but it nevertheless owes to the latter a great deal in the matter of technique, style and possibly even in personnel in the earlier stages of its development. The story of the migration of Shyamdās—the ancestor of Molārām —to Tehri in the train of Sulaiman Shikoh needs no repetition. There is a picture by him in the collection of Babu Sitārām Sāhu of Benares. It is probably not known that the fugitive prince Jahandar Shah had also painters in his entourage at Benares. One of their descendants Ram Prasad is still working for the Bhārat Kalā Parishad. The Benares school of painting which lingered on to about 1870 A.D. is probably the direct offshoot of the later and decadent art of the Moghuls. What is meant, however, is not that the Hindu art of the 18th century is merely derivative of the Moghul school of painting; but that both Moghul and Hindu painting must be regarded as species of the same genus with differences in accent, inflexion, interest and expression. Of the Hindu species there are several vigorous branches, the most notable being those designated as the Jaipur and Pahāri *qalam* respectively.....Hindu painting of the 18th and the first half of the 19th century has still to be studied in detail; just as the ramifications of the Moghul school, especially towards the south at the courts of Poona and Hyderabad have yet to be traced."

We shall follow the plan of the book thus set forth for us. Of the classic period, three fine coloured reproductions from the Pallava mural paintings at Sittannanāsal and one (not coloured) from the Bagh frescoes are given. Of these we would call attention to the beautiful head of Mahadev (Plate III) as an example of the much talked of Grecian influence on Indian classic art, which is seldom so clearly apparent as it is here. The Gandharva (Plate 2) and apsarās (Plates 3 and 4) recall similar figures at Ajanta. The two examples of the "secular painting" as practised in Gujarat in the fifteenth century A.D. do not at all arride us. The forms and faces are grotesque and the design unlovely. Mr. Mehta finds them interesting—and no doubt they are so—as showing a stage of evolution in the dress of Indian men and women. But as examples of Indian art these illustrations merely serve to mark a hitherto uncharted region as in old-time maps of Africa did the word

"pygmies." Frankly, we do not believe that much pictorial genius was ever to be found in Gujarat, a scepticism which entails no slight upon the Gujaratis who among their other gifts have always numbered that of appreciation of fine art.

The finest picture reproduced in this volume is unquestionably that which Mr. Mehta has selected in his Foreword as by far the best :—" A Bullock Chariot " by Abul Hasan (Plate 27). Next to it we are inclined to rank the exquisite flower painting by Mansūr Naqqāsh (Plate 31) with its double border, which Mr. Mehta " discovered in a picture album belonging to the Habibganj Library (Aligarh district) and is reproduced here by the courtesy of Nawab Habib-ur-Rahman Khan, Minister of Charities, Hyderabad " (our Sadr-us-Sudūr). But if we had to choose from these illustrations one to hang on the wall of a room and look at daily, we should choose another of the finest Moghul period, " The House of Shaikh Phūl " by Bishandās. Shaikh Phūl is a Mahzūb (a religious madman) and his house is like a little shrine whose dome goes up into the branches of a neem-tree overhead. On the platform or verandah of the little house squats Shaikh Phūl himself—a dark and very tall grey-bearded figure, paying no attention to his many early morning visitors and voluntary servants," digging away " (says Mr. Mehta) " at the plastered surface of the verandah with a dagger-like implement," though he seems to us to be merely toying with the dagger-like implement. The pale colours of an Indian monsoon dawn are in the sky. " A sweeper is still gathering the sweepings, while the water-bearer with the leather skin slung over his left shoulder makes his bustling appearance. A picturesquely clad individual, with a peaked cap and a long tassel, makes his salutations ; while a more important individual —a young nobleman of the court, beardless and wearing pearl ear-rings according to the etiquette of the times—is calling the attention of a venerable-looking man leaning on a long stick to the maudlin activities of the Shaikh. A little in the rear is the thoughtful figure of a student with a stout volume in his left hand, quenching his thirst in a manner still common in Hindustan. The kitchen fire has still to be lit. A swarthy milk-man appears with a jar of milk on his head and a pair of scales in his hand to take his customary offerings to the holy shrine. The scene is quieter on the left side of the picture. A boy wearing a rose-coloured jāmā presents a basket of fruits probably on behalf of the women standing just behind him. All these activities, however, make no impression on the pre-occupied and self-absorbed Shaikh....The Shaikh's quiet retreat is nestling under the hospitable branches of a *neem* tree, which is drawn with rare detail and sureness of touch. A pair of ravens, drawn to perfection, is shown on opposite house-tops. There are no less than 25 figures painted in a variety of poses and attitudes ; but the extremely sensitive portrait of Sheikh Phūl with his long, alert and athletic frame, his shaggy beard and unkempt hair immediately arrests attention. The face drawn in profile is a

marvel of subtle and penetrating portraiture and revealing expression. It must, however, be admitted that the scale of the picture makes it difficult to appreciate the amount of work and knowledge of human nature put in this grouped portrait—especially in the drawing of the mad devotee." Thus Mr. Mehta, in his excellent description. But it is not as a "grouped portrait," that we find the picture so fascinating, but as a scene in tune with nature, almost as a landscape. The vision of the painter Bishandas is not that of a portrait painter collecting well-marked types into a cunning group, but rather of a landscape-painter who sees the light of early dawn, the quaint scene and the human figures and the crows, as a whole which somehow interests him, and which he has managed to convey so strongly to us that we have the impression one receives from the best French and Japanese landscapes, as if the curtain of the mysteries of life and nature had been lifted for us for a moment locally. We think this painter Bishandas deserved even higher praise than that which the Emperor Jahāngīr bestowed on him in the words "unequalled in his age for taking likenesses."

Of the other Moghul paintings reproduced, we must mention "A Darbar Scene" (Plate 38) in which "Ali Mardān Khan, Governor of Kandhār, is seen bowing in the Moghul fashion by doing *mujra*.....A high nobleman of the court of Iran wearing a long green robe, bearing the name of Ganj Ali Khān, is standing just behind the three men in Moghul costume. Both Ganj Ali Khān and his son Ali Mardān Khān are splendidly attired in long Persian coats and wear jewelled turbans with feather plumes. Behind them are the various attendants bringing the choicest gifts of the land to be laid at the feet of the Moghul Emperor. In the foreground of the picture are, with the grooms, gaily caparisoned steeds for which western countries have been famous for centuries.....At the top of the picture is shown the Naubat-Khāna—the royal band of musicians with a variety of instruments. The conductor is seated on a raised dais with a pair of drums in front of him. Between the Naubatkhāna and the assemblage below, is a platform with the various dresses and costly textiles arranged on trays, probably meant as gifts, along with the horses and trays of jewels, to the Emperor." Mr. Mehta adds: "Whatever the limitations of Moghul painting may have been, in its highest flights it is an art of singular fascination, unsurpassed craftsmanship and amazing characterisation. A scene such as this gives a far more accurate and vivid idea of the pageantry of the Moghul court, its elaborate etiquette, its supreme refinement and even its barbaric splendour than any volumes of learned disquisition."

"A European Embassy" (Plate 39) shows an embassy from Europe entering the presence of the Emperor Shāhjahān. Mr. Mehta tells us: "I have not been able to find out the exact historical incident which is the subject of this magnificent picture. The Emperor Shāhjahān is seated in the Diwān-i-Khās with two

princes of the royal blood in front of him and two behind—probably Dārā, Shujā', Murād and Aurangzeb. The picture probably relates to the earlier part of Shāh Jahān's reign, for the royal princes and a number of courtiers wear the ear-rings customary at his father's court. The European embassy is just being ushered into the presence of the Emperor, and it is interesting to note that it consists of both men and women. It is perhaps a Portuguese mission come to the court of Delhi to secure some special privileges." (From the costumes and complexions we ourselves should guess that it is a Dutch mission). "It is interesting to note that the Europeans in the 17th century did not confine themselves to sombre colours in their choice of headgear. The women are elaborately dressed, only one of whom is wearing a hat."

" A Pious Conclave " (Plate 40) is a fine group of two noblemen visiting an ascetic, who is seated with his pupil beneath a tree upon a hill-top. Below is seen the mass of jungle foliage and above the sky is pale with clouds upon it. There is a solemnity and harmony about the group and landscape which shows imaginative vision in the artist and inclines us to rank this picture with Bishandas' " House of Shaikh Phūl."

Of the eighteenth century Hindū (Mr. Mehta calls them; other writers call them Rajput, less correctly) pictures, while we admit that the examples given from Jaipur are more consistent with the Hindu (should we not say rather ' Buddhist ?') classical tradition, we must confess that we find greater pleasure in the little school which our author designates the "court-art of Tehrigarhwal." Plate No. 22 (" The Village Beauty ") with its painted frame is perfectly delightful both as portrait and as landscape, though Shri Krishna talking to the lady on the distant roof seems hardly to belong to it ; in saying which we probably reveal our ignorance of one of the conventions of Hindū art. Even more charming to our taste is " In the Kitchen " (Plate 22) a singularly graceful picture of a Hindu lady in the act of cooking in her house with all the utensils of the art around her. This seems to us to exhale the very atmosphere of ceremonial and personal purity. And here again Shri Krishna and the lady worshipper and the cows—the whole scene outside the house in which the lady functions—seem to us unnecessary, though they are probably the raison d'être of the whole picture. We do not feel the same in the case of Plate 24 (Krishna and Rādha) where the whole is on the solemn legendary plane.

For the Moghuls, portrait-painting was not only secular—the term does not exist in the Islamic code—it was a sin like wine-bibbing, condemned more or less strongly by the majority of earnest Muslims. For them it could never be applied to purposes of religion. Landscape and flower painting have been always lawful for the Muslims and the wonder is that they have never cultivated landscape-painting for its own sake. This ban, of which all Muslim painters were conscious, made for realism, and at the same

time for fraternity with Hindu painters, since here they met outside the fold of their religion. The Art of the Moghuls belongs to wayward Persia and to India, nowise to Islam. And the Hindus have as good a right to claim the merit of it as the Muslims; except in the matter of patronage. The Moghul Emperors patronised the art of portrait-painting on a larger scale, and more munificently, than it had ever been patronised before in India, and, as this art in India has always been dependent upon royal patronage, it follows naturally that its efflorescence under Moghul rule was greater and more brilliant than in times before or since. The Hindu artists acquired a sense of realism from the Muslims, but were seldom free to use it because of the religious implications of their art. On the other hand, whatever of a mystical or solemn atmosphere is to be found in Moghul paintings is an acquisition from their contact with the Hindu artists.

We cannot leave this subject of the pictures in this fascinating book without a mention of the caparisoned, advancing elephant which figures as (Plate 47) and also on the paper cover. Of this Mr. Mehta writes : " The picture here reproduced is unsurpassed as a piece of elephant portraiture. The inscription, '*Amal Dakkniyan*, means that it was possibly painted by a Deccan painter; and if so it is certainly the finest example of that offshoot of Moghul painting, yet known. The picture is finished in every detail and the vigour of its draftsmanship is only matched by the exceptional quality of its glowing tints. Though the landscape is conventional, it is elaborately worked out with genuine taste and great accomplishment. The man below is offering stalks of sugar-cane to the mighty brute, who is conscious, as it were, of his importance and the splendour of his sumptuous trappings. The head of the animal is drawn with real power, and one almost gets the impression of the majesty of the Lost Dominion in his slow and measured tread."

As Mr. Mehta remarked in his Foreword, "The ramifications of the Moghul school, especially towards the south at the courts of Poona and Hyderabad, have yet to be traced." We hope that he himself will some day set to work to trace them and embody the results of his research in such another book. The book, with its wealth of illustrations, plain and coloured, as printed by the Times of India Press (renowned for beautiful and delicate colour-printing) and published in attractive and imposing form by the enterprising firm of Messrs. Taraporewala, is a really memorable landmark in the history of Indian publishing. We recommend it to all readers interested in the subject and to all who are collectors of handsome books.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

WE have before us a book very difficult to review—"The Secret of Ana'l-Haqq," a number of sayings of Sheykh Ibrahim Gazur-i-ilahi, translated from the Persian by Khan Sahib Khwaja Khan, B.A. and published at the Hogarth Press, Madras. A thousand years ago, a learned and religious man kept exclaiming "Ana'l Haqq" (I am the Truth). All who heard the exclamation were alarmed or horrified. His Sûfi friends who knew the wherefor of the exclamation were alarmed for his safety, and the rest were horrified at such tremendous blasphemy. The man was arrested, put in prison and, when he would not stop his exclamation was at last, with great reluctance, after he had been given every chance, and only on the *fatwa* of his best friend and religious instructor, executed by the Khalîfah's order. If he could have been shown to be mad he would have been let off. But he did not appear to be mad, by any ordinary test of madness. Only he clung to his preposterous assertion as something dearer to him than life. There has been no complaint of the Law which punished him, even among Sûfis—there can be no complaint against the Sharî'ah—though posterity has deplored the harsh interpretation of the Law, realising that the exclamation broke from him in an uncommon access of that ecstacy of communion and irradiation which befalls the seeker after truth at a certain stage of his pilgrimage. The Persian mind gave way where the Arab or the Turkish mind would still have held its own. Posterity has judged the man a saint and happy in his tragic end. The man was a Persian and the rulers of that day were Arabs. The Persian mind seeks ecstacy even though in illusion. The Arab mind seeks truth even though it prove a disillusion. The Persian mind counts ecstacy as truth; the Arab mind does not. But the man who exclaimed "Ana'l-Haqq" a thousand years ago, although by birth a Persian, was much nearer to the Arab Sûfis than to Persian Sûfis of to-day. The critic naturally turns to his writings and tries to rehabilitate his personality whenever the question of the meaning of his "Ana'l Haqq" is raised. In those writings we find a description of the way which every seeker after truth who is a follower of Muhammad (may God bless and keep him !) has to tread; and of the experience of one fervent and most humble-minded seeker in that way. The writer is content to rank with every Muslim, accepts the Prophet as his exemplar and the Quran as his guide, in contrast to the Persian Sûfis of a later day. This may have been partly because his instructors in Tasawwuf were Arabs, but it must have

been chiefly owing to his naturally saint-like character. In certain of his writings there is ecstacy, but nowhere in them is to be found the analysis—we had almost written, vivisection—of ecstacy so noticeable in the works of some of his remote disciples. His was the pure Sufism of the Arabs, which passionately sought and found the Spirit as against the Letter in Islam, and has kept the Spirit clear through ages when the multitude of Muslims saw the Letter only. The Spirit, as against blind worship of the Letter of the Law : that is the original and right contention of the Sûfi in Islam. It is an irony of fate that Sûfis have themselves evolved a Letter of their own, more cramping in effect than that which Sûfism sought to spiritualise away. The greatest Sûfis we have known in books and life abjured Sûfistic dialectics, and sought refuge from them in the plain terms of the Shari'ah. Language exists complete before the coming of the grammarians, and language is superior to the science of the grammarians. The real exponent of language is the poet, not the grammarian, and the poet is the true lover of language. There are poet Sûfis and there are grammarian Sûfis. In proportion as the letter and the spirit come together in the great revival of Islam, the poet Sûfi and the Sunni will become identified. But the grammarian Sûfi will remain outside, to perish in due course for lack of his accustomed atmosphere, leaving his books behind him. His books will still have interest, but less for the Muslim than for the non-Muslim. To the Muslims all that they have written of the way of truth will then seem a matter of common experience, a simple matter treated far too intricately and in a spirit not devotional enough. To most of the non-Muslims their books will be a revelation, for they chart the no-man's-land which lies immediately before us, and trace the way of approach to Allah through all the circles. Europe and America, at present eager to establish communication with the spirit world, would get enlightenment from such a book as this before us, which, by its sophistication and its subtleties, tends rather to obscure the light for Muslims, who have other aims ; for the conclusions of Sufism are based on actual experience, and would stand the tests of the Psychical Research Society. But in order to convey such enlightenment, translation far more radical is needed than this, in which the technical terms are untranslated. They are left in Arabic and they recur so often that the reader without knowledge of Arabic would be bewildered, the subject in itself requiring strained attention without the added difficulty of an unknown terminology. As it is, the book is for the Indian reader, and we doubt its usefulness to him. The Persian Sheykh, with Persian waywardness, at times insists on doctrines hardly known to Arab Sûfism. Persia is the land of poetry, also the land of subtlety and ingenuity. It has never been the source of pure Islamic inspiration.

A book which should commend itself to readers of " Islamic Culture " is Mr. S. Khuda Bukhsh's translation of Professor Hell's German Monograph " The Arab Civilization (Cambridge,

Heffers 8/6d. net). The author has fallen into the error of some Christian writers who pretend that a complete change in the character of the Holy Prophet took place after the Hijrah—a view no Muslim, and no unbiased student of the Quran and the traditions, can possibly endorse. This does not prevent him, however, from recognising the magnitude of the Muslim contribution to World Culture or of the debt which Modern Europe owes to Al-Islam.

" To me," writes Mr. Khuda Bukhsh in his preface, " the most striking feature of the Arab mind is its daring and courage to face facts—to accept nothing which was not supported and established by actuality—to enthrone reason in the place of fancy, and to carry out reason to its legitimate conclusion—whatever that conclusion may be. This note of intellectual freedom is all the more amazing and striking, as theirs was the Age of Faith, of blind acceptance of things, of unquestioning submission.

" Abu Musa Jabir Ibn Hayyan—the famous Muslim chemist—says : " Hearsay and mere assertion have no authority in chemistry. It may be taken as an absolutely rigorous principle that any proposition which is not supported by proofs is nothing more than an assertion which may be true or false. It is only when a man brings proof of his assertion that we say, ' Your proposition is true.' "

" And this is no uncommon spirit. It manifests itself in domains as wide apart as religion and science. The entire Arab mind was imbued with it, and to it we must ascribe that spirit of tolerance, that large outlook, that craving for learning, that restless ambition to extend wider and yet wider the frontier of knowledge, which so distinguish Muslim mentality.

" Islam encouraged this noble ambition, and stimulated this lofty purpose. Did not the Prophet say : " He who leaves his home in search of knowledge walks in the path of God until his return home." And yet again : " God makes easy the path of paradise to him who journeys for the sake of knowledge."

Of education under the Baghdad Khilâfat, Herr Hell says : " Without any initiative on the part of the State a sort of compulsory school system grew up. Boys joined schools from the sixth year, and girls were not absent from them either. Rich and poor alike enjoyed the same rights and privileges. The community paid the schoolmaster, and we read with amusement how parents arranged with the master to get their children away from the school earlier than others. The subsequent foundation of the universities shows how considerable were the results of these elementary institutions. True, however, middle schools—a preparatory stage to the admission into the universities—were lacking. Even at the universities religion retained its primacy, for was it not religion which first opened the path to learning ? The Quran, tradition, jurisprudence, therefore—all these preserved their pre-eminence there. But it is to the credit of Islam that it neither slighted nor ignored other branches of learning ; nay, it offered the very same home to them as it did to theology—a place in the mosque. Until

the fifth century of the Hijrah " the mosque was the university of Islam," and to this fact is due the most characteristic feature of Islamic culture— " perfect freedom to teach." The teacher had to pass no examination, required no diploma, no formality, to launch out in that capacity. What he needed was competence as a teacher. Every Muslim had free admission to the lectures. And to these lectures came not inquisitive ignoramuses, but Muslim " savants " from all parts of the Empire. It was open to any member of the audience to question the lecturer, and a lecturer, unable to explain a point raised, or to satisfy the questioner, was forthwith disgraced, discredited. Many features of the teaching profession have come down to us. Every teacher had his fixed days and hours. On the other hand, there was no time-limit to the lectures. It rested entirely with the lecturer to fix the number of lectures on any given subject. There were no fixed holidays when all classes closed down. The lecture was usually based on a treatise composed either by the lecturer himself or by another. The lecture, delivered slowly, was taken down by the audience. By means of questions occasionally thrown out, the lecturer ascertained whether he was being followed or not. At times he stepped down among the audience, to discuss the subject with them. From the tenth century on, the older teachers employed assistant teachers to help the students in revising the subject. Until the eleventh century the teacher was left to earn his own living. Some held appointments as judges (qadhis), others enjoyed patronage. Others again carried on some trade or craft. Students of languages and literature took up private tutorships, worked as companions, or composed occasional odes, for their living. Later on, academies were established by princes, where the teachers received salaries and enjoyed honour and dignity. But the era of decline had then already begun. The period of Islam's widest sway corresponded with the period of the most perfect freedom to teach. There was one and only one check—copyright. No one was allowed to use the book of another at a public lecture without written permission.

"Even after the death of the author, the right to accord this permission devolved on his heirs. Nor was any member of the audience allowed to make use of a lecture without the lecturer's permission. This permission was the sign-manual warrant of competence. The maintenance and enforcement of the law of copyright served as an incentive to personal effort, to originality, to progress, in the domain of learning."

The author recognises the complete dependence of Europe in the Middle Ages upon Muslim culture for the knowledge and ideas which later brought about the Renaissance and the Reformation.

" Just as, once, systematic translations brought home the ancient sciences of the West to the Arabs—so now the mediæval West, by the very same process of translation, appropriated the sciences of the Arabs. We notice in the XIth century the Carthaginian Constantino travelling for 30 years in North Africa and

the Orient with a view to teaching Arabian medical science at Salerno and to translating Arabic works into Latin when a monk at Monte Cassino. Adelard of Bath, too, in his travels in Asia, Egypt and Spain, studied the mathematical and astronomical works of the Arabs, with a view to translating them into Latin on his return home to England. To fill up the obvious gaps in the Western knowledge of philosophy the Archbishop of Toledo founded a school for translation, which, under the supervision of the Archdeacon Dominico Gondislavi, and with the co-operation of the Hebrew, Johannes ben David (Hispalensis) in 20 years rendered into Latin all the older philosophy of the Arabs. In the Italian Plato of Tivoli and Gerard of Cremona, in the astrologer Friedrich II, in Michael Scotus, in Hermanus Allemanus (or Teutonicus), the thirteenth century found illustrious translators.

"The struggles of the Christian population of Spain with foreign masters who were enfeebled by culture and torn by dissensions, the gradual withdrawal of the Moors to the South, and the final shrinking of their Empire to the small kingdom of Granada, did not interfere with, much less end, the intellectual contact between the two great rival religions of the world. With ever fresh Christian conquest of the Islamic centres of learning new treasures, in the shape of books, came into Christian hands. Nor were these books allowed to remain on their shelves unread—their study was enthusiastically encouraged by the Christian kings of Castille."

In the course of his remarks on Arab Architecture Professor Hell describes a hospital, one of many which were founded and maintained by Muslims.

" In 1285 Sultan Mansur Kalaun began, and in 1293 his son Nasir completed, an immense hospital. Round its quadrangular pillared courtyard were arranged in cruciform four high halls, of which one was set apart for the hospital staff, and the other three for the patients. The scanty remains of the interior—a couple of folding doors and a piece of wooden plafond—leave no doubt whatever that the entire art of that age was employed to make the stay of the patients there pleasant and cheerful. As in the palaces of princes, so here—rippling brooks meandered through every available space, and music played day by day. Here the first call to prayer was sounded two hours earlier than outside in the town, to make the night appear shorter to those that could not sleep. Whatever medical science could do to make residence in the hospital happy was done. Different diseases were treated in different wards. To the insane particularly pleasant apartments were allotted. The sick were lodged, as each case needed, in the southern or northern portion of the hospital. They were artificially warmed or cooled, and special stress was laid on fresh air, for, said they, " man need eat from time to time only, but breathe always he must."

UNKNOWN ARABIA

Major Cheesman went to Al-Hasa in Arabia armed with a letter of introduction to 'Abdul 'Azîz Ibn-us Saûd, Sultân of Najd, from General Sir Percy Cox ; by virtue of which he was allowed, after some delay and apparent reluctance on the part of the authorities, to visit the decayed and neglected Oasis of Jabrin, never before visited by a European *. His chief object in this journey was to study the fauna, and especially the birds, of a country so little known. He carried with him, however, a theodolite and incidentally took observations and measurements helpful towards the accurate mapping of the region visited by him which, as he shows, has hitherto been mapped inaccurately, from hearsay only. He summarises the results of his expedition as follows :—

" The Al-Murra tribe and their mysterious oasis of Jabrin had been visited and photographed. Wadi Sahba had been seen for the first time by European eyes, and its connection with Wadi Hanifa in Najd confirmed. Equally important from the point of view of Arabian hydrography was the proof of the non-existence of two immense rivers or drainage channels that have figured largely in Arabian maps from the earliest times under the names of Wadi Jabrin and Wadi Aftan."

" The discovery of the ruin-field at Abu Zahmul has strengthened the claims made by previous historiographers that Oqair is the site of the ancient Phoenician port of Gerra. The latitude and longitude of Oqair, Hufuf and Jabrin and the latitude of Wadi Sahba were astronomically determined.

" As regards the collections, 48 specimens of mammals represent18 species of which 5 species and 4 sub-species are new to science. The 127 specimens of birds contain 34 species, of which 3 sub-species are new. The 22 specimens of reptiles represent 11 species, of which 3 have not been previously recorded from Arabia. The 20 adult and 17 immature specimens of fish are all of one species. The 73 specimens of insects represent 35 species, of which 4 species and 1 sub-species are new. The 36 specimens of plants represent 23 indigenous and 13 cultivated species ; 2 of the indigenous species are new to the Arabian list. Geological specimens were obtained from Hufuf, Jafura, Wadi Sahba and Jabrin."

Incidentally Major Cheesman discovered that Jafura, far from being an oasis as described from hearsay by a former English traveller, is a particularly bare and lifeless tract of desert.

But the interest of the book to the general reader is not its scientific purpose but its tale of actual encounters, particularly the author's interviews with the Sultan of Najd, whose photograph adorns the volume, and his account of the life and customs of the Wahhâbis and of their dealings with non-Wahhâbis in a territory like Al-Hasa where the latter are in the majority.

*" In Unknown Arabia." By Major R. E. Cheesman, with a foreword by Major-General Sir Percy Z. Cox, (London, Macmillan).

Sultan 'Abdul 'Azîz took a personal interest in the author's collection of birds.' 'He displayed more knowledge of the different species than any educated Arab I had encountered. The usual native classification of the fauna is limited to two divisions, eatable and not-eatable, and even the more advanced students, especially sportsmen, could distinguish only the Bustard, Sand-grouse, falcon, and very little else. The Sultan was most interested in the Eagle-Owl and was not satisfied with the Arabic name of *Booma* (Bûmah) since he said it applied to all owls including the Barn-owl which he called Umm us Sakhr (Mother of Rock), but try as he would he could not remember the correct name of the eagle-owl ....After a dead silence in the room the missing word came to the Sultan. " Fayum " he said. " Fayum," repeated everyone, much relieved. " Fayum, of course it is." I then told him how pleased I was to have found the desert lark (Ammomanes), of which we had obtained a single specimen on the way to Sahva some three years before. " It is the *Hamra*, one of our commonest birds," he remarked, when I explained that it would probably prove a new bird to Ornithologists. It has since been named *Azizi* after him. The big Desert or Bifasciated Lark (Alaemon) produced a smile of recognition as of an old friend. " Umm-as-Salim " he said, " don't you find them in England ?"......" When coffee came, the conversation turned to motor-cars, a subject of vital interest to him at the moment, as he said he was expecting one of the Citroen, caterpillar cars. Ordinary cars were well enough on the hard sandstone at Riyadh and Hufuf, once they got there, but the sand-belt of the Dahana was an obstacle to easy communications. With the Citroen he hoped, not only to connect these two towns but also to cross the sand-belt to the coast at Oqair. He was anxious to know whether, after crossing the sands, the caterpillars would refuse to run on the hard plains, and was relieved to hear that, according to reports, they ran equally on both. He realised that if he could travel direct from Riadh to Oqair in one car it would revolutionise the whole transport of his country. I pointed out that he should have a mechanic with special knowledge of the caterpillars, to begin with, as the Indian drivers or Arabs trained in Bahrain, who were at present in charge of the mechanical transport, could only be expected to make a wreck of special machinery they did not understand. He went on to say that he had one big car in Riyadh and several Fords. I had heard that the big car was a Crossley and that it had taken forty camels to pull it over the dunes. The Fords he was not quite so satisfied with, as they had a tendency to tip over. It is a wonder that any car keeps right side up where Arab drivers are concerned ; they have fair hands on a horse, but none at all at the wheel, and never acquire sufficient proficiency to become, so to speak, part of their car. With an actual spill as the sole check on their speed, they have only to encounter an unnoticed hole or a too rapid turn, and a somersault is inevitable."

That was a year before the Hajjâz war, when the extent

of the Sultân's realm was not what it is to day.

When the Sultân visited Hufûf Major Cheesman waited on him as in duty bound. He was very kindly received.

" All the time I was there a continual string of Arabs were being brought in by aides-de camp from among the soldiers, who introduced them by name to the Sultân. They kissed his forehead, but he hardly noticed them, and not a word was said unless it was a muttered 'Salam aleykum,' on the part of the caller . . . .He asked if I had news of the result of the General Election in England and whether the Reparations question between France and Germany had been settled. He seemed quite up-to-date in his knowledge of Western affairs, and I took it that he would hear of anything conclusive before I did. I told him of the arrival in London of the Arabian ostrich he had sent to Sir Percy Cox, and that a great many people had been to see it, while the Oryx he had presented to the King was still alive in the Zoo. I said I hoped to shoot an Oryx, but he did not seem to think it likely. There had been no rain for years, and they had all been driven away far to the south. The only place where they were heard of nowadays was in the desert, near Najran, and the Arabs who hunted them had to exist entirely on camel's milk. . . ."

The news that the Ikhwân had taken the town of Najrân, beyond the great desert, was brought to the Sultân by mounted messengers. " The peaceful town was disturbed during the day by rifle-shots fired close to my house. I looked out of the window and saw two camels each carrying two Badawin, one on the saddle and one on the hindquarters, jogging past towards the palace. The first man was loading his rifle and firing it in the air as fast as he could, calling out " Allah Akbar " and other sentences. I asked what it was all about and was told it was the custom of the Ikhwan (that is, the soldiers), when they brought important news for the Sultân, to fire a rifle in that way to give warning of their approach. I asked if they ever killed anyone and if the rifle was loaded with bullet. The answer was : "Yes, the Ikhwan do not carry blank ammunition, but they are careful to fire in the air, and the bullet then becomes cold and would not hurt anyone if it did hit them. If they fire along the ground the bullet is hot and kills people." The Wahabi science of physics has not been complicated by the problems of gravity, and this simple solution is accepted by everyone."

The author only saw two beggars all the while he was in Arabia. This he ascribes to the family pride which " compels people to support their indigent relatives" rather than to strict enforcement of the law of Islam (of which indeed, he seems to be quite unaware). " Fakirs and other religious mendicants " he writes, " do not flourish in a Wahabi atmosphere as they do in Persia and India, and consequently they do not exist."

One day the market was more crowded than usual and the author asked the reason. He was told that a man had been convicted of theft and was to have his hand cut off by order of the Sultân, and afterwards to be paraded in the market as a deterrent

to other intending pilferers." But it had been reported that the prisoner had been dashing himself against the walls of the prison, and the Sultân had accordingly delayed execution of the sentence to allow him to produce witnesses that he had shown signs of insanity on any previous occasion. The witnesses were produced and the sentence was commuted to one of exile. " It seemed to me a decision of well-balanced justice tempered with mercy." Murder is punished by " public execution with a sword," though the criminal may escape that penalty by paying blood-money. Persons of either sex, who are convicted of immorality, are " publicly beaten with a palm-stick and expelled from the country."

" A deal of latitude is allowed in religious observance in Hufuf. The soldiery and Ikhwan, with whom the Wahabis are synonymous in general parlance, pray in the big Wahabi mosque with the Sultân and the Governor, but the rest of the people go to mosques of other denominations of which there are plenty scattered around the town."

We have dwelt upon the portion of the book which chiefly interests us. Others would doubtless single out the desert journey to Jabrîn and back, and others the ornithological passages. The whole is written as a diary without pretension or elaboration, and so carries the weight of sincerity.

The author, like most men who have approached the East by way of Anglo-India or Anglo-Indianised 'Irâq, seems blissfully unaware that any system of transliteration from Oriental languages into English exists.

ISLAMIC CULTURE *

CULTURE means cultivation and, as the word is generally used nowadays when used alone, especially the cultivation of the human mind.

Islamic culture differs from other culture in that it can never be the aim and object of the cultivated individual, since its aim, clearly stated and set before everyone, is not the cultivation of the individual or group of individuals, but of the entire human race. No amount of works of art or works of literature in any land can be regarded as the justification of Islam so long as wrong, injustice and intolerance remain. No victories of war or peace, however brilliant, can be quoted as the harvest of Islam. Islam has wider objects, grander views. It aims at nothing less than universal human brotherhood. Still, as a religion, it does encourage human effort after self-and race-improvement more than any other religion ; and since it became a power in the world it has produced cultural results which will bear comparison with the results achieved by all the other religions, civilizations and philosophies put together.

A Muslim can only be astonished at the importance, almost amounting to worship, ascribed to works of art and literature—which one may call the incidental phenomena of culture—in the West ; as if they were the justification, and their production the highest aim, of human life. Not that Muslims despise or ever should despise literary, artistic and scientific achievements ; but that they regard them in the light of blessings by the way ; either as aids to the end or refreshment for the wayfarer. They do not idolize the aid and the refreshment.

The whole of Islam's great work in science, art and literature is included under these two heads—aid and refreshment. Some of it, such as the finest poetry and architecture, falls under both. All of it recognises one leader, follows one guidance, looks towards one goal. The leader is the Prophet (صلعم), the guidance is the Holy Quran, and the goal is Allah.

By Islamic culture I mean not the culture, from whatever source derived, attained at any given moment by people who profess the religion of Islam, but the kind of culture prescribed by a religion of which human progress is the definite and avowed aim.

* The first of a series of eight lectures delivered in Madras in January 1927, by the Editor.

No one who has ever studied the Quran will deny that it promises success *in this world* and hereafter to men who act upon its guidance and obey its laws ; that it aims at nothing less than the success of mankind as a whole ; and that this success is to be attained by cultivation of man's gifts and faculties. If any development in Muslim society is not sanctioned by the Quran it is un-Islamic and its origin must be sought outside the Islamic polity. The Muslims cannot expect success from their adoption of it, though it need not necessarily militate against success. If any development is contrary to an express injunction of the Quran, and against the teaching and example of the Prophet, then it is anti-Islamic ; it must militate against success, and Muslims simply court disaster by adopting it.

Certain art-forms were discouraged by Islam at the beginning because of their association with the idolatrous worship of the pagan Arabs and its vicious orgies, the utter extirpation of which was necessary for the progress of the race ; but the discouragement of certain art-expressions and encouragement of others were both, like the works of art produced, regarded as subsidiary. The culture of Islam aimed not at beautifying and refining the accessories of human life. It aimed at beautifying and exalting human life itself. There is to-day a large and undoubtedly intellectual school of thought in the West which seems to hold that the production of fine works of art by a small minority of a community is sufficient reason for acclaiming the civilization and culture of that community, even though the huge majority of its members may be forced by the social order under which they live to lead ugly and degraded lives—nay, there is an intellectual school of thought which seems to hold that the production of fine works of art by a minority of any nation is sufficient justification for condemning the majority to conditions of perpetual ugliness, servitude and degradation. Some of you will, no doubt, remember a discussion in the English press some years ago. The question was this : Suppose a famous and very beautiful Greek statue, unique of its kind and therefore irreplaceable, is in the same room with a living baby, and the room catches fire ; it is only possible to save one or the other : which should be saved ? Very many correspondents, men of intellect and good position—I remember—held that the statue should be saved and the child left to perish ; their argument being that millions of babies are born every day, whereas that masterpiece of old Greek art could never be replaced. That is a view no Muslim could have taken—the very latest, cultivated form of idol-worship.

Islam foresees, and works for, a radiant future for the human race ; and though every Muslim holds his own life cheap in the service of Allah, which is the service of humanity, he would never dream of sacrificing any human life, however insignificant-seeming, to the work of human hands. The adoration—it amounts to that—of works of art is due to disbelief in Allah's guidance and His purpose for mankind. These things are the best that man has

produced in the centuries ; beauty is decreasing, human beings are deteriorating—so runs the argument—therefore we must cling to these beautiful productions of the past as the one ideal left to us. That is pessimism, and Islam is optimistic—optimistic not with the " optimism " satirised by Voltaire in the character of Dr. Pangloss, the absurd philosopher, who kept exclaiming *Tout est pour le mieux dans le meilleur des mondes possibles* (all is for the best in this best of possible worlds). That is the kind of remark which passes with the unthinking for optimism, but it is really fatalism—which is a form of pessimism ; and Islam is not fatalistic. Yes, I repeat that statement. In spite of all that has been said and written of the fatalism of the Muslims, Islam is not fatalistic in the generally accepted meaning of the word. It does not bid man accept the existing conditions as a necessary evil, but commands him never to cease striving for improvement.

Islam is a religion which specifically aims at human progress, and shows the proper way of it in a number of commands and prohibitions covering every avocation of man's daily life, his social life and politics as well as every prompting of his mind and spirit. These commands and prohibitions have been codified into a complete social and political system. It is a practicable system, for it has been practised with a success which is the great astonishment of history.

Many writers have tried to explain away the amazing success of Islam by ascribing it to outside causes—weakness of the surrounding nations, free use of the sword, the credulity of the times, and so forth. But how would they explain away the fact that so long as the Muslims implicitly obeyed a particular injunction of the Sacred Law they succeeded in the sphere of that injunction, and whenever they neglected to obey it, failed ; and how would they explain the fact that any non-Muslims, doing what the Muslims are enjoined to do, have always succeeded in that special direction, except by the supposition that the injunctions of the Quran and the Prophet are laws for all mankind—natural laws which men transgress at their peril—or rather at the peril of the race ?

It was because those laws could not be found out by individual experiment, and could only partly be detected in the long run of history by a student and a thinker here and there, that they required to be revealed by a Prophet. Otherwise they are as natural as the physical laws, which govern our existence evidently and which no one would dream of disputing.

Other religions promise success in another life to those who qualify themselves for it by privation and austerity on earth. Islam promises success and fruition in *this life*—just as much as in the other—to all men, if they will but acknowledge certain laws and obey certain plain rules of conduct. The division between this world and the other vanishes for the true Muslim, since Allah is the Lord of the Heavens and the Earth, the Sovereign of this world just as much as of the others. The other life has its begin-

ning now, and not at death, for all who perform the act of Al-Islam—the Self-Surrender to the will of God—which the Holy Prophet meant when he advised us :

موتوا قبل ا ن تموتوا

" Die before you die."

The success in this world promised by Islam is not the success of one human being at the expense of others, nor of one nation to the detriment and despair of others, but the success of mankind as a whole. Five times a day, from every mosque in the world, the call goes forth

حی للفلا ح حی للفلا ح

" Come to falâh ! Come to falâh ! " The Arabic word " falâh " means success through cultivation. And there is another Arabic word, in common use among Muslims, of which the original meaning is often forgotten in its technical application زکوۃ (zakât) meaning, " cultivation by pruning," " causing to grow straight." Zakàt is the name given to the Islamic poor-rate, so frequently enjoined in the Quran as a duty equal to worship, which truly was a cause of cultivated growth to the community.

" A tax shall be taken from the rich and given to the poor," said the Prophet (God bless and keep him !). When that tax was regularly collected the condition of Muslim society became such that, though the dispensers of زکوۃ sought far and wide, no proper objects of زکوۃ—that is, destitute and ignorant Muslims—could be found, and the money was expended upon works of public benefit.

In the Holy Quran we read :

قد ا فلح من زکیها
و قد خا ب من د سیها

" He is indeed successful who causeth it (the human soul) to grow aright,

" And he is indeed a failure who stunteth and starveth it."

And again :

قد ا فلح من تزکی
و ذ کر اسم ربه فصلی

" He is successful who groweth

" And remembereth the name of his Lord, so prayeth."

Some may think that these are mere religious aspirations and expressions apart from life. Islam is nothing if not practical, and the expressions have been no dead letter in Islam, since they were translated practically into a system of organized relief and charity upon the grandest scale ever attempted, and solved all social

problems in the Muslim world for centuries. The Quran informs us that true religion is practical, not *theoretical* or formal.

ليس البر ا ن تو لوا و جو هكم قبل ا لمشرق و ا لمغرب و لكن البر من ا من
بالله و ا ليوم ا لا خر و ا لملا ئكته و ا لكتا ب و ا لنبيين و ا تى ما له على حبه
ذ و ى ا لقربي و ا ليتا مى و ا لمساكين وابن السبيل و ا لسا ئلين و فى ا لر قاب
و ا قام الصلوة و ا تى ا لز كوة و ا لموفون بعهد هم ا ذ ا عهد و ا و لصابرين
فى ا لبا ساء و ا لضراء و حين البا س ا و لا ئك ا لذ ين صد قوا و ا و لا ئك
هم ا لمتقون

"It is not righteousness that ye turn your faces to the East and the West, but righteous is he who believeth in Allah and the Last Day and the Angels and the Scripture and the Prophets, and giveth his wealth for love of Him to kindred and to orphans and to the needy and the homeless and to beggars and to set slaves free; and those who are regular in prayer and pay the poor their legal portion. And those who keep their promise when they make one, and the persevering in adversity and tribulation. These are they who are sincere. These are they who keep from evil."

ا لذ ين ا منوا و عملوا ا لصا لحا ت

"Those who believe and do good."

How often does that phrase occur in the Quran.* "Those who believe and do nothing" cannot exist in Islam. "Those who believe and do wrong" are inconceivable, for Islam means man's surrender to God's will, and so obedience to His law which is a law of effort not of idleness.

There was no distinction between secular education and religious education in the great days of Islam. All education was brought into the religious sphere. To quote a recent European writer: "It was the glory of Islam that it gave to other sciences the same footing which it gave to the study of the Quran and the Hadith and Fiqh (that is Muslim Jurisprudence)—a place in the mosque*." Lectures on chemistry and physics, botany, medicine and astronomy were given in the mosque equally with lectures on the above named subjects; for the mosque was the university of Islam in the great days, and it deserved the name of university since it welcomed to its precincts all the knowledge of the age from every quarter. It was this unity and exaltation of all learning which gave to the Muslim writers that peculiar quality which every reader of them must have noticed, the calm serenity of orbed minds.

In Islam there are no such terms as secular and religious, for true religion includes the whole sphere of man's activities. The distinction drawn in the Holy Quran is between good, that which is helpful to man's growth, and evil, that which is detrimental and noxious to it. Islam is a rational religion. It has no place for

*The Arab Civilisation. By Prof. Joseph Hell. Translated by Mr. S. Khuda Bukhsh.

the man who can say, with St. Augustine: *Credo quia absurdum est*—"I believe *because* it is incredible." Again and again does the Quran denounce irrational religion as religion evidently false. Again and again does it appeal to men to use their reason and their common sense in matters of religion. All historical experience goes to prove that a large measure of free-thought is absolutely necessary to human progress, and at the same time that nations which lose faith in God deteriorate. Are the two things, the living faith in God and the large measure of free thought, incompatible? A considerable school of thought in the West seems to think that they are incompatible. Islam has proved that they are perfectly compatible. In the early, the successful centuries of Islam, an intense faith in God was combined with free thought upon every earthly subject; for Islam held nothing upon earth so sacred as to be immune from criticism. There was only One Supernatural, only One Incomprehensible; whose Unity, having been once accepted, admitted of no further discussion. He was One for all, Beneficent and Merciful towards all alike, and He had bestowed on man the gift of reason (which is extolled by Muslim writers as the highest gift) to be used quite freely in the name of Allah—that is to say, with the purpose of pursuing what is good and eschewing what is evil, for which the Sacred Law affords guidance and safeguards. There is no priesthood in Islam. All the prerogatives and responsibilities which in other religions have been arrogated to a priesthood, in the system of Islam are vested in the individual human mind. So the most wise and learned men became the natural leaders. Since an unenlightened mind would be a sorry lamp to light the steps of any man or woman, this exaltation of reason carried with it the command for universal education.

The Prophet himself said:

طلب العلم فريضة على كل مسلم وكل مسلمة

"To seek knowledge is a duty for every Muslim and every Muslimah." Universal education both for men and women thus became the Sacred Law of Islam thirteen centuries before it was adopted by the civilization of the West. He also is reported to have said (though the saying is not well authenticated):

اطلبوا العلم ولو كان فى الصين

"Seek knowledge though it be in China;" and the following well authenticated saying shows the importance not only of obtaining knowledge but of spreading knowledge among the people:

ان الله لا يقبض العلم انتزاعاً ينتزعه من العباد ولكن يقبض العلم بقبض العلماء حتى اذا لم يبق عالماً اتخذ الناس رؤساً جهالاً فسئلوا فافتوا بغير علم فضلوا واضلوا

"Verily Allah doth not keep knowledge as a thing apart that he withholdeth from His servants, but He doth keep it in the grasp of men of knowledge, so that, if he shall cause not a man of knowledge to remain, mankind will take foolish

heads and they will be questioned and give fetwas, and they will err and lead others into error."

The picture is too clearly of the present condition of Islam, when we have plenty of narrow theologians, for us to doubt but that the meaning of the word knowledge as here used is something wider and more human than the knowledge they possess.

He said : "The ink of the scholar is more holy than the blood of the martyr." He said : " An hour's contemplation and study of God's creation is better than a year of adoration."

He said :

" He dieth not who seeketh knowledge." " Whosoever revereth the learned, revereth me." " The first thing created was reason. Allah hath not created anything better than reason. The benefits which Allah giveth are on account of it, and understanding is by it; and Allah's displeasure is caused by it, and by it are rewards and punishments."

He said :

" To listen to the words of the learned and to instil into others the lessons of Science is better than religious exercises."

" He who leaveth his home in search of knowledge walketh in the path of Allah."

" Acquire knowledge. It enableth the possessor to distinguish right from wrong ; it lighteth up the path to Heaven. It is our friend in the desert, our society in solitude, our companion when friendless. It guideth to happiness, it sustaineth in adversity. It is an ornament among friends, and an armour against enemies."

ا ن الملا ئكة لتضع اجنحتها لطالب ا لعلم

" Lo ! the Angels offer their wings to the seeker of knowledge."

هل يستوي الذ ين يعلمو ن و الذ ين لايعلمو ن

" Are those who have knowledge on an equality with those who have no knowledge ? "

فضل ألعا لم على العا بد كفضلى على ا د نا كم

" The preferment of the learned man above the devotee is as my preferment above the lowest of you."

He said that a man may have performed prayers, fasting, almsgiving, pilgrimage and all other religious duties, but he will be rewarded only in proportion to the common sense which he employed. And he said that he who has learning but knows not how to apply it to the conduct of life is " like a donkey carrying books ."

Neither the Holy Quran nor the Holy Prophet ever contemplated the existence of an ignorant Muslim. Indeed, " ignorant Muslim " is a contradiction in terms. In the great days of Islam,

an ignorant Muslim, like an indigent Muslim, could hardly have been found.

Islam brought religion back into its proper sphere of action, which is daily life. The light of Allah, spoken of in the Quran, is known to everyone who follows Allah's guidance, for it is the light of every day transfigured and glorified by the knowledge of His immanence. The aim of religion is no far distant object, situated in a future life ; it is present here and now, in service of our fellow-men. The idolators of Arabia kept asking the Holy Prophet for some miracle that might enforce the truth of what he said :

وقالوا مال هذا الرسول يأكل الطعام ويمشي في الاسواق لولا انزل اليه ملك فيكون معه نذيرا

او يلقى اليه كنز او تكون له جنة يأكل منها وقال الظالمون ان تتبعون الا رجلا مسحورا

" And they say : What manner of a messenger of God is this who eats food and walks in the bazaars ! Why is not an angel sent down to be a warner with him ?

" Or (why is not) a treasure bestowed on him, (or why) hath he not a paradise from which to eat ? The evil-doers say : Ye are but following a man bewitched."

And Allah answered the evil-doers in words which plainly show that miracles are not a proof of the divine messenger, who must appeal to men's reason, not their senses or their curiosity.

وما ارسلنا قبلك من المرسلين الا انهم ليأكلون الطعام ويمشون في الاسواق

" We sent not before thee any messengers but such as verily did eat food and walk in the bazaars."

That is to say, all those Prophets of old of whom the people thought as supernatural beings had been men appealing to the minds of others in God's name.

Miracles, according to the teaching of Islam, are not the proof of divinity, much less do they violate the laws of nature, which are themselves divine, being ordained of God. They are evidences of a certain stage of human progress towards the Goal, at which laws hidden from the multitude become apparent.

Many miracles are related of Muhammad (God bless him !) but no Muslim would think of quoting them as a proof of his divine mission. The message and the work achieved—the Quran and the Prophet's preaching, and their consequences—speak for themselves, and are above all miracles.

It is, of course, a fact that the majority of professed Muslims are ignorant and superstitious to-day, accepting a vast mass of legends and absurd beliefs ; but where man's mind is so exalted in the standing orders of the community, vain beliefs are always threatened with the sword of scepticism. Indeed, a large proportion of this mass of legend and superstition merely represents the science of a bygone day. The spirit of Islam expects it to

be superseded by the science of to-day ; for the Muslim's mind is free in all affairs of earth, provided that he complies with certain rules of conduct imposed with a view to his bodily, mental and spiritual health ; and it is his duty to explore the science of his day, and to accept what his mind approves of it—aye, even though it dissipate beliefs or fancies long accepted among Muslims. It cannot touch his creed : " There is no God except Allah, and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah"—a creed which that grand old sceptic, Gibbon, pronounced to be " composed of an eternal truth and a necessary fiction." Even he had to confess that the fiction had been justified in the historic sequel.

There is a great and growing tendency in the Muslim brotherhood to distinguish once for all between the living body of Islamic teaching and the folklore which has been thrown about it like a garment of an antique fashion. How little the discrimination of the robe affects the faith will astonish only those critics, who, misled by the practice of Christianity, have identified the latter with the former ; which Muslims never did.

In the Quran men are bidden to observe the phenomena of nature, the alternation of day and night, the properties of earth and air and fire and water, the mysteries of birth and death, growth and decay—evidences of a law and order which man never made and which man can never bend or alter by a hair's breadth—as proof that man is not the sovereign of this world ; his province of free-will, research and fruitful effort is but a delegated power within an absolute sovereignty ; which absolute sovereignty belongs to Allah, the Creator and Sustainer of the Universe, the Lord of all the Worlds. Man does not, as a rule, realize the marvels of his natural condition, and of the providence surrounding him, because they never fail him. Surrounded by a wonder of creative energy which never fails ; placed in a universe subject to a code of laws which are never broken ; manifestly subject, being unable to inhale a breath, or lift a finger, or speak a word, or think a thought without obeying laws he never made ; man in general thinks but little of such matters, absorbed in the interests of his own restricted sphere of energy, like any insect. Idolising his own restricted sphere, he looks for a providence which will back him in his special aims, oblivious of the needs of the whole creation and of the purpose of the Creator. Obviously, if we admit that there is a Creator and a purpose, we must not expect special treatment, but must seek to conform to the divine will and purpose in creation ; then only can we hope for success.

كلا ان الانسان ليطغى
ان رءاه استغنى
ان الى ربك الرجعى

" Nay, but verily man is rebellious
" That he deemeth himself independent
" Verily unto thy Lord is the return."

Some years ago there appeared a book written by a Scottish divine—not a very interesting book—which made a little stir in the English-speaking world. It was called "The Natural Law in the Spiritual World." I only mention it on account of the title; because the revelation of Islam might be more aptly described as "The Natural Law in the Spiritual World, and in the Social World, and in the Political World." It is to the natural laws which govern man's physical existence that Islam appeals for proof of Allah's actual Kingship, and then goes on to show how laws precisely similar govern man's spiritual and collective life. All the miracles related of all the Prophets and saints are held so unimportant that belief in them is not obligatory. All that is obligatory is belief in Allah's universal sovereignty and in the mission of Muhammad (God bless him!) and all other Prophets as His human messengers. It was this natural and reasonable basis of Islam which made the greatest of German poets exclaim, after reading a translation of the Quran: If this is Islam, then every thinking man among us is, in fact, a Muslim.

A section—the most vocal section—of the modern world would make objection to Islamic culture on the ground that it is unsuitable to modern thought and conditions, being founded on the principle, not of democracy or aristocracy or plutocracy—or any other of the systems which have been tried in modern times, and, one may add, have, everyone of them, been found wanting—but of pure theocracy. Not a remote ideal of theocracy to be contemplated only at hours of worship and forgotten at all other hours; but an actual, practical, complete theocracy acknowledged and obeyed at all times.

A great European statesman is credited with having said: "The Almighty has no part in practical politics" and the chief defect in European politics is, evidently to those who study recent history, that it makes no allowance for the unforeseen event, the Act of God, upsetting careful plans.

Allah's law of consequences still operates, the consequence of good is still good, and the consequence of evil evil, in the long run, however much men shut their eyes to the fact. The Russian Revolution and the failure of the Greek attempt upon the life of Turkey are two out of many instances, in our own time, of the unforeseen event, the act of God, frustrating projects of ambition, well-laid plans of statesmen, which seemed humanly speaking to be certain of success. Indeed, to me, it seems that, as regards the Kingdom of Allah as preached and, to some extent, established by Islam, the position of the modern world is not at all different from that of the mediæval world.

The objectors simply argue on a false analogy. Because the ideal of theocracy which prevailed in Europe in the Middle Ages happened to be associated with miraculous legends and Church ceremonies and regarded as a refuge from a wicked world, these people postulate that all theocracy must be unpractical, a hermit's

or fanatic's dream. Miracles have been discredited by modern science, and men have come to think of the exploitation of the riches of this world and of the improvement of their own position in it as a duty. The best think less of improving their own condition than of improving the condition of their fellow-men.

Thus an ideal of theocracy based on the miraculous, and so remote from actual human needs; which was in its every nature pessimistic, regarding this world as the devil's province, and bidding all who sought salvation flee from it, may truly be regarded as antiquated and unsuitable to modern circumstances. Not so an ideal of theocracy based upon the natural and the actual. Such an ideal is the crying need of modern life to check its suicidal selfishness—an ideal of which the foundations cannot be shaken by the discoveries of science or the thought of man, for they are in nature itself. The greater the wonders of the natural world as revealed by the progressive work of science, the more triumphantly is Allah's Majesty and Providence and Sovereignty made clear to the true Muslim. So long as the natural laws stand firm and certain consequences, good or evil, follow certain acts of men and nations, so long must stand the need for man to recognise in human life a higher will and purpose than his own and to expect a higher judgment than his own; so long must stand the need of man's surrender to that higher will and purpose—which is Islam, as the Quran teaches—if he would succeed.

Islam offers a complete political and social system as an alternative to socialism, fascism, syndicalism, Bolshevism and all the other "isms" offered as alternatives to a system which is manifestly threatened with extinction. The system of Islam has the great advantage over all those nostrums, that it has been practised with success—the greater the success the more complete the practice. Every Muslim believes that it must eventually be adopted in its essentials by all nations, whether as Muslims or non-Muslims in the technical sense, because its laws are the natural (or divine) laws which govern human progress, and men, without the revelation of them, must find their way to them in course of time and painfully, after trying every other way and meeting failure. The system of Islam promises peace and stability where now we see the strife of classes and of nations, and nothing steadfast. It would surely be mere folly on the part of anyone to refuse even to study the advantages or disadvantages of such a system merely because it is a system founded on the thought of God, and claiming to have been revealed by a Messenger of God. That would be sheer bigotry of atheism.

But it is not only because it is theocratic that the Islamic system of human culture is despised: it is because of the position and conduct of the Muslims in the world to-day and yesterday and for many yesterdays. Christendom in the Middle Ages could not consider it because Christendom was then in bondage to the priests, who then, as to-day, called Muhammad (God bless him!) "the false Prophet," and would not allow anyone even to

think that his religion might hold something good and useful to mankind; and the tradition of war between the followers of the two religions has been a mighty barrier until the present time, perpetuating intolerance. To-day, when the barrier is practically down, the position of the Muslims in the world is not such as to lead outsiders to suppose that such men know the secret of the way of human progress. The conduct and the condition of the Muslims now is a very bad advertisement for the teaching of Islam. It is not astonishing if people, seeing it, should turn away and think Islam to blame for their abasement. The point is, that Islam is not to blame for this, any more than ecclesiastical Christianity is to be praised for the present material progress of Christendom. Christianity had a priesthood and no freedom of thought. The centuries in which the Christian Church was supreme are now referred to as the dark ages. Islam had no priesthood, it had freedom of thought, and the ages when Islam prevailed in all its purity were ages of a singularly clear and brilliant light. It is their falling away from pure Islam which has brought ruin to the Muslims: their acceptance of something indistinguishable from a priesthood—or, in the words of the Quran, their "taking others for their lords besides Allah"—their pleasure in scholastic quibbles, their neglect of the advice to seek knowledge everywhere as a religious duty, their denial of free thought and their distrust of reason. At a certain period of their history, they began to turn their backs upon a part of what had been enjoined to them, they discarded half the Shari'ah, the part which ordered them to seek knowledge and education, and to study God's creation. And the Christians of the West about the same time, began to act according to that portion of the Shari'ah which the Muslims were discarding, and so advanced in spite of all the anathemas of their priesthood.

The reason why it was ordained that there should be no priesthood in Islam is because ecclesiasticism is an enemy to human progress, and therefore opposed to true religion, of which the aim is shown in the Quran to be the progress and the liberation of humanity, not its stagnation and enslavement. Muslims all over the world are now awake to this; they know that their humiliation is their own handiwork, and they see that they can only regain a noble status in the world by a return to Islam.

You may think that in this lecture I have wandered off from my appointed subject, which is culture, into the religious field. Islamic culture is so intricately bound up with religion, so imbued with the idea of Allah's universal sovereignty that I could not treat the subject properly without first giving you the indications I have given in this first address. In its grandeur and in its decadence, Islamic culture—whether we survey it in the field of science, or of art, or literature, or of social welfare—has everywhere and always this religious inference, this all-pervading sense of universal and complete theocracy. In all its various productions—some of them far from being what is usually called religious—this is

evident. It is this which makes Islamic nationalism one with internationalism. For acceptance of the fact of Allah's universal sovereignty entails acceptance of the complementary fact of universal human brotherhood.

PRINTED BY
THE SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS
HYDERABAD-DECCAN.

REVIEW OF NATIONS

A MONTHLY JOURNAL

EDITED BY

FELIX VALYI

(FIRST NUMBER)

Contains Articles by foremost Thinkers, Scholars and Writers on

The competence of the League of Nations, Syria and the Arabic World, England in Mesopotamia, Japan and Turkey, European understanding and the Comparative Study of Sister Religions, etc., most interesting to Orientalists.

THE REVIEW OF NATIONS PUBLISHING CO.
GENEVA.
(SWITZERLAND)

A few of the Government Publications.

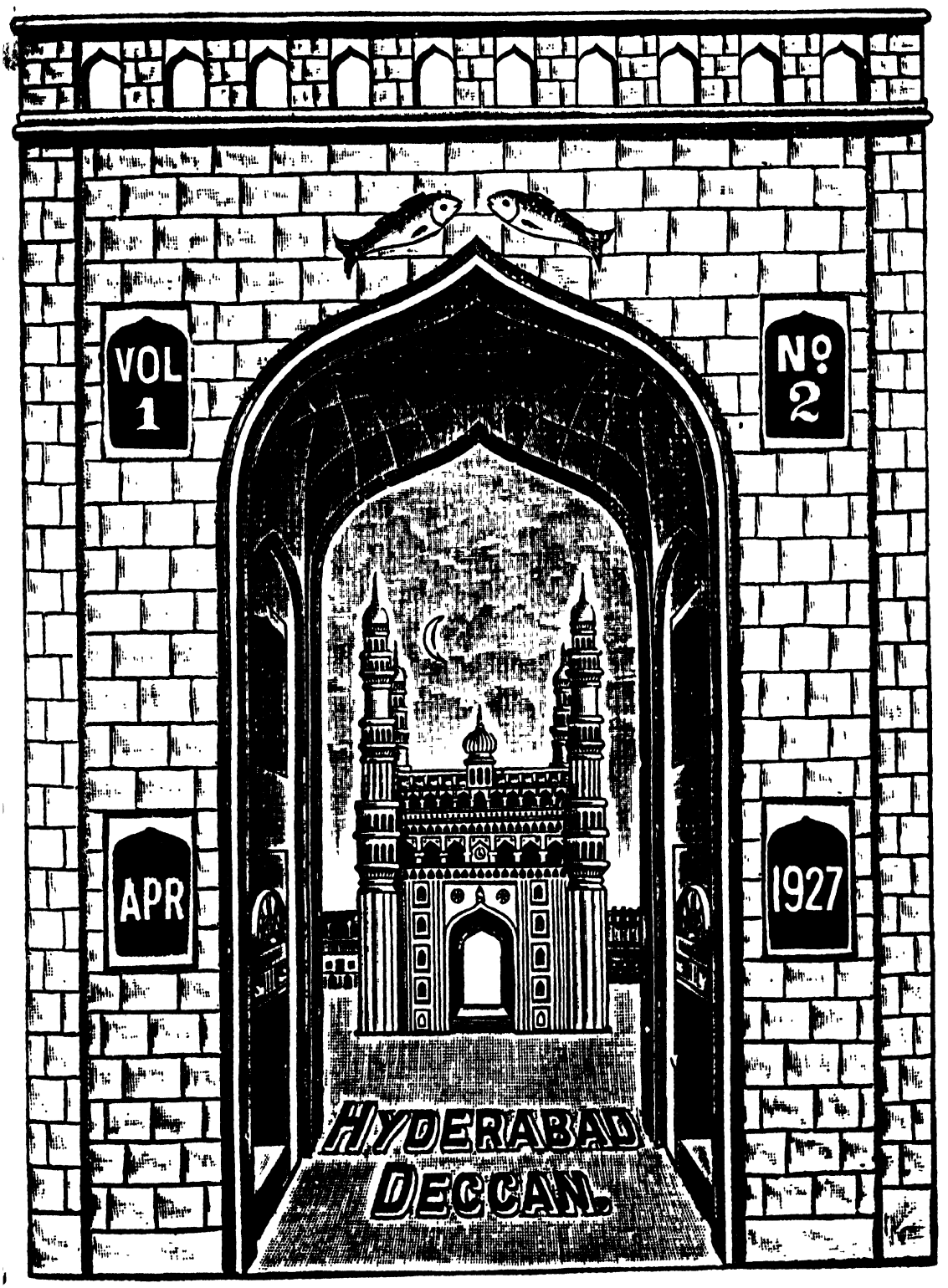
No.	Names of publications with Departments concerned	Language in which the publication is available	Price			Remarks
			O.S. Rs.	A.	P.	
	Archæological Department.					
1	Annual Report from 1323 to 1335 F.	Urdu (8 vol.)	5	0	0	Each volume
2	Hyd. Archæological Series No. 1. The Asokan Edict of Maski with 8 plates	English	1	0	0	
3	Hyd. Archæological Series No. 2. Daulatabad Copper Plates ..	do	1	0	0	If Jagadekamalla with (4) plates.
4	Hyd. Archæological Series No. 3. Kakatiya Inscription of Palampett and Upparpulli	do	2	0	0	
5	Hyd. Archæological Series No. 4. Inscription of Ganapathi Dev of the reign of the Kakatiya	do	1	0	0	
6	Hyd. Archæological Series No. 5. Munirabad Inscription of Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramaditya vi.) ..	do	1	0	0	
7	Hyd. Archæological Series No. 6. The Kotagiri plates of the reign of the Kakatiya Queen Rudramamba A.D. 1273 with (6) plates ..	do	1	8	0	
8	Hyd. Archæological Series No. 7. Bodhan Stone Inscription of the reign of Trailokyamalla (Somesvara I) with (2) plates.	do	1	0	0	
9	Golkonda Survey Map in two sheets.	do	2	0	0	
10	Antiquities of Bidar with (15) plates	do	2	0	0	
11	The Guide to Ajanta Frescoes ..	do	2	0	0	
12	A Guide to Ellora Cave Temples ..	do	1	8	0	
13	The Hyderabad Archæological Society Journal. Vol. i. 1916 (2) parts with 48 plates	do	5	0	0	
14	Do Vol. ii. 1917 with (7) plates	do	2	0	0	
15	Do Vol. iii. 1918 with (7) plates	do	3	0	0	
16	Do Vol. iv. 1919-20 with (7) plates	do	3	0	0	
17	Report Preliminary Survey L' interpritation des Printers, etc., sculptures D' Ajanta, by A Foucher ..	do	1	8	0	
	Nizamiah Observatory.					
1	Hyderabad Astrographic Catalogue Vol. I, 17 Degrees ..	English	12	0	0	
2	Do II, 18 do ..	do	12	0	0	
3	Do III, 19 do ..	do	12	0	0	
4	Do IV, 20 do ..	do	15	0	0	
	Finance Dept.					
1	General Administration Report of the Hyderabad State.	..	3	0	0	
2	Companion Volume containing the red letter chapters to the General Administration Report of the Hyderabad State for 1331 F. ..	..	4	0	0	
3	The Castes and Tribes of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions	English	10	0	0	

A few of the Government Publications—(*concld*).

No.	Names of publications with Departments concerned	Language in which the publication is available	Price	Remarks
	OSMANIA UNIVERSITY.			
	(a) *Translation Bureau.*		O. S. Rs. A. P.	
1	G. Anderson's India under British Rule translated by Moulvi Md. Ilias Berni	Urdu	3 13 0	
2	Intermidiate History of India, Part I, by Moulvi Syed Hashimi. ..	do	4 2 0	Compilation
3	Do do Part II,..	do	6 2 0	do
4	Do do Part III,..	do	4 7 0	do
5	Do do Part IV,..	do	3 7 0	do
6	T.W. R. Davids'Buddist India, translated by Professor Syed Sujjad, M.A.	do	4 2 0	
7	Government of India, Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. II., Ch, VIII & IX, translated by Moulvi Syed Ghulam Rubbani	do	1 11 0	
8	Z. A. Ragozin's Vedic India, *tr.* by Moulvi Hamid Ahmed Ansari, B. A.	do	5 8 0	
9	V. A. Smith's Early History of India translated by Prof. Md. Jamilur Rahman, M.A.	do	8 11 0	
10	Sir L. Griffin's Ranjit Singh (Rulers of India Series), translated by Moulvi Nazir Husain Faruqi	do	2 15 0	
11	Sir W. W. Hunter's Dalhousie (Rulers of India Series), translated by Moulvi Syed Mohamed Ahmed Dehlvi ..	do	3 1 0	
12	W. H. Hutton's Wellesley (Rulers of India Series), translated by Moulvi Syed Mahmood Shaukath ..	do	2 14 0	
13	H. G. Keene's Madhoji Sindhia (Rulers of India Series),translated by Munshi Fazil Hakim Syed Md. Abdus Salam, M.A.	do	3 4 0	
14	Sir A. Lyall's British Dominion in India *tr.* by Munshi Fazil Hakim Syed Md. Abdus Salam, M.A. ..	do	5 10 0	
15	J. C. Marshman's Abridgment of the History of India,translated by Moulvi Syed Abdul Salam ..	do	7 11 0	
16	Matriculation History of India by Moulvi Syed Hashimi	do	4 8 0	
17	J. R. Green's History of the English People, Vol. I., translated by Mr. Khazi Talamuz Husain, M. A.	do	5 12 0	
18	Do Part II do ..	do	7 1 0	
19	Do „ III do ..	do	5 12 0	
20	Do „ IV do ..	do	7 8 0	
21	Do „ V do ..	do	5 6 0	
22	B. J. Thatcher & F. Schwill's General History of Europe, Part I translated by Moulvi Abdul Majid, B.A., Nawab Hyder Yar Jung Bdr. and Kazi Talamuz Husain, M.A.	do	6 8 0	
23	B. J. Thatcher & F. Schwill's General History of Europe,Part II, translated by Kazi Talamuz Husain, M.A. ..	do	6 2 0	
24	H. O. Wakemen's Ascendancy of Finance	do	6 11 0	

Note.—*For copies apply to the offices issuing them as above.*

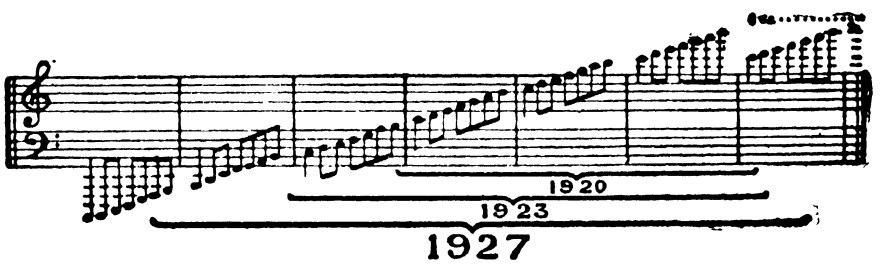
Islamic Culture



TO OUR READERS.

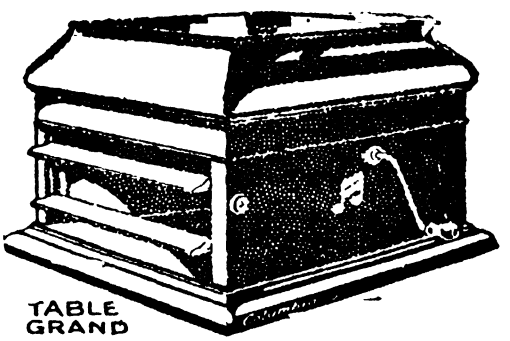
THE third number of *Islamic Culture* which will come out in July, will contain interesting articles from The Rt. Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali, His Excellency Herr Karl Becker, (Minister of Science and Education, Germany), Dr. Josef Horovitz, Prof. Krenkow, Prof. R. A. Nicholson, Dr. Felix Valyi, Dr. Sir Iqbal, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, I.C.S., (Retd.), Dr. Shafaat Ahmad, Dr. A. Siddiqi, Prof. S. Khuda Buksh, Nawab Sadr Yar Jung, Nawab Nizamat Jung, and Mr. Ghulam Yazdani and many other eminent writers.

The NEW 1927 GRAMOPHONE



Stands Alone for Living Tone

The Viva-tonal Columbia



IMAGINE a gramophone constructed on such scientific principles that it is possible to guarantee that every note it reproduces is of the correct value—that there is no distortion—no preponderance of tone either in the bass or the treble—a gramophone that is twice the musical range of any older standards, and the ONLY gramophone that gives even response throughout its entire musical range. That is the wonderful new *Viva-tonal* Columbia—the instrument now to be heard for the first time. Privileged hearers declare it to be the greatest wonder they ever heard. And at the amazing prices it will be the sensation of the season. We invite you to a FREE DEMONSTRATION. Call for new Art Catalogue.

PRICES FROM
Rs. 100 to
Rs. 425.

T. E. BEVAN & Co., Ltd.,

The London Musical Depot,

Grosvenor House, * * CALCUTTA.

Telegrams : Bevanco, Calcutta.

ISLAMIC CULTURE

THE

HYDERABAD QUARTERLY REVIEW

CONTENTS FOR APRIL

PAGES

I. SAIF-UD-DIN BAKHARZI AND HIS RUBA'IYAT BY PROF. HIDAYAT HOSAIN 165

II. SPIRIT OF LIGHT : A POEM BY NAWAB NIZAMAT JUNG C.I.E., O.B.E. 189

III. THE ARAB RULE IN SINDH BY MOULVI SYED HASHIMI SAHIB 190

IV. AL-BIRUNI'S INDIA BY ABDULLAH YUSUF ALI, C.B.E. 223

V. IMPRESSIONS OF THE TAJ MAHAL BY CAPT. W. E. GLADSTONE SOLOMON 231

VI. A LEAF FROM SHEYK-I-AKBAR BY KHAJA KHAN, B.A. 238

VII. CONSTRUCTION OF CLOCKS AND ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION BY DR. ABDUS SATTAR SIDDIQI . . . 245

VIII. AFGHANISTAN TODAY BY G. K. NARIMAN . . 252

IX. ISLAMIC CULTURE BY M. MARMADUKE PICKTHALL 259

REVIEWS.

X. BOOKS AND AUTHORS 319

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

MSS. sent to the Editor will receive careful consideration. Business communications should be addressed to the Manager, ISLAMIC CULTURE, Civil Service House, Hyderabad, Deccan.

SAIF-UD-DIN BAKHARZI AND HIS RUBA'IYAT

THE *Ruba'i*, or *Du Baiti* (quatrain) as it was originally called, is, probably, the oldest[1] and one of the most popular verse-forms in Persian. Its origin is not definitely known but, from the scanty materials available, it may be said with some degree of certainty that, in reality, it is only a modified form of *Chahar Baiti*, which was indigenous to Persia, not owing its origin to the 'Arab system of prosody. But when *Chahar Baiti* was replaced by *Du Baiti*[2], the Persian genius " evolved out of the *Akhrab* and *Akhram*, varieties of *Hazaj* metre" a measure which they call the Quatrain measure[3]." According to Dawlat Shāh[4], the metre of Rubā'ī was invented as a result of the " chance utterance " of the young son of Amīr Ya'qūb bin Laith (868-878 A.D.), the Saffaride. According to Shams-i-Qais, the author of *Al-Mu-'ajjam fi Ma'ayir Ash' ar'l 'Ajam*, a more trustworthy authority, one of the ancient poets of Persia, who in the opinion of the author was Rūdakī, is said to have been the inventor of Rubā'ī[5].

Of the quatrains of the ancient poets of Persia that have survived to the present day, the oldest is ascribed to the authorship of Abū Shukūr Balkhī (flourished c. 950 A.D.), a great philosopher and poet, who wrote a number of fine Quatrains[6]. His contemporaries and immediate successors confined their activities, primarily, to *Mathnawi* and *Ghazal-writing ;* but it was left to the poets of the 11th and early 12th centuries, and more particularly, to Abū Sa'īd bin Abūl' Khair (d. 1049 A.D.), Bābā Tāhir 'Uryān (flourished c. 1055 A.D.), Shaikh 'Abdullāh Ansārī (d. 1088 A.D.), and 'Umar Khaiyām (d. 1123 A.D.), to make Rubā'ī the vehicle of mystic and philosophic thought.

(1) Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. I., pp. 472-73.
(2) See Prof. Mahmūd Khān Shīrānī's valuable article in the Urdū (Hyderabad, Deccan), Vol. II. p. 488.
(3) Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia ;* Vol. I., p. 473.
(4) pp. 30-31 of Prof. Browne's edition.
(5) *Al-Mu'ajjam*, (Gibb Memorial Series), p. 88.
(6) *Urdu*, II, pp. 489-90, and Levy's *Persian Literature*, p. 18.

Of these Abū Sa'īd is considered as the opener of the gate of quatrains for expressing religious and Sūfistic thought; Bābā Tāhir is recognised as the fore-runner of dialectic quatrain-writing in Persian; Ansārī is regarded as a quatrain-writer of moderate powers, while 'Umar is adored and admired as the Prophet of quatrain poetry.

At a comparatively later date, about the middle of the 13th century A.D., flourished Saif-ud-Dīn of Bākharz, an eminent Sūfī and divine and a quatrain-writer of some merit. The materials available for his biography are very scanty, but certain facts stand out. Saif-ud-Dīn's[1] reąl name was Sa'īd bin Muzaffar and his title was Shaikh-ul-'Alam. He was born of an illustrious family of the Chaghtā'ī tribe at Bākharz[2] which is situated in the west of Hirāt. After finishing his early education at his native place, he became a public preacher, when he was almost miraculously converted to the discipleship of a celebrated saint, named Shaikh Najm-ud-Dīn Kubrā[3]. The author of the Karāmāt-ul-Awliyā[4] relates an interesting anecdote about his introduction to that saint. Saif-ud-Dīn had at first no faith in *Sufism* and often used to denounce it publicly. One day when Najm-ud-Dīn heard of this, he asked to be taken to the place where Saif-ud-Dīn was appointed to deliver his sermon. His disciples tried to dissuade him from his purpose apprehending that Saif-ud-Dīn might use disrespectful language towards him. But the Shaikh was not to be dissuaded. He came to the appointed place and when Saif-ud-Dīn noticed the great Sūfī among the audience, he became more violent than ever in his denunciation of *Sufism*. But this torrent

(1) The following works have been consulted in writing the life of this learned Sūfī :—

(1) Nafahāt-ul-Uns, p. 494; (2) Rāhat-ul-Qulūb, pp. 155, 161; (3) Majma'-ul-Fusahā, Vol. I. p. 244; (4) Mhakzan-ul-Gharā'ib, fol. 343; (5) Atash Kada, p. 109; (6) Haft Iqlīm, fol. 281; (7) Siyar-ul-Awliyā, fol. 36; (8) Khazīnat-ul-Asfiyā, p. 923; (9) Rawdāt-ul-Jannāt fī Ahwāl Madīnat Hirāt, foll. 99b-100; (10) Riyād-ush-Shu'arā, fol. 220; (11) Karāmāt-ul'-Awliy, fol. 390; (12) Majma'-un-Nafā'is, fol. 147; (13) Riyād-ul-'Arifīn, p. 84; (14) Majālis-ul-'Ushshāq fol. 103 and (15) Fawā'id-ul-Fuwād, foll. 322, 355, 562, 363 and 365.

(2) Bākharz was originally Bād Harza derived from Pahlavi and it means the place from where the wind blows. In this place many notable persons were born such as 'Alī bin al-Hasan (died A.H. 467, A.D.1075) the author of *Dumyat-ul-Qasr* and his father Hasan bin 'Alī.

(3) Najm-ud-Dīn Kubrā died A.H. 618, A.D. 1221. See *Nafahat-ul-Uns*, p. 480

(4) See fol. 390.

of abuse produced a strange effect on the venerable saint. He waxed eloquent in praise of the young preacher as the latter grew vehement in his denunciation. At last when the sermon was over the Shaikh started for his Khānqāh (monastery). He had not quitted the quadrangle of the mosque where Saif-ud-Dīn had been preaching, when the Shaikh looked behind and muttered, " It is strange that he has not come to me yet." No sooner did he say this than Saif-ud-Dīn came running and fell at the feet of the saint, who lifted him up. Saif-ud-Dīn followed him to the Khānqāh (monastery) and forthwith became his disciple. He remained with his master for a long time. But afterwards he was sent to Bukhārā by the Shaikh as his vicegerent.

All biographers agree in asserting that the Shaikh made Saif-ud-Dīn proficient in mysticism in forty days. Saif-ud-Dīn had a great love and attraction for his *pir* (spiritual guide).

In this connection the *Rawdat-ul-Jannat*[1] relates how the Shaikh once decided to pass a night in his *harem* and gave all his disciples permission to enjoy themselves as they liked best. When the Shaikh came out of his *harem* early the next morning he found that Saif-ud-Dīn was standing at his door with a pitcher of water for the Shaikh's ablutions. On enquiry the Shaikh further learnt that Saif-ud-Dīn had passed the whole night at his door-steps with the pitcher of water in his hands ; and he said, " Oh child ! why did you put yourself to so much trouble though I permitted you to pass a night at your ease ? " Saif-ud-Dīn said that he had no greater pleasure than spending the time at his threshold. The Shaikh said, " As you are so much devoted to the Sūfīs, a day will come when a king will run at the stirrups of your horse." And this prophecy of the Shaikh was fulfilled. The king of the time vowed to present Saif-ud-Dīn with a good horse if certain state affairs turned out to his entire satisfaction. The king obtained his object and came with a horse to the Khānqāh (monastery) and expressed the desire that he would personally help Saif-ud-Dīn ride on the horse. As the king held the stirrup, Saif-ud-Dīn rode on the horse. But it became restive and the reins fell from his hands. The horse began to run and the king also had to run quite a good length holding the stirrup, before the animal could be brought to a halt. Then Saif-ud-Dīn said that the

(1) Fol. 99 b.

horse was not to blame. He related how his spiritual guide had once foretold that a king would run at his stirrups and declared that the incident had taken place only in fulfilment of that prediction.

Saif-ud-Dīn was the spiritual leader of Transoxiana. The author of the *Karamat-ul-Awliya* says that he used to sleep after Maghrib (evening) prayers and when one-third of the night had passed, he used to get up and after the 'Ishā (night) prayers, he would keep awake in the meditation of God till morning. His charity and hospitality were remarkable. All day food was kept ready in his Khānqāh or monastery for any guest that might turn up and more than one thousand people used to eat daily at his table. If ever food ran short, the newcomer was given a suitable present in money but was never turned away disappointed.

The author of *Haft Iqlim* says that according to some biographers Saif-ud-Dīn flourished in the days of Hulāgū Khan (1255-1265 A.D.), and died in A.H. 648, A.D. 1250 ; but the majority assert that he was a contemporary of Mangū Khān (1248-1657 A.D.), whose mother, though a Christian, built a Madrasah (college) in Bukhārā and entrusted it to Saif-ud-Dīn. *Siyar-ul-Awliya* states on the authority of Sultan-ul-Moshā'ikh that Sa'd-ud-Dīn-Hummū'ī[1], Saif-ud-Dīn Bakhārzi, Bahā-ud-Dīn[2] Zakarīyā Multanī and Farīd Gānj Shakar[3], followed each other to the grave exactly at the interval of three years. He also said that the time when the following saints, who were contemporaries, lived must have been specially fortunate. They were Farīd-ud-Dīn, Abu'l Ghaith Yamanī[4], Saif-ud-Dīn Bākharzī, Sa'd-ud-Dīn Hummū'ī and Shaikh Bahā-ud-Dīn Zakarīyā. Saif-ud-Dīn died at Bukhārā on the 10th Muharram, A.H. 658 A.D. 1259[5]. We learn from

(1) Shaikh Sa'd-ud-Dīn Hummū'ī was a disciple of Shaikh Najm-ud-Dīn Kubra and according to *Safinat-ul-Awliya*, p. 105 the former died A.H. 650, A.D. 1252. As the death of Bakharzī occured in A.H. 658, A.D. 1259, (*vide Safinat-ul-Awliya*, p. 105), this statement of *Siyar-ul-Awliya* is not very authentic.

(2) Bahā-ud-Dīn died A.H. 661 ; A.D. 1262, *vide* Rieu, Cat. Br. Mus., p. 41.

(3) Farīd-ud-Dīn died A.H. 664., A.D. 1265, *vide Ibid*, p. 41.

(4) Abū'l Ghaith Yamanī died A.H. 651., A.D. 1253, *vide* Safīnat-ul-Awliya, p. 180.

(5) *Vide Riyad-ul-'Arifin*, p. 84 ; *Karamat-ul-Awliya*, fol. 390 ; *Majma'-ul-Fusaha* Vol. I. p. 244 ; and *Nafahat-ul-Uns*, p. 496. Sprenger in his Oudh Catalogue, p. 561, wrongly says, " Saif-ud-Dīn Bākharsy died in 648 or 650."

Rawdat-ul-Jannat that Mīr 'Ali Shīr Nawā'ī[1] was a descendant of Saif-ud-Dīn, and that Saif-ud-Dīn was the author of many books and wrote many poems[2]. It is a pity that there is no trace of his writings other than the fifty-one quatrains which have been preserved in the Bankipore Library and which were published without a translation in Z.D.M.G. Vol. LIX. p. 345 and ten other quatrains which I have gathered from Persian biographies of poets. It is of interest to note that there are quatrains common to him and Abū Sa'īd bin Abū'l Khair (d. 1049 A.D.) and 'Umar Khaiyām (d. 1123 A.D.). These have been pointed out in detail in the footnotes to the text and will, it is expected, open out new avenues for scholarship and criticism.

I am grateful to my distinguished colleague, Professor M. Mahfuzul Haq, M.A., of the Presidency College, for the help which he has given me in this paper.

1

Oh Thou ! whose mystery is in the heart of every possessor of secret,
Thy door of mercy is always open to every one.
Whoever comes to Thy court with humility
Never returns from it disappointed.

2

Thy universal kindness covers up the sins of everyone :
Thy ring of slavery is in the ear of every one.
Oh God ! remove the burden of sins through Thy grace,
In the day of helplessness, from the shoulder of everyone.

3

Oh God ! Thy kindness is the same in the present as in the past.
In Thy garden the rose blooms side by side with the thistle.
Then let Thy door be open to every one ;
So that both the intoxicated and the sober may enter therein.

(1) Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī was the prime minister of Sultān Husan Mīrzā, ruler of Khurāsān. He was a soldier as well as an eminent scholar. He died in A.H. 906. For details see *Habib-us-Siyar*, Bombay edition, Vol. III. Juz 3. pp. 217, 231 and 243 ; and Ousley's *Notices* p. 50.

(2) See fol. 100.

4

Every point (*i.e.*, creation) which is within the circle of His bounty
Is ranged along the banqueting table of His blessings.
If the heart of every atom be opened,
Seas and seas and worlds and worlds of His kindness will be found.

5

At your threshold we are a handful of beggars
Immersed in sin and expectant of (Thy) mercy.
Teach us the word that when it is spoken
Thou shalt make it an excuse for thy mercy.

6

My sins are more than the drops of rain.
With this heat of my sins my heart is blistered and sore ;
But His mercy said to us, ' Beware ,' O Darwesh,
Thou hast been doing what is befitting thee. We, what is proper to us.

7

Whoever has a seat on the throne of existence (*i.e.*, whoever exists)
Unto him there is the way to the world of reality.
Every light of certainty which is in the heart of a knower,
Is by saying *La Ilaha illa'llah* (there is no one worthy of being worshipped except God).

8

God be praised ! grief (felt at separation) from Thee has wrought wonderful things.
My wounded heart owes a great obligation to this grief.
Thou hast said ' Does grief for me make thee insane like this ? '
Yes grief for Thee, grief for Thee, certainly grief for Thee.

9

From the eyes of stone, Thy grief makes the blood (of tears) flow.
What can a stranger and an acquaintance know of thy grief?
I control myself and swallow all this grief for Thee,
So that after me grief for Thee may not remain for any one.

10

Every night like the watchman
I go round the lane wherein Thou dwellest,
So that on the day of judgment
My name may come out in the list of the dogs of Thy lane.

11

Oh heart what a good it would be if thou leavest tyranny
(And) once rememberest the last home.
If they show thee the book of deeds,
By seeing it, thou wouldst weep and cry a thousand times.

12

Oh heart!! for a moment thou didst not become obedient to the Glorious One (*i.e.*, God)
You were never ashamed of your bad habits.
Thou becomest a darwesh, abstinent and learned,
All these thou did become but not a Musalman.

13

Sin and wickedness are our daily practice.
The cup and goblet are filled with unlawful things.
Time laughs and life weeps
At our devotion, prayer and fasting.

14

My life has come to an end and my sin is ever in my sight,
From end to end I find the book (of my deeds) black.
I have not sown good seed in my field.
My farm has reached the time of reaping and I find only grass.

15

He has caught in his hand the ringlet which is like the fish-hook.
He has placed his hand on his intoxicated narcissus (*i.e.*, eyes).
My hope is this that sooner than late
The wet eyes would benumb his hand.

16

Who will inhabit my deserted heart ?
Who will atone for my sins ?
I have visited many tombs.
(Let us see) who will visit my tomb.

17

The dust which is under the feet of every animal
Is either the ringlet or cheek of a beloved one (*i.e.*, they have become dust after death)
Every brick at the turret of a palace
Is either the finger of a minister or the head of a king.

18

My turban, shoes, and garments—
They valued them altogether at less than a *dirham*.
They have heard my name and fame in the world,
(But) I am the dust of the road, even lower than that.

19

Our black coral (*i.e.*, our deeds) will never become pearl (*i. e.*, pure,)
So long as sin is not removed from our body.
The skull of our head is not filled with wine on account of inordinate appetite,
(For) the cup which is inverted cannot be filled.

20

In this world I have tasted everything, and it has passed away ;
I have had many friends and enemies, and they have passed away ;
(But) now I have no business with the good and bad of time ;
I remain in that state in which the Preserver kept me and that too will have passed away.

21

The utterance of the name of God by tongue is the best of all ;
The prayer which thou offerest secretly at night is the best of all ;
If thou wishest to pass easily over the *pul sirat*[1],
Give bread to the people of the world, because bread is the best of all.

(1) The bridge over the eternal fire across which good people would pass into Paradise.

22

Whatever we rejected is scarcely accepted by any one,
Whatever we have accepted gets the approval of the world ;
Whoever makes friendship with us (even) for a day
Gets joy, happiness and merriment every moment.

23

Oh thou who art nine-hearted[1], two-hearted[1] and eighteen-hearted[1], abandon (these) ;
Understand the value of thy existence and make thy self pure.
Every morning come to our door with sincerity ;
If your object is not fulfilled, then complain.

24

We are the chain (*i.e.*, means of opening and closing) of the door of the royal palace ;
We are the valuers of the divine jewel ;
We are the dwellers (and masters) from the moon to the Fish[2],
In spite of all these lights we are in darkness.

25

Oh heart ! if thou art faithful to 'Alī (son-in-law of the Prophet)
In the way of religion thou shalt be a true Musalman.
Either remain a pure Musalman or a true heathen.
It is better to be a heathen than to be a hypocrite.

26

Without learning and (good) deeds do not seek the paradise of God.
Without the ring of religion do not seek the kingdom of Solomon.
As annihilation is the ultimate result,
Do not seek to wound the heart of any Musalman.

27

If thy guide is thy evil-instructing heart,
May I be unfortunate if thy fortune favours thee.
Thou art sleeping (hast become negligent) with pleasures and the night of thy life is short.
I am afraid that when thou art awake it will be day.

(1) It is believed that there are nine skies, two worlds and eighteen thousand creatures in this world. So the writer refers to those who are attached to these.

(2) It is said that the Earth rests on the back of a fish.

28

Conceal my bad deeds from the people ;
Make easy for my heart the difficulties of the world ;
To-day (in this world) make me happy, to-morrow (*i.e.*, next world)
Whatever befits thy kindness, do it.

29

We have not got (even) a walnut from the world—we are happy.
If we get morning meal and do not get evening meal, we are happy.
When from the kitchen of love we get cooked food,
We are not in vain expectation from any body, we are happy.

30

The soul in the body of an insolent person has no value.
If thou purchasest decorum in exchange for gold, it is cheap.
From impertinence no one has ever reached to any position ;
Truly, decorum is the crown for the head of the (illustrious) people.

31

With Thy love, the promise of our soul is from eternity.
So long as life is, the sorrow of Thy love remains with us.
Sorrow is sweetmeat, grief is companion and lamentation is singer.
The blood of the heart is wine and the pupils of the eyes are cup-bearers.

32

Do you know what are the preliminary conditions of a tavern ?
It is to lose at once horse, belt and cap.
When you are drunk and your feet become heavy (*i.e.*, you cannot walk),
They would say ' Sit down, ' still you owe something.

33

Sometimes you made me companion of delicate ones ;
Sometimes you made me comrade of grief and pain.
Since I got the trace of my lost one
You made me famous all over the world.

34

The world is to pass, whether in abundance or in scantiness.
You may pass either in gladness or sorrow, any way you like;
You have to go away from this place with certainty,
Whether it is after a thousand years or in a moment.

35

How good it is to see the creation of God.
How good it is to withdraw from bad people;
That heart in which there is no love of God,
How good it is to tear it into thousand pieces.

36

If an ignoble person reaches to the star, think him low.
If a noble person falls down, hold his hand (*i.e.*, help him).
If an intoxicated person behaves well, think him to be sober.
If a sober person does not behave well, think him to be intoxicated.

37

With the strength of an elephant thou ought to be like an ant.
Notwithstanding the kingdom of the two worlds, you should seem naked (*i.e.*, lead a poor life).
I admit that thou hast become exalted in the world.
At last hast thou not got to remain under the grave?

38

Do not sit idle, for the happy days are dear;
Every breath which comes out of thee is dear like the soul.
The life which has come and will pass away
Do not waste, for it is a dear guest.

39

Although there will be an investigation of sins,
(And) that powerful friend be stern,
From Absolute Good nothing cometh but goodness.
Be happy because the end will be good.

40

Oh beloved one! if I have got a thousand souls,
Thy order would be current upon all,
May I be wretched if I am happy with anything
As long as there exists any trace of thee in this world.

41

In the very beginning, O beloved one! the treasurer of your love
Has fixed in my name the collection of thy grief.
Then he made the share of tears flow from my face ;
He made grief a debt to me and said it is to be discharged by me.

42

Oh what a grief that no corn (*i.e.*, to bear misfortune) remained for the bird of love,
No expectation remained from any relative or stranger :
What a sorrow and grief it is that during the (whole) period of life
Whatever we said was only an idle tale !

43

Certainly the heart of a friend is like water (in reflection).
Keep this in heart, for it is a good picture.
If it is clear it will not hide anything from you ;
If it is turbid whatever is in it will be hidden.

44

If I inscribe my devotion on a loaf,
And I put that loaf on a table before a dog,
That dog would remain hungry for a year in the place of sweepings,
It would not bite on that loaf on account of the shame (attached to the loaf).

45

We have said that we are devotees and we are (actually) not ;
That we are the devout holy ones and we are (really) not ;
Outwardly we are adorned, but inwardly we are not so ;
It is regrettable that we are not what we appear to be.

46

This horse of a beggar (*i.e.*, life) is to be ridden (to death) (*i. e.*, there must be the end of life),
This game at dice of the assembly (*i.e.*, soul) is to be lost.
If you have to deal with a heathen and a Musalman,
By way of humility it is better to agree with them.

47

Oh companion ! do not ask of the time that has come ;
Do not ask of the treatment which has come from the noble and from the ignoble (*i.e.*, from everybody).
That friend from whom I expected to be enquired after,
Enquired of me but in such a way that you need not ask about it.

48

Love is such that a lion is overpowered by it.
It is such a work that every work comes out of it.
Sometimes it makes such a friendship that it exhilarates the soul.
Somtimes it makes such an enmity that scent of blood comes from it (*i. e.*, causes death).

49

Look at that mole which is on the heart-exhilarating face.
Whatever is its object it becomes victorious.
It is like the black night of the unfortunate.
It has made its appearance on the day (*i. e.*, the bright face).

50

Thou hast made me companion of misery and sorrow ;
Thou hast made me needy of a piece of a barley bread.
Is this the position of the near ones of thy door ?
For what services hast Thou made me thus ?

51

Oh *Saif !* do not cry much over the tyranny of time.
Do not give expression to your sorrow before the world.
Because the wealth of others and your misery,
If you think carefully, are only a fancy.

52

If I have done the sins of all the world,
It is hoped that Thy forgiveness would catch hold of my hand.
Thou hast said that at the time of helplessness I would catch hold of Thy hand (*i.e.*, help thee).
Do not wish me to be in a more helpless condition than this in which I am now.

53

Although I sometimes become stranger to love,
And I become a co-lodger and friend of happiness,
Suddenly a fairy-faced one passes by me.
I turn away from the (former) state and become mad.

54

Every day I go melancholy to the garden
Like the bud tearing the collar of patience,
It is probable that the newly-blown flower (sprung) from the mud
Might inform me of my rose shortly gone to the dust.

55

I went round and round the home of my beloved ;
I saw there stone placed upon a stone (*i.e.*, deserted).
When it was empty of the beloved, without delay
I returned with a heavy stone upon my sad heart.

56

How long will thy tyranny and oppression remain
Uselessly wounding the heart of the people ?
There is a blood-stained sword in the hands of persons who have claims upon you (on account of murder),
If the sword falls on you, your murder will fall back upon your neck (*i.e.*, it will kill you).

57

If on the touch-stone of contentment you are tested to be true,
From the good and the evil of the world you would be safe.
If with all persons who are at variance
You meddle—you will have a very long business.

58

I do not lay the grief and sorrow of my humble body upon any person,
I do not go a step backward from contentment.
As I cannot bear the burden of any person,
I do not place a burden, even lighter than the air, on any one.

59

Oh ! messenger of the North wind, pass into the country of my beloved,
On the dust of his road, rub thy face in my stead.
If he asks you the story of my condition,
Say that I died owing to separation in wretched condition.

60

Oh men ! be delightful and be in ecstasy.
Show manliness and have regard of the lane (of the beloved) ;
If (she) shoots such an arrow that thy hair is split,
Take care, thou shouldst not turn away thy face from thy beloved.

61

This wailing of the flute is on account of the excess of Thy grief.
Crying and lamentations of the tavern-keeper are on account of Thy grief.
The wine cries out, too, like a drunkard from Thy grief ;
In the tavern there is great agitation on account of Thy grief.

M. HIDAYAT HUSAIN.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

رباعيات حضرت شيخ العالم شيخ سيف الدين باخرزي قدس الله سره العزيز
وروح روحه

1

ای سرنود رسیده هر صاحب راز پیو سته در رحمت تو بر همه باز
هر کس که بدرگاه تو اید بنیاز محروم زدرگاه توکی گردد باز

2

ای لطف عمیم تو خطا پوش همه وی حلقهٔ بند گیت در گوش همه
برد ار خدایا زکرم بار گناه در روز فرو ماندگی از دوش همه

3

بی لطف تو امسال همان پارهمان در باغ توگل همان بود خار همان
زان برهمکس کشاده باد در تو تا مست همان آید و هشیار همان

4

هرنقطه که در دائره قسمت اوست بر حاشیهٔ مایدهٔ نعمت اوست
در سینهٔ هر ذره اگر بشگافند دریا در دریا جهان رحمت اوست

(1) We also find this quatrain in the Rubā'iyāt of Abū Sa'īd bin Abū'l Khair, printed in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (New series) vol. 12, 1916, p. 228, No. 43.

5

هستم بحضرت تو مشتی د رویش غرق گنہ و امید رحمت در پیش
با ما سخنی گوی چون گفتہ شود آن را سازي بها نۂ رحمت خویش

6

(1) دارم گنهان ز قطرۂ باران بیش دل هست مرا ازین تپش خسته و ریش
با ما کرمش گفت هلا ای درویش تو درخور خود کنی و ما درخور خویش

7

برتخت و جود هرکه صاحب جا هست او را سوئی عالم حقیقت را هست
هر نور یقین که در دل آگا هست از گفتن لا اله الا الله است

8

(2) سبحان الله شگرف کارئی غم تو بر خسته دلم عظیم بارئی غم تو
گفتی که غم مدت چنین مجنون کرد آری غم تو غم تو آری غم تو

9

(3) از دیدۂ سنگ خون چکاند غم تو بیگانه و آشنا چه داند غم تو
دم در کشم و همه غمت نوش کنم تا از پس من بکس نماند غم تو

10

هر شب بمثال پاسبان کویت میگردم گرد آستان کویت
باشد که برآید اے صنم روز حساب نامم ز جریدۂ سگان کویت

11

اے دل چه بود که ترک بیداد کنی از منزل آخرت یئی یاد کنی
گر نامۂ اعمال ترا بنمایند بینی و هزار آه و فریاد کنی

12

اے دل تو دمی مطیع سبحان نشدی از خوئی بد ت هیچ پشیمان نشدی
درویش شدی و زاهد و دانشمند این جمله شدي ولی مسلمان نشدي

(1) We also find this quatrain, with a little variation, in the Rubā'-iyāt of Abū Sa'īd bin Abū'l Khair :—

دارم گناهان ز قطرۂ باران بیش و ز شرم گنہ فگنده ام سر در پیش
وا ز آمدکه شاد باش ای درویش تو درخور خودکنی و ما درخور خویش

See J. A. S. B. (New Series), Vol. V, p. 440, No. 120.

(2) Abū Sa'īd bin Abūl' Khair says :

از دیدۂ سنگ خو چکاند غم تو بیگانه و آشنا نداند غم تو
دردی خورم و غمت همی نوش کنم تا آنکه بکس دگر نماند غم تو

See J. A. S. B. (New Series), Vol. VII.— p. 664, No. 373.

(3) We notice this quatrain also with a little variation in the Rubā'-yāt of Abū Sa'īd. It runs as follows :—

ای نالۂ پیر خانقاه از غم تو وی گریۂ طفل بی گناه از غم تو
افغان و خروش صبحگاه از غم تو آه از غم تو هزار آه از غم تو

See *Ibid.* Vol. V, p. 449, No. 184.

13

فسق است و فساد ورد هر روزهٔ ما پر شد ز حرام کاسه و کوزهٔ ما
می خندد روزگار و میگوید عمر بر طاعت و بر نماز و بر روزهٔ ما

14

عمرم بسرم آمد و گنه می بینم سر تا سر نامه را سیه می بینم
در مزرعهٔ خود نکشته ام تخم نکو کشتم بد رو رسید وکه می بینم

15

بگرفت بدست زلف چون شستش را بشکست بمشت نرگس مستش را
امید من آنست بزودی نه بدیر چشم ترا و خشک کند دستش را

16

دلهاي خراب ما عمارت که کند وین کردهٔ گناه ما کفارت که کند
ما بر سر خاکها زیارت کردیم تا بر سر خاک ما زیارت که کند

17

اگردي که بزیر پاے هرحیوانیست زلف صنمی و عارض جانانیست
هر خشت که بر کنگرهٔ ایوانیست انگشت وزیریا سر سلطانیست

(1) The *Ruba'iyat 'Umar Khaiyam* (printed at the Kāviyānī Press, Berlin.) runs thus : —

خاکی که بزیر پاے هر حیوانیست کف صنمی وچهرهٔ جانانیست
هر خشت کم برکنگرهٔ ایوانیست انگشت وزیریا سر سلطانیست

The *Ruba'iyat Khaiyam* (printed at the Wakil Press, Amratsar) runs as follows :—

خاری که بزیر پاے هر حیوانی است زلف صنمی وابروئی جانانی است
هر خشت که بر کنگرهٔ ایوانی است انگشت وزیر وسر سلطانی است

The following quatrains of Khaiyām bear a similar significance :—

این کوزه چومن عاشق زاری بود است در بند سر زلف نگاری بود است
این دسته که در گردن او می بینی دسنی است که برگردن یاري بوداست

See Nicolos' edition of 'Umar Khaiyām No. 28 ; Whinfield's edition p. 23, No. 32 and Berlin edition, No. 28.

پیش از من و تو لیل و نهاری بوداست گردندهٔ فلک زبهر کاری بود است
زینها رقدم بخاک آهسته نهی کان مردمک چشم نگاری بود است

See Nicolos, No. 291 and Whinfield, p. 25, No. 33.

ای کوزه گرابکوش اگر هوشیاري تا چند کنی برگل آدم خواري
انگشت فریدون و کف کیخسرو بر چرخ نهادهٔ چه می پنداري

See Nicolos No. 395 ; Berlin edition No. 297 ; and Whinfield, p. 293, No. 437.

خوش باش که عالم گذران خواهد بود روح از بی تن نعره زنان خواهد بود
این کاسهٔ سرها که تو بینی یک چند زیر قدم کوزه گران خواهد بود

See Amratsar edition, p. 104, No. 202 ; Nawal Kishore eidtion, p. 52 and Nicolos, No. 139.

خوش باش که در بیکران خواهد بود بر چرخ را خترا ن نشان خواهد بود
خشتی کم ز قالب تو خواهند زدن بنیاد سراے دیگران خواهد بود

See Amratsar edition, p. 94, No. 146 ; Nicolos, No. 138 ; and Whinfield, p. 111, No. 162,

18

1 د ستا ر من و کفش من و جبهه بهم قیمت کر د ند یک د ر م چیزی کم
آ و ا ز ۀ من شنید ه ا ند د ر عا لم من خا ک ر هم ز خا ک ر ه چیزي کم

19

2 هر گز شبئم سیا ه نما د ر نشو د تا معصیت ا ز و جو د ما د ر نشو د
پر می نشو د کا سئم سر ما ز هو س کا سه کم سر نگو ن بو د پر نشو د

20

3 د ر عا لم خا ک و با د چا شیدم ور فت صد د شمن و د و ست بر تر ا شید م ور فت
با نیک و بد ز ما نه ا م کا ر ي نیست دا ر ند ه چنا نکه د ا شت با شید م ور فت

21

4 د ر گفتن ذکر حق ز با ن ا ز هم بم طا عت کم بشب کني نها ن ا ز هم بم
خوا هی کم ز پل صرا ط آ سا ن گذ ر ی نا ن د ه بجها نیا ن کم نا ن ا ز هم بم

22

5 ر ند ۀ ما قبو ل کس کم یا بد پز ر فتم ما قبو ل عا لم یا بد
هر کس کم بما کند تو لا ر و ز ے عیش و طرب و نشا ط هر د م یا بد

23

6 ا ي نه د له و د و د له هژ د ه یلم کن صرا ف و جو د شو و خو د سر ه کن
هر صبح با خلا ص بیا بر د ر ما مقصو د تو بر نیا ید و ا نگم گلم کن

(1) Mawlānā Rūm says :

د ستا ر م و جبه و سر م هر سه بهم قیمت کر د ند یک د ر م چیزي کم
نشیند ستی تو نا م من د ر عا لم من هیچکسم هیچکسم هیچکسم

See *Ruba'iyat Hadrat Mawlana*, Printed at Constantinople, 1312. p. 227.

(2) 'Umar Khaiyām says :—

شب نیست کم عقل د ر تحیر نشو د و ز گر یم کنا ر من پر ا ز د ر نشو د
پر می نشو د کا سۀ سر ا ز سو د ا هر کا سه کم سر نگو ن بو د پر نشو د

See Whinfield, p. 121 : Berlin edition, No. 127 ; and Amratsar edition, p. 83, No. 76.

(3) This quatrain is also attributed to Khaiyām. It runs as follows :—

د ر عالم خا ک - خاک پا شید م ور فت صد د شمن و د و ست بر تر ا شید م ور فت
با چو ن و چرا ي تو مرا کا ر ي نیست چند ا نکم بد ا شتی بپا شید م ور فت

See Amratsar edition, p. 62, No. 161 and Nawal Kishore edition, p. 26.

(4) This quatrain is found in the Rubā'iyāt of Abū Sa'īd :—

د ر گفتن د کر حق ز با ن ا ز هم بم طا عت کم بشب کني نها ن ا ز هم به
خوا هی ز پل صرا ط آ سا ن گذ ر ی نا ن ده بجها و نیا ن کم نا ن ا ز هم به

See J. A. S. B. (New series) Vol. VII, 1911, p. 665, No. 383.

(5) In the MS. پز ر فته ما حیا ت سر مد یا بد is written.

(6) Abū Sa'īd bin Abū'l Khair says :—

د ر د ر گه ما د و ستی یک د له کن هر چیز کم غیر ما ست آ ن را یله کن
یک صبح با خلا ص بیا بر د ر ما گر کا ر تو بر نا ید آ نگه گله کن

See J. A. S. B. (New series) Vol. VII. 1911, p. 662, No. 354.

24

1 ز نجیر در سرای شاهی مائیم صر اف جوا هر آلهی مائیم
از ماه نشسته تا بماهی مائیم با این همه نور در سیاهي مائیم

25

2 ای دل بعلي اگر موافق باشی اندر ره دین مومن صادق باشی
بامومن پاک باش یا کافر صدق کافر باشی به که منافق باشی

26

3 بے علم و عمل بهشت یزدان مطلب بي خاتم دین ملک سلیمان مطلب
چون عاقبت کار فنا خواهد بود آزار دل هیچ مسلمان مطلب

27

گر رهبر تو طبع بد آموز بود بد بختم اگر بخت تو فیروز بود
تو خفتهٔ لهو و شب عمرت کوتاه ترسم که چو بیدار شوی روز بود

28

4 افعال بد م ز خلق پنهان میکن دشوار جهان بر دلم آسان میکن
امروز خوشم بدار و فردا با من آنچه از کرم تو می سزد آن میکن

(1) Abū Sa'īd says : -

در حضرت پادشاه وران مائیم در دائرهٔ وجود سلطان مائیم
منظور خلایق است این سینه ما پس جام جهانیان خلقانیم مائیم

See J. A. S. B. (New Series) Vol. VII. 1911. p. 660. No. 340.

Khaiyām says : -

مقصود ز جمله آفرینش مائیم در چشم خرد جوهر بینش مائیم
این دایرهٔ جهان چو انگشتر یست بی هیچ شکی نقش نگینش مائیم

See Nicolos, p. 153, No. 304.

(2) In the MS. ای دل اگر بعلی موافق باشی

(3) Abū Sa'īd says :—

از چرخ و فلک گردش یکسان مطلب وز دور زمانه عدل سلطان مطلب
روزی پنج کرد رجهان خواهی بود آزار دل هیچ مسلمان مطلب

See J. A. S. B. (New Series) Vol. VII. 1911, p. 647, No. 239.

(4) We find this quatrain also in the Rubā'iyāt of Abū Sa'id, printed A. S. B. (New Series) Vol. XII. 1916, p. 232, No. 70.

Khaiyam Says :- -

احوال جهان بر دلم آسان میکن وافعال بدم ز خلق پنهان میکن
امروز خوشم بدار و فردا با من آنچه از کرمت سزد بما آن میکن

See Nicolos, p. 161, No. 321 ; Whinfield, p. 245, No. 364 ; and Nawal Kishore edition, p. 82.

Abū Sa'īd says :—

یارب نظری بر من سرگردان کن لطفی بمن دلشدهٔ حیران کن
با من مکن انچه من سزای آنم آنچه از کرم و لطف کرآید آن کن

See J. A. S. B. (New series) Vol. V., 1909, p. 447, No. 171.

29

1 یک جو ز غم ایام ندارم خوشیم گر چاشت بود شام ندارم خوشیم
چون پخته بمامیر سد از مطبخ عشق از کس طمع خام ندارم خوشیم

30

جان درتن مرد بی ادب ارزانست گر زر بدهی ادب خری ارزانست
از بی ادبی کسی بجائی نرسید حقا که ادب تاج سر مردانست

31

با عشق تو عهد جان ما میثاقیست ما ئیم و غم عشق تو تا جان باقیست
غم نقل و ندیم درد و مطرب ناله می خون جگر مردم چشمم ساقیست

32

دانی چه بود شرط خرابات نخست اسپ و کمر و کلاه در بازی چست
چون مست شوی پای تو میگردد سست گویند نشین هنوز باقی بر دست

33

گه همدم یار نازنینم کردی گه با غم ودرد همنشینم کردی
تا یافتم ازگم شده خویش نشان مشهور همه روی زمینم کردی

34

دنیا گذرانست بهر بیش و کمی خواهیش بشادی گذران خواه غمی
زین منزلت البته همی باید رفت خواهی بهزار سال وخواهی بدمی

35

در قدرت حق نظاره کردن چه خوش است وز مردم بدکناره کردن چه خوش است
ان دل که درو مهر الهی نبود آن دل بهزار پاره کردن چه خوش است

36

ناکس جو بعیوق رسد پستش گیر آزاده اگر فرو فتد دستش گیر
مست ادبی نمود هشیارش دان هشیار کم بی ادب بود مستش گیر

37

با قوت پیل مور می باید بود با ملک دو کون عور می باید
گیرم که تو سرفراز عالم شده آخر نه بزیر گور می باید بود

(1) This quatrain is common and is found in 'Umar Khaiyām and in Abū Sa'īd. Khaiyām says :—

یک جو غم ایام ندارم خوشیم گر چاشت بود شام ندارم خوشیم
چون پخته بمامی رسد از مطبخ غیب از کس طمع خام ندارم خوشیم

See Nawal Kishore edition, p. 74 ; Whinfield, p. 233, No. 345, Nicolos, p. 159, No. 313 ; and Amratsar edition, p. 139, No. 80.

یک جو ز غم ایام ندارم وخوشیم گر چاشت بود شام ندارم خوشیم
چون پخته بمامی رسد از عالم غیب از کس طمع خام ندارم خوشیم

See J. A. S. B. (New series) Vol. V. 1909, p. 444, No. 151.

38

غافل منشین کم خوش ز مانیست عزیز — هر دم که بر آید از تو جانیست عزیز
عمر یست که آمد است و خواهد رفتن — ضایع مکنش که میهمانیست عزیز

39

1 گر چه ز گناه جست و جو خواهد بود — آن یار عزیز تند خوخواهد بود
از خیر محض جز نکوئی ناید — خوش باش که عاقبت نکو خواهد بود

40

جانا اگرم هزار جان خواهد بود — فرمان تو برجمله جهان خواهد بود
امر دم اگر بهیچ شادی کردم — تا بوئی تو در جهان خواهد بود

41

مستوفی عشقت صنما روز نخست — تحصیل غمت بنام من کرد درست
آنگاه برات اشک بر وجهم راند — غم باقی کرد و گفت در عهده تست

42

افسوس که مرغ عشق را دانه نماند — امید بهیچ خویش و بیگانه نماند
درد اودریغا که دریغ مدت عمر — از هرچه بگفتیم جز افسانه نماند

43

آب است به تحقیق مثال دل دوست — صید ار بخطا طرکم مثال نیکوست
گر صاف بود نهان ندارد زتو هیچ — ور تیره بود نهان بود هرچه در وست

44

گر طاعت خود نقش کنم بر نانی — وان نان بنهم پیش سگی بر خوانی
آن سگ سالی گرسنه در کهدانی — از ننگ بر آن نان نزند دندانی

45

گفتم که ما از فقرائیم و نه ایم — از راه روان پارسائیم و نه ایم
آراسته ظاهریم و باطن نچنان — افسوس چنانکه می نمائیم نه ایم

46

این اسپ قلندری همه تاختنیست — وین مهرهٔ انجمن همه باختنیست
گر کافر و مومنت بره پیش آید — از روی نیاز با همه ساختنیست

47

پیدا شده ای رفیق دوری که مپرس — وز ناکس و کس رسید جوری که مپرس
یاری که از و توقع پرسش بود — پرسید مرا ولی بطوری که مپرس

(1) We also find this quatrain with a little variation in the Rubā'i-yāt of Abū Sa'īd and Khaiyām. It runs as follows :—

گویند بحشر گفتگو خواهد بود — وان یار عزیز تند خو خواهد بود
از خیر محض جز نکوئی ناید — خوشباش که عاقبت نکو خواهد بود

See J. A. S. B. (New series) Vol. XII., 1916, p. 225, No. 27; Nicolos, No. 178; Whinfield, p. 131, No. 193; and Amratsar edition, p. 92, No. 182.

48

1 عشق است که شیر نر ز بون آید ازو — کاریست که هر کار بر و ن آید ازو
گه دوستئی کند که جان افزاید — گه دشمنئی که بوئی خون آید ازو

49

آن خال بر ان روی دل‌افروز نگر — بر هر چه مراد اوست فیروزنگر
مانند شب سیاه دل سوختگان — سر بر زده از میانهٔ روز نگر

50

2 با محنت واندوه قرینم کردی — محتاج بیک نان جوینم کردی
این مرتبهٔ مقربان درتست — آیا بچه خدمت اینچنینم کردی

51

کیفا ز جفای دهر بسیار منال — هرگز مکن از رمانه اظهار ملال
سین‌دولت دیگر این وین محنت‌تو — چون نیک نگه کنی خیال است خیال

52 8

4 گر من گنه جمله جهان کرده ستم — عفو تو امید است که گیرد دستم
گفتی که بوقت عجز دستت گیرم — عاجز تو ازین مخواه که اکنون هستم

(1) Abū Sa'īd bin Abū'l Khair says :-

عشق است که شیرنر ز بون آید ازو — از هر چه گمان بری فزون آید ازو
گه دشمنئی کند گه مهر افزاید — گه دوستئی گه بوئی خون آید ازو

See J. A. S. B. (New series) Vol. VII, 1911, p. 664, No. 371.

(2) Abū Sa'īd says :—

با فاقه وفقر همنشینم کردی — محتاج بیک نان شبینم کردی
این مرتبهٔ مقربان درتست — یا رب بچه خدمت این چنینم کردی

See J. A. S. B. (New series) Vol. XII., 1916, p. 235, No. 87.

(3) Quatrains Nos. 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, and 59, are copied from *Riyad-ush-Shu'ara*, fol. 220. Haft Iqtīm, fol. 281-b gives, Nos. 52, 60 and 61 ; *Riyad-ul-'Arifin*, p, 84, Nos. 52, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60 ; *Karamat-ul-Awliya*— fol. 390, Nos. 52, 53 ; *Atash Kada*, p. 109, *Rawdat-ul-Jannat*, fol. 100-b No. 56 ; *Majma'-ul-Fusaha*, Vol. I. p. 214, No. 60 ; and *Nafahat-ul-Uns*, p. 496, No. 52 and 53.

(4) Jāmi in his *Nafahat-ul-Uns* p. 496 says that Saif-ud-Dīn was asked to administer *talqin* to a dead person, at the time of the burial, which he did with this quatrain. *Talqin* literally, means " instructions. " It is specially used for the instructions given at the grave of a departed Muslim, at the close of the burial service when one of the mourners or religious teachers draws near the middle of the grave, addresses the deceased and says :—

" O servant of God, and child of the female servant of God.

" O son of such a one, remember the faith you professed on earth to the very last ; this is your witness that there is no deity but God, and that certainly Muhammad is his Apostle, and that Paradise and Hell and the Resurrection from the dead are real ; that there will be a Day of Judgment ; and say ! " I confess that God is my Lord, Islam my religion, Muhammad (on whom be the mercy and peace of God) my Prophet, the Qur'ān my guide, the *Ka'bah* my *Qiblah* and that

53

1 هرچند گهی ز عشق بیگانه شوم با عافیت آشنا و همخانه شوم
ناگاه پری رخی بمن برگذرد برگردم از آن حدیث و دیوانه شوم

54

2 هر روز روم سوی گلستان غمناک چون غنچه گریبان صبوری زده چاک
باشد که بگوید گل نورسته ز گل با من خبری ز ان گل نورفته بخاک

55

2 کردم بطواف خانهٔ یار آهنگ سنگی دیدم نهاده آنجا بر سنگ
چون بود تهی ز یار ناکرده درنگ واگردیدم سنگ ز نان بردل تنگ

56

3 تا کی بود این جور جفاکردن تو بیهوده دل خلایق آزردن تو
تیغی است بدست اهل حق خون آلود گر در تو رسد خون تو در گردن تو

57

بر سنگ قناعت ار عیاری داری از نیک و بد جهان کناری داری
گر با همه کس بهر خلافی که رود در کار شوی در از کاری داری

58

بر کس غم و رنج این تن خسته نهنهم وز پیش قناعت قدمی پس نهنهم
چون بار کسی کشید می نتوانم باری کم از ان که باد بر کس نهنهم

59

2 بگذر بدیار ریا رم ای پیک شمال بر خاک رهش ببای من چهره بمال
و رقصهٔ حال من کند از تو سوال قل مات من الهجر علی اصعب حال

Muslims are my brethern." Of God, keep him (*i.e.* the deceased) firm in his faith, and widen his grave and make his examination by *Munkir* and *Nakir*, (the two angels who are declared by the Prophet to visit the dead in their graves and to interrogate them as to their belief in the Prophet and his religion, easy and exalt him and have mercy on him, O Thou most merciful!"

We also find this quatrain in 'Umar Khaiyām and Abū Sa'īd with a very little variation. It runs thus :—

گر من گنه روی زمین کرده ستم عفو تو امید است که گیرد دستم
گفتی که بروز عجز دستت گیرم عاجزتر از ین مخواه که اکنون هستم

For 'Umar Khaiyām, see Whinfield, p. 225, No. 333; Nicolos, No. 296; Wakīl Press edition, p. 130, No. 29; Berlin edition, No. 227, Nawal Kishore edition, p. 67. For Abū Sa'īd see J. A. S. B. Vol. VII, 1911, p. 659 No. 333.

(1) Abū Sa'īd says :—

هر چند گهی ز عشق بیگانه شویم با عافیت کنشت و هم خانه شویم
ناگاه پری رخی بمن برگذرد برگردیم از ان حدیث و دیوانه شویم

See J. A. S. B. (New series) Vol. V, 1909, p. 442, No. 134.

(2) We find Nos. 54, 55, and 59 in the quatrains of Jāmī. In No. 59 in place of چهر بمال it has دید بمال See *Kulliyat Jami* Vol. III. fol. 146.

(3) We find No. 56 in *Diwan Hafiz*, See lithographed edition p. 156.

60

4ای مردان های وای جوان مردان هوی مردی کنی و نگاهداری سر کوی
گر تیر أ ید چنا نکه بشگا فد مری ز نها رکه از دوست بگردانی روی

61

این نا لهٔ نی ز فرط جوش غم تو فریاد و فغان می فروش از غم تو
می نعره زند چو باده نوش از غم تو در میکده ها جوش و خروش از غم تو

(4) Abū Sa'īd says :—

هان یار ان هوی هاجوان مردان هو مردی کنی و نگاهداری سر کو
گر تیر جهان رسد که بشگافد مو باید که ز یگدگر نگردانی رو

See J. A. S. B. (New series) Vol. VII. 1911, p. 664, No. 370.

Hahu—This expression is used when people get drunk as Hāfiz says هاو هوئی می پرستان یاد باد "May you remember the ecstacy of the wine-embibbers."

SPIRIT OF LIGHT

Spirit of Light, from starry mansions straying,
Whose flight is o'er this world of woe and strife,
On, on thy course, to mortal hearts conveying
God's meaning of the mystery of Life !

On, on thy course, wide-scattering from each pinion
Sparks that shall leave behind a trail of fire
To guide mankind from passion's dire dominion
To purer heavens of the soul's desire ;

To cheer them, toil-worn, weary and benighted,
With Heaven-born hope pure as the Dawn's first ray ;
To gladden them in Sorrow's gloom affrighted,
With the sure promise of Eternal Day !

O sing to them thy song of hope and gladness,
Dispel all sombre shadows from the air,
Till freed from dismal doubt and fear and sadness
The heart of man shall deem the world more fair !

Bare to the skies in its unsullied brightness
The keen edge of thy spirit-tempered blade,
Held in that hand aloft, whose radiant whiteness
The Lord of Light hath His own symbol made !

Give it to those who seek the path of glory
In realms beyond the shadow of the grave,
Above the loud acclaim of song and story
Who keep Life's tenour righteous, bright and brave,

To quell the powers of darkness that surround them—
Guileful to lure and eager to destroy—
Whose vain, deluding phantoms throng around them
And feign the guise of Wealth and Peace and Joy.

On, on thy course with outspread wings pursuing
The destined orbit of thy heavenward flight,
Wide o'er the world with bounteous hand bestrewing
The stars of Faith amid the shades of Night !

NIZAMAT JUNG.

THE ARAB RULE IN SINDH

I

After giving a summary of Huien Tsang, the Chinese monk's travels in Sindh, in his 'Early History of India' Vincent Smith writes :—

"From other sources of information we learn that the Kingdom of Sindh, of which Baluchistan was a dependency, in those days was rich and powerful, far more populous and fertile than it is now. It occupied the whole valley of the Indus from the neighbourhood of the Salt Range to the sea, and was separated from India proper by the 'lost river' the Hakra or Wahinda, the Sin-tu of Huien Tsang." (Early History of India, 355).

As the author, just quoted, has left his reference to the "other sources of information" in a mist of vagueness, it is almost impossible to imagine that he meant any but Arabic and Persian works written by Mussalman historians or geographers, dealing with Sindh, the translations of some of which have since appeared in Europe. Such books alone could form the basis of a history of the period preceding the conquest of Arabs. But one who has read them will discover that Vincent Smith's statement is at variance with accuracy. Almost the first bit of trustworthy information available about "the territories of Sindh" is found in the Report on the ثغر ا لهند (Indian Borderland) which *Hakim Bin Jabalah* presented to Hazrat *Usman* (may God be pleased with him), the third *Khalifa*. Hakîm bin Jabalah was specially commissioned to collect reliable information about ثغر ا لهند (the Indian Borderland). It seems certain that ثغر ا لهند or the Indian Borderland in those days included Sindh, because 'Makaran' had already been conquered in the time of the second *Khalifa*. Hakîm executed his mission, doing what he could in the way of reconnaissance; and when he returned the Governor of *Iraq* asked him to proceed to the Khalîfa's Court to narrate personally what he had witnessed. Hakîm's characteristically laconic and rhymed description is preserved to this day. He said :

ما ؤ ها و شل لصها بطلا ن قل ا لجيش فيها ضا عوا ا ن كثر و ا جا عو ا

" (Water is not deep there ; available fruits are sour ; the robbers are daring ; a small force will be lost, and a large one will starve there). The Khalîfa wondered if Hakîm was trying his skill at rhyming ! But Hakîm assured him that it was a faithful report. This led to the abandonment of the idea of invading India.

This quotation leads one to believe that, at least, the condition of the western districts of Sindh, at that time, was not quite prosperous. Although we have not succeeded in ascertaining the exact date, it is tolerably certain that Hakîm Bin Jabalah came out on his mission during the earlier part of Usmân's Khilafât ; in all probability in 24 A.H. (644 A.D.) or the year following.

Chachnama and its Testimony

But if there is any ' book ' in which we catch a glimpse of the state of affairs prevailing in Sindh previous to the Mohammadan conquest of that Province, it is *Chachnama*[1]. It is the Persian translation of the earliest work of History in Arabic which deals with the early Mussalman conquests of Sindh. No doubt its Persian translator has added some narratives of his own and omitted certain portions of the original. Still much useful contemporary information has been left unimpaired, while the authenticity of the Arab author himself seems unquestionable. In fact this was the reason why the heirs of the author treasured it as a dear memento of their ancestor and preserved it as a precious heirloom for a hundred years, when *Ali Bin Hamid*, a well-known Persian writer (who had emigrated from Iraq), on arriving in Bhakkar on his self-imposed errand of hunting for old historical works was amply rewarded by Qazi Moulana Ismail Bin Ali, who entrusted to his literary care the valuable manuscript so long preserved. The date of the translation is 633 A. H. (1216 A.D.) according to the translator ; and it is this Persian version which has come to be known by the various titles of " The History of Hind and Sind." (Târîkh-i-Hind-o-Sind), " Minhaj-ul-Masàlik, and " Chachnâma," of which the last is the best known.

We learn from this work that in the year 84 A.H. (703 A.D.) some Arabs of the *Allafi* clan assassinated *Sa'id Bin Aslam Kallabi*[2] the Governor of Makran, and later his successor ; and, fearing the consequences of their

1. *Bilazari* in *Futuhal Buldan* p. 432. *Tabari*, has ascribed this incident to the time of Hazrat Umar Faruq, (Omar), the second Khalifa.

2. History of India by Elliot. Vol. I., p. 428, on the authority of *Chachnama. Tuhfatul Kiram* Vol. 3, p. 9. But *Futuhal Buldan* says that *Muja'ah* died a natural death, p. 435.

outrages, fled into Raja Dahir's dominions and sought his protection. *Hajjaj Bin Yusuf*, thereupon, appointed *Mohammad Ibn Harun* to the governorship of Makran; the territories of both Makran and Persia being under that blood-thirsty Governor-General at the time. The new *Wali* or Governor was specially directed to leave no stone unturned in bringing the Allafi rebels to book, and avenging the blood of Sa'îd Bin Muslim. Mohammad, accordingly arrested and beheaded an Allafi, and in reporting it to Hajjâj added that if he were spared long enough he was resolved to round up every one of the fugitive rebels. Consequently for a period of 5 years he went about, "subduing rivers and forests in their pursuit[1]." The last sentence affords a clue to the conditions prevailing in the western districts of the dominion of Sindh, and corroborates the report Hakîm Bin Jabala had made at the Khalifian Court some 60 years before.

Another noteworthy occurrence took place about this time. Some pirates held up and plundered some vessels belonging to Mussalmans, off the coast of Sindh, while the latter were on their way from Ceylon to Iraq. These sea-robbers are said to have come from *Debal* or its neighbourhood. Sir Henry Elliot has, after elaborate research, arrived at the conclusion that the said town of *Debal* stood on a hill near the present city of Karachi, where the fortress of *Manora* is situated[2]. The majority of modern scholars agree with him, but some are of opinion that it was situated on the site of the present city of *Thatte* or to the south of it where the village *Kakar Bukera* stands to-day. In any case its site has been traced to some part of the coast of Sindh. This incident has been recounted only to remind the reader that when Hajjaj sent the Raja of Sindh a 'Note' demanding compensation for the outrage and the punishment of the offenders, the Raja returned a reply declaring that he could not be held accountable for the misdeeds of malefactors, over whom he exercised no control. All the circumstances of the time help to acquit the Raja of offering a lame excuse; for nearly every small or big town of the coast and southern districts of Sindh, was more or less autonomous. In fact, while the Government of Sindh was itself a feeble one all the natural sea-trade routes of Sindh were closed. To say the least of it, all the sea-ports of Sindh had, about the

1. Elliot's History of India Vol. I. p. 429.
2. Elliot's History of India p. 376., also Imperial Gazetteer Vol. XXII, p. 315.

time of the Muhammadan conquest, become the haunts of pirates, where they sought shelter. Let alone sea-borne merchandise, seafaring itself had been rendered a perilous enterprise in those parts. After having conquered Debal, *Mohammad Bin Qasim* traversed a long stretch without coming upon any other town or fortress, which appears to signify that all the arable lands lying in the South and irrigated by the river Sindh were but very sparsely inhabited. To this circumstance may be attributed the characteristic reply Hajjâj received from the *Khalifa Walid* some time between the years 86 A.H. (705 A.D.) and 96 A.H. (715 A.D.) when he applied for leave to lead a punitive expedition against the pirates and Raja *Dahir*, who had welcomed the Arab rebels under his protecting wing. The reply received ran[1]:—

"It is a distant land, which yields little and entails expenses; where armies go and get lost; it would be advisable to turn your attention away from that direction." This is how Sindh was situated before the arrival of the Mussalmans. It was only natural to fear the destruction of an army, cast upon the resources of that arid and deserted country, for sheer want of provisions.

After the Muslim Conquest

Let us now turn to the condition of that country as it appeared after the Muhammadan conquest, and critically examine the evidence available in regard to various periods in order to be able to form a correct idea of the gradual changes effected. In this connection the first point to be noted is that although *Mohammad bin Qasim* had in a sense, conquered Sindh in the year 94 A.H. (713 A.D.) and big towns had passed into the possession of the Mussalmans, it took a long time to complete the work of subjugating the entire province and consolidating and firmly establishing the Muslim power there. In the first place the principal land-holders, (who were hereditary rajas, and as such only nominally subject to the central suzerain power), continued to resist the Muslim invaders, and till the very end availed themselves of every possible opportunity of becoming independent. Among the other factors which conspired to prevent the Arabian *Khalifas* from giving full attention to this question were

1. Tuhfatul Kiram Vol. III., p. 12. Elliot has used about the same words, and has relied on the authority of *Chachnama* and *Abdulfida*. History of India Vol. I., p. 431. The source of information on which the compiler of *Tuhfatul Kiram* relies is also Chachnama (*vide* Vol. III. p. 5.)

(1) the discouraging stretch of distance which divided them from the conquered territory, (2) civil feuds and (3) the collapse of the Ummayad power. Available data go to show that before the appointment of *Hisham bin 'Umar Taghlabi* as Governor of Sindh, (which was about the middle of the 2nd century A.H.), the Mussalmans had not been allowed the opportunity of establishing themselves in, and firmly administering, this province. At any rate, their administration or culture had made no marked impression there, and *Ibn-i-Khurdadbeh's* book "*Al-masalik wal-mamalik*" indirectly supports this view.

Ibn-i-Khurdadbeh and his Geography

Ibn-i-Khurdadbeh's full name was '*Abul Qasim Ubaidullah* Ibn-i-Abdullah' and he was a Parsi convert to Islam, who steadily rose to be a *Vizir* (minister) in the time of one of the Abbasid Khalîfas [1]. He was the first to collect geographical information about the Mussalman dominions, and included in his book an account of Sindh, referring to which he observes "Indian incense, cane and bamboos are imported from thence[2]." This statement furnishes a clue to the fact that about the third Islamic century trade relations had come to be established between Islamic lands and Sindh. Further on Ibn-i-Khurdadbeh mentions Sindh among the trade-routes of Jews and Russians, and there are clear accounts which go to prove that caravans were constantly arriving there from China, Russia, Europe and Africa, and commerce by sea and land was beginning to find an increasingly flourishing market there[3].

Astakhri and Ibn i-Hauqal.

Ibn-i-Khurdadbeh has, primarily, confined his work to a description of various cities and a statement of distances covered by highways; but the fact that the cities newly founded by Mussalmans find no place in his Geogrgphy may be taken to indicate that Sindh and its new cities had not come to claim the place of importance which they seem to occupy in Geographies of later dates; among which the latest appears to contain by far the fuller and more useful information. But having regard to priority of time we shall take up Abul Ishaq Ibrahim bin Muham-

1. *Ahsan-ut-Taqasim* on the authority of *Ma'arfatul Aqalim* p. 362. This statement of *Makdasi* is not borne out by any other history. But it is beyond doubt that *Ibn-i-Khurdadbeh* was appointed to high posts from time to time.

2. Kitb-ul-Maslik-wal-mamâlik, p. 62.

3. Ibid— pp. 153 and 154.

mad *Al-Astakhri's* work first. He embarked on his tour of the Muslim world in the early part of the fourth century of the Hijrah, and has given an account of events of nearly a century following Ibn-i-Khurdadbeh's narrative. Dealing with Sindh he says "The city of Mansûrah, called Brahminabad in Sindh, a mile[1] in length and about the same in breadth, is situated on an island in the delta of *Mihran* (the river Indus). The inhabitants of the city are Muslim by religion and affect the dress of the people of Iraq. They and the natives speak Arabic and Sindhi respectively. Similarly the people of *Multan* and its neighbourhood dress themselves like the people of Iraq-i-Arab (Mesopotamia). Multan is half the size of Mansûrah and covers the same area as the city of Alor."

Referring to *Debal*, he says that it was situated on the coast, west of the river Mihran, and was reckoned as a big market place, the neighbouring countryside of which grew corn[2]. Ibn Hauqal's account is couched in similar language, and a perusal of both these Geographies leads one to conclude that two centuries of Arab rule had changed the entire condition of Sindh. Islamic morality and culture had permeated everything; many flourishing towns, both small and big, had sprung up, owning prosperous landholders (*Zamindars*) and well-to-do merchants. It is to be noted that this period (*i.e.*, the 4th century of the Hijrah era) was politically one of progressive decline of the *khilafat* of Baghdad; when the sanguinary civil disputes of the *Yamani* and *Nazari* tribes combined with the insurrections of the *Ismaili* sect were tending to break up the Arab power. Sindh, too, had become bifurcated into two principalities, where rulers of Arab blood had reduced their allegiance to the Khalifa of Baghdad to an attenuated nominal form. But in spite of all this the process of civilization was on the onward march; in fact, as is borne out by another testimony, not only had agriculture and commerce made considerable progress,

1. Mile here is equivalent to Arabic *Zira* or Persian Farsakh, which according to English linear measurement would be about, $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles. Ref. *Taqwimul Buldan by Abi-l-Fida*, Chapter on *Tahqiqul Amrut Masahat*. In Persia they still use the word *farsakh*, which in terms of English measurement is 3 miles. Encyclo. Brit. Vol. XXVIII, p. 493.

2. "*Al-Masalik wal-mamalik*" by *Abi Ishaq-al-Astakhri* from p. 170 to p. 178. I have given above my own summary of these pages because Elliot's English version is erroneous, especially in respect to Multan and Mansûrah where he says they speak "*Persian* and Sindhi" (History of India Vol. I. p. 29) which clearly contradicts the original. But according to Astakhri (p. 177) in some cities of Makaran they did speak *Persian* and *Makrani*.

but handicrafts and industries, science and learning flourished simultaneously[1].

The Geography of *Idrisi*.

Let us, now, turn to our final source of information namely *Ibn Abdullah Muhammad Idrisi's* Geography. This author wrote his book in the sixth century of the Muslim era, in which he embodied the most elaborately sifted and by far the largest volume of information regarding Sindh. It is a matter for genuine regret that this work has not so far appeared in print in its entirety ; nor is it in all probability available in manuscript in India. Its French and Latin translations seem to have failed to satisfy scholars ; but we have before us its English version by Sir Henry Elliot, who had occasion to compare the Arabic original with the translations spoken of[2]. Dealing with the country of Sindh, Idrîsi begins with Debal :—

" *Debal.* This is a populous place, but its soil is not fertile .....It is a harbour for the vessels of Sindh and other countries. Trade is carried on in a great variety of articles, and is conducted with much intelligence. Ships laden with the productions of Uman, and the vessels of China and India come to Debal. .....The inhabitants of Debal, who are generally rich, buy these goods in bulk and store them.....Then they begin to sell and go trading into the country.

Nirun. From Debal to Nirun.....three day's journey.....Nirun is a town of little importance, but it is fortified and its inhabitants are rich.

Mansura. From hence to Mansura rather more than three days. Mansura was built in the reign of AlMansur of the Abbaside family. This prince gave his name to four different cities.....Mansura in Sindh, that of which we are now speaking is great, populous, rich and commercial. Its environs are fertile. The buildings are constructed of bricks, tiles and plaster. It is a place of recreation and of pleasure. Trade flourishes. The bazars are filled with people, and well-stocked with goods. The lower classes wear the Persian constume, but the princes wear tunics, and allow their hair to grow long..... The money is silver and copper.....Fish is plentiful, meat is cheap, and foreign and native fruits abound....

1. *Ahsan-ul-Taqasim* on the authority of *Alaqalim* compiled by Allama Shams-uddin Al-Maqdasi Albashari pp. 474 and 479.

2. Elliot's Hist. Ind. Vol. I. pp. 74 to 92.

Bania. It is a little town. The inhabitants are of mixed blood and are rich. Living here is cheap and agreeable. From Bania to Mansura three days.....

Kalari—on the west bank of the Mihran, is a pretty town, well-fortified, and is a busy trading place....Although this town is some distance out of the regular route still it is much frequented in consequence of the profitable trade carried on with the inhabitants. From hence Mansura is a hard day's journey of forty miles.

Dur (ALOR) is situated on the banks of the Mihran..... It is a pleasant place and worthy of comparison with Multan as regards size.

Sharusan. (Sadusan) From Kalari to Sharusan three days.....Sharusan is remarkable for its size and for the number of its fountains and canals, for the abundance of its productions and for its rich commerce. It is much resorted to.

Manhabari (Manjabari), a town placed in a hollow, well built, of a pleasant aspect, surrounded with gardens, fountains and running waters.....

Multan is a large city commanded by a citadel.... Provisions are abundant and the taxes are light, so that the people are in easy circumstances.....At one mile from Multan is *Jandur* a collection of forts strongly built, very high, and well supplied with fresh waters. The governor passes the spring time and his holidays here.....

Sandur is situated three day's journey south of Multan. It is famous for its trade, wealth, sumptuous apparel and the abundance which prevails on the table of the inhabitants..... "

Idrisi has similarly dealt with some 20 or 25 other important cities, some of which were situated on the coast of Gujarat, while others belonged to *Makaran* and were included in Muslim territories. It would involve arduous labour to trace the sites of all of them and their subsequent history, nor would it contribute to anything but prolixity to copy out their full account from Idrîsi's book ; but a perusal of this geography (which is much more valuable and trustworthy than many histories) presents to one's imagination a most attractive and pleasing picture of Sindh under the Muslims, which amply succeeds in convincing one that three centuries of Muhammadan rule in Sindh had profoundly altered the face of that country, no doubt for the better. We have read

above a brief account of the towns the Muhammadans had built in Sindh. In the arid and uninhabited districts of Makaran, too, they had planted scores of towns like *Kairusi, Firbuz, Armabel, Rasik* and *Darik*, which owned big markets and were abundantly supplied with all the requisites of civilized life, where suitable lands had come under extensive cultivation, where the inhabitants were well-to-do, prosperous, polite, well-informed about the affairs of the world, and hospitable; and while a large number of them had embraced the Islamic faith, almost all had adopted the ways of living prevalent in Islamic countries.

ARAB ADMINISTRATION AND INSTITUTIONS.

The Arab Governor.

Sindh was a dependency, first under the *Khalifas* of Damascus and then of those of Baghdad. It was divided into 4 or 5 large divisions, but this territorial distribution was subject to fluctuation, corresponding to the requirements of different times of emergency, which occured pretty frequently. And, again, although *Makaran* had been made a separate province, it was at times placed under the jurisdiction of the provincial Governor of Sindh. In Arabic " *Wilayat* " means a province or dependent territory and *Wali*, a provincial Governor; but the powers and dignity of the Governor were variable *e. g.*, the Governor above the so-called Deputy or Lieutenant-Governor of Sindh was, also, known by the comprehensive title of *Wali* and generally had several provinces like Sindh under him. However, the *Wali* was invariably appointed by a special order of the *Khalifa* and used to be the recipient of a *Khilat* of seven *parcha* (cloth and other requisites for 7 robes of honour), two swords, two bracelets or armlets, a *parcham* (flag) a *tauq* (a sort of neck-ring or neck-lace with a pendant) and the coronet of *Wilayat*[1] (Governor-ship) equipped with which he used to proceed to assume office. The government revenues, it appears probable, had to be transmitted direct to the seat of *Khilafat*; and in all important matters the sanction of the Khalîfa was indispensable. The principles of government, " according to Islam, " had been settled before the conquest of Sindh, and were universally followed except in regard to details of internal administration, which were left to the discretion of the *Wali*, who was held responsible for the ' peace and order ' of the province. In fact sometimes, in distant provinces such as Sindh, the *Wali* was clothed with the authority

1. Sanajtulturab, p. 174.

to initiate peace or war also ; while the details left to his discretion included the power to reduce, remit or increase the land-revenue in accordance with the condition of crops, to improve and increase the means of irrigation, to make roads and police them, to establish law-courts in suitable places, to found new cities or garrison towns and conclude all similar transactions on behalf and in the name of government.

Military Colonies.

The Arab *Wali* was primarily charged with, and held accountable for, internal peace and order and external defence of the province committed to his authority. He, therefore, used to plant large garrisons at important points ; and in distant parts these garrisons gradually grew into colonial cities of Arab victors. The Arab soldiers did not, at first, bring their families out to Sindh but formed matrimonial alliances in that country, and therefore, early military centres soon grew into (mixed) Arab Colonies, and became the permanent homes of succeeding generations. *Mansurah*, *Qasdar*, *Qandabel*, *Baizah*, *Mahfuzah*, and *Jandour* or Jandowar near Multan were such garrison centres which grew into big towns in a short time. It must, however, be noted that the prosperity of these towns depended on their soldier populations, and accordingly when the Arab power came to grief, those who followed the military profession either lost their careers, or had to leave their homes to seek employment with new masters (whose head-quarters were elsewhere), or were forced by circumstances to disperse to the neighbouring country to pursue agriculture, which is about the only alternative occupation a soldier cares to pursue. The dispersal of the military population of these cantonments naturally led to their desertion by artisans and traders. Thus they fell into decay with the rapidity with which they had come into existence, leaving behind either ruins of great buildings or small hamlets as their successors. But these are happenings which followed the decline of the Arab power.

Let us, in passing, review the Army organisation of the Arab, at this stage. Garrison cities or cantonment, as a rule had, besides barracks (and family quarters) for the soldiers, Government Offices, hospitals, Courts of Justice, Commissariats, and Stables.

These military stations were set up at points selected for salubrious climate ; and sanitary principles guided the building of barracks for the soldiers, while extensive

tracts of neighbouring land were appropriated for grazing purposes. Arrangements for horse-breeding received particular attention, and no wonder; for has not horsemanship always been the cherished pastime of Arab soldiers. Cavalry was the dominant force of the Arab army, the remaining factors comprising a respectable force of infantry, camel-corps and in all probability a corps trained in the use of such machines for reducing forts as were in vogue at the time, namely *Minjaniq* and *Dabbabah* (catapults for throwing big stones). The Arabs effected some noteworthy and useful improvements in the armour and weapons of the time: but warfare was in the main, so far, confined to the bow and the sword and the efficiency of a soldier's training consisted in the skilful manipulation of these weapons. The modern sham-fights and manoeuvres, which play a considerable part in army training now, were not the order of the day in that remote period nor does there seem to be any necessity for a warlike people, almost constantly at war, to find time for such amusing preparations. But the Arab soldier so far from idling away his time (in times of peace) usually occupied himself with horse-racing, wrestling, racing, swimming and similar soliderly games and pastimes.

The soldiers received, besides handsome salaries, their share of *booty* or plunder, and were probably exempt from taxes of all descriptions. But superior officers and army leaders on whom *jagirs* or free-hold lands had been bestowed (as rewards) duly paid the assessed sum as *Zakat* (a sort of income-tax), and *Sadaqah* (charity).

Govt. Revenue.

As a matter of fact all such heads of revenue were based on religious sanction. At first no taxes other than *Zakat* and *Sadaqah*, payable by Muslims, and *Jiziah* (or a sort of poll-tax) payable by Non-Muslims, were imposed, but afterwards either local emergency or tyrannical administrators brought about the addition of certain other heads of revenue for which there existed no sanction of Islamic law. It should, however, be noted that some wealthy Mussalmans had to pay a larger sum by way of taxes than the Jizia-paying non-Muslims, inasmuch as the former were required to pay into the *Bait-ul-Mal* (common or communal coffers), sometimes $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and at other times as much as $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. (or $\frac{1}{8}$th) of their income. The Non-Muslim had only one annual tax or *Jiziah* of 5

dinar (per head), equivalent to Rs. 30 or even less to pay, and thus, while the wealthiest Non-Muslim in no case paid more than 5 dinars annually, the amount which wealthy Muslims were called upon to pay as *Zakat*, etc., exceeded by far the sum paid as *Jiziah*[1]. The rulers guaranteed the security of life and property to those who paid the *Jizia* and instances are to be found in History which go to prove that if the Mussulmans were obliged to withdraw from a place where they had realised the *Jizia*, they scrupulously reimbursed the *Zimmis* (or their wards)[2]. Again, the Non-Muslims who elected and were allowed to serve in the Muslim army were exempt from this tax.

Land Revenue.

Cultivators were required to pay land-revenue in proportion to the growing capacity of the land they tilled; and in assessing the land, great care was taken to secure the correct survey of the arable area, actual yield and kind of the crops. Gibbon was of opinion that the Arabs' land-survey and census-taking of men and cattle would continue to be instructive for the thinking men of all ages[3]. The chief point to be noted, in this connection, is that the Government realised its land-revenue *in kind*, which in the case of lands depending on *rains* never exceeded $\frac{1}{4}$th of the total produce. As soon as crops were ready for harvesting, either a Revenue Officer or a 'Contractor' went to the spot, and after due weighing of the produce of each field in his presence, took possession of $\frac{1}{4}$th or less, and left the remainder with the cultivator, or land-lord, as the case might be. This must have put the Government to the necessity of arranging the sale of their share, but it is obvious that this method relieved the cultivator from the fear of over-payment of taxes to the Government, and provided an opportunity for exact ascertainment of the annual yield of the land[4]. The tax payable on the more

1. We have relied for these figures on Elliot Vol. I. p. 477; but Moulvi Shibli's conclusion is that *Jiziah* did not exceed Rs. 20 annually. (*Rasail-i-Shibli* p. 105.)

2. *Rasail-i-Shibli* p. 102, on the authority of *Kitabul Khiraj* etc. In *Futuhul Buldan* p. 137, the word used is Khiraj, meaning, perhaps, that not only *Jizia* but other revenues too were returned on such occasions.

3. "Decline and Fall of the Holy Roman Empire." Chap. 51, footnote 32.

4. This method of payment in kind continued in Sindh until 1863, when the British enforced cash payment of land-revenue (Imp. Gazetteer Vol. 22. p. 423.)

valuable produce of gardens or canal-irrigated lands was somwhat excessive[1]; but, probably no separate water-rate was charged. Thus the total revenue of the province of Sindh amounted to about one crore and fifteen lakhs of *dirhams* (drachmes), which, in terms of British Indian currency, would be equivalent to 40½ lakhs of Rupees. Of course, this did not include the revenue of Makaran, but it should be noted that the province of Sindh, at that time, covered more than three times its present area, and included besides Multan certain districts of Southern Punjab. One other thing to be especially marked is that in those days a large area of land was devoted to religious purposes called *awqaf* all of which was land free of revenue, and no cultivator of such land was required to pay any revenue to Government; but we shall have to deal with this item at a later stage.

Law Courts

However admirable and carefully framed the laws governing the relations between the Government and the subject, or between the subjects themselves, so long as there is no adequate guarantee of their proper administration they may be reckoned as a dead letter. When a foreign people come into possession of a land as conquerors, the poor subject people are, not infrequently, subjected to various forms of injustice, but they must *nolens volens* put up with every hardship in excess of legality. But the Mussalmans endeavoured to provide against such excesses. Relentless and terrible in war, they proved themselves lenient and gentle in peace, particularly if they happened to be the conquerors; mainly because their actions, were based on and guided by Qoranic injunctions, where it is definitely and emphatically laid down that no injustice should be permitted to another nation even during the continuance of hostilities[2]. It is a special feature of Islamic conduct to show politeness and consideration to the weak and the vanquished, in fact it is in evidence among the higher classes of Muslims to such a degree that it would be difficult to find its parallel among any other people. Again, Islamic Government never interfered with the internal and personal affairs of the subjects, which were left in the hands of their natural leaders or

1. Elliot p, 474.

2. Sūratu'l-maida. (The Food). Section 2. " and *let not the hatred of a people incite you not to act equitably* " Moulvi Mohammad Ali's translation of the Qoran. 1st edition 1917. p, 254.

panchayats[1]; that is, in current terminology the subjects were free to enjoy a form of "Self-Government," under the Muslims.

All disputes and causes of action (of a civil nature) arising between Musalmans were taken to the Qâzi's Court. The Government had established these courts in all the principal cities and in garrison towns, where all cases were decided according to the *Shara'* or the Qoranic Law. Muslim jurisprudence had not yet attained the state of perfection, which it did later on, nor had it quite come into its own to enable people to elect to follow any of the four great *Imams* or *jurisprudentes* (namely *Abu Hanifa*, *Shafai*, *Malik* and *Hambal*), and, therefore, each *Qazi* was his own exponent of law, and was expected to administer justice, according to his lights, by finding applicable law in the Qoran and the Prophet's tradition. A little later, however, in some places *Hanafi* law began to be followed.

Penal provisions too were derived from the *Shara'*, and not merely heinous felonies such as homicide and theft, but gambling, drinking, adultery, etc., were made punishable crimes—which latter, by the way, do not merely lead to mischief and strife but contribute to the final demoralisation and annihilation of nations. In any case these legal provisions applied only to Muslims, and there is testimony enough to prove that the Hindu subjects were not forced to submit or conform to these laws, probably because certain of their sects and castes did not attach any great opprobrium to some of the evils mentioned, and therefore, did not regard them as punishable. It is evident that this exemption proceeded from motives of religious toleration. The Muslim Government showed no inclination to force their subjects to act in accordance with laws, which militated against their conscience or customs. They knew that the conception of "democratic government" turns upon "the will of the community"—that is, the persons at the helm of affairs should scrupulously avoid imposing their *will* on the people, and

1. Sir Henry Elliot's "Early History of India." Vol. I. p. 478. While admitting that during the Arab administration the *panchayats* of the *Hindus* were left intact and allowed to retain their autonomous character, Sir Henry Elliot opines that it was due to the Muslim contempt for the Hindus! He has not, however, taken the trouble to adduce any adequate proof of this strange accusation. Other allegations of a like nature, not borne out by History, bear witness to his personal bias.

conduct the Government and administer the law strictly in accordance with the *will* of the people (who, by the way, are Sovereign unto themselves), without projecting their personal predilections into the affairs of the State.

Concessions to the Hindus

Viewed politically, this meant a considerable concession to the Hindus; for, in effect, it was tantamount to leaving them free, not merely to settle their legal disputes, but also to frame their own laws. Thus the change of government did not touch their freedom of action in internal matters beyond infusing fresh energy and vitality into the existing organisation; nor did it lay upon them any new burden of the foreign yoke which might prove irksome. In religious matters, too, they enjoyed complete liberty; each man being free to profess any faith and perform worship in his own way. Muhammad Bin Qâsim (the first Governor) had obtained theological sanction from the doctors ('ulama') of Damascus to extend the same concessions to the temples of the Hindus as had been granted to the Christian and Jewish places of worship[1]. But to crown it all, the deferential treatment and honour to which Hindu priests were entitled were maintained, and no curtailment was effected in their 3 per cent. share of the land-revenue, a concession they had acquired only during the ascendancy of the Brahmin rulers of Sindh who were of kin to the Brahman priests[2]! It appears that the Arab conquerors were fully conversant with the art of winning the hearts of the conquered, and were capable of sincerely acting up to their convictions. Although it is universally admitted that toleration, absolute trust and the observance of equality in the treatment of the subject people are the surest guarantees of public tranquility and prosperity, in actual operation these noble principles are generally relegated to a comfortable oblivion. For this reason more than any other, it is particularly gratifying to find that the history of Sindh is frequently interspersed with references to legal provisions which the Arabs enforced to obliterate from the minds of their subjects the feeling of having aliens for rulers. Each letter from Hajjaj Bin Yûsuf contained instructions that those who surrendered and agreed to pay the *Jizia* should be treated with sympathy and equality, and Muhammad Bin Qâsim

1. *Chachnama*. Translated by Henry Elliot Vol. I. p. 186. *Futuh-ul-Buldan*, p. 439.

2. *Chachnama*, p. 182, 183, 469; and *Tuhfatulkiram* Vol. 3. p. 20.

himself reiterated this message wherever he went, and heartened up the vanquished. To the secular and religious leaders of the subjects he constantly said "Build .....temples, traffic with the Muhammadans, live without any fear and strive to better yourselves in every way possible*."

The most effective of all plans to conciliate the subjects was to entrust the work of assessing and realising taxes to the Brahmins, who were their priests. In some of the more noted and big cities, a certain number of well-known merchants had to be selected, whom the Muslim Governor of the place was required to consult in all matters. To avail himself of his advice in regard to more important matters of state, Muhammad Bin Qasim left Raja Dahir's minister in the enjoyment of his former office, and made a point of following his suggestions in almost all matters[1].

Islamic Awqaf or Charitable Trusts

It is possible to amplify this account with the instructive maxims and regulations of Muhammad Bin Qâsim, but while resting content with what has been said we shall cast a glance at another aspect of the magnanimity to which these concessions to the Hindus bear eloquent testimony. This other aspect was no other than that which found expression in the religious, educational and other *charitable trusts* which the Arab Government had established. The Government built a *Masjid-i-Jami'* (a mosque for congregational purposes) in every city and garrison-town owning a Muslim community (and the Arab nobles, too, used to cause mosques to be built in suitable places) to the upkeep of which large property used to be devoted. These endowments were free from Government taxes, and were meant to defray not merely the expenses of the repairs and the general upkeep of the mosque, but also the stipends alloted to the learned men (professors) and students ; because the mosque of those days invariably served as an academical institution, to which seekers after knowledge used to flock. It is difficult to give an exact figure of these charitable endowments and bequests but it is possible to get an approximate idea of the generosity of the Islamic Government in this direction from the fact that about the time of the British advent in *Sindh*, nearly one third of

* Elliot's *Chachnama* Vol. I. p. 186.

1. Ibid, 189, 469.

the entire revenue of the province was devoted to such charitable and religious trusts (awqàf)[1].

Theology

Theology has always been the favourite subject of the Muslims, and is regarded by them as the most important of all the branches of knowledge. During the Arab rule in Sindh this subject received much attention and flourished there as it did in other Islamic lands. Notable professors and doctors of Syria and Iraq, or those who had obtained academical degrees there, taught the Qurân and Hadîs (the *prophet's tradition*) in the principal towns of Sindh. A course of studies subsidiary to the study of Theology later on, developed into lectures on Jurisprudence, Logic, Philosophy, Rhetoric and Grammar ; *Maqdasi*, the last traveller of the 4th Islamic century, who was himself a man of profound erudition, has mentioned in his Geography the names of theologians and authors of note who belonged to Sindh [2]; and accounts are found of famous *Sindhi* learned men and teachers of an earlier period[3].

We omit further particulars for fear of prolixity. The point to be particularly noted is that in the course of studies, thus outlined, pointed stress was laid on ethical training and the formation of character. In the Qurân emphasis is frequently laid on good deeds and clean conduct, and the leading theologians and learned men of that period did not look upon philosophical profundities, and too much logic-chopping in theological teaching with any favour ; but regarded a good character and pious deeds as the proper criterion of learning ; and the condition precedent to the confirment of " the Turban of erudition " (which is the Muslim equivalent of the western " degree, cap and gown ") was the practical proof of piety and a life according to the tradition of the prophet as taught and practised by his first Khalîfas and Companions. Thus if the military prowess of the Arabs reduced the formidable forts of Sindh, their praiseworthy conduct and good manners conquered the hearts of the people ; and it did

1. Elliot, Vol. I. p. 462.

2. *Ahsan-ul-Taqasim* p. 479, 481.

3. For biographical notes on Sindhi men of letters see *Tazkiratul Huffaz*, Vol. II. p. 65, 256 ; also *Mujamul Buldan* Vol. III, p. 166. In this connection it will not be without interest to mention that *Abu Hafs Rabi' Bin Sabih Basri*, the first Muslim author and teacher of the Prophet's tradition, came out to Sindh to take part in the holy war, and according to the author of *Mughni* died there. *Cf. Maasirul Kiram* Vol. I. p. 6. also Tàrîkh-i-Kàmil, the narrative of 160 H.

not take the latter long to assimilate and mix with them so freely as to render it difficult for one to distinguish a *native* from an Arab. Again, although idol-worship, obtained among the native population, there were many followers of Buddha, the ethical tenets of whose faith had some similarity to the doctrines of Islam, and their Rajas and Priests did not take long to adopt the monotheistic creed of the Prophet of Arabia. In fact, the natives of Sindh embraced Islam in flocks. If a statement of the compiler of "*Ajaib-ul-Hind*" may be credited, the first commentary of the Qoran ever written in an Indian language was commissioned by the Raja of Kashmîr[1]; which indicates that in the third century A. H. Islam had begun to cast its light beyond Sindh. This statement appears to be supported by the strange account of the conversion to Islam of a Raja, who ruled somewhere on the borderland of Kabul. This Raja had a son who, according to the narrator of the story, fell ill, and although the priestly oracles, after consulting the gods, predicted that he would recover, he died and the oracular pronouncement was manifestly belied. The Raja, thereupon, sent for some Mussalman merchants and, having satisfied himself about the essentials of the creed, embraced Islam[2].

A perusal of the chronicles of various periods helps one to have an adequate conception of the far-reaching effects upon the life of the native population of Sindh of their adoption of Islam. When this province came under the sway of Muhammad Bin Qâsim, it was populated by many nomadic savage tribes, who lived by plunder and were akin to beasts in their mode of life. This circumstance had led the Brahman Raja of Sindh to provide the most drastic measures against them, according to which, on a conviction for petty larceny, the offender used to be sentenced to be burnt together with his wife and children[3]. But within two or three centuries those very savages and barbarians appear to have become civilized citizens who, according to *Maqdasi* and *Irdisi*, were peace-loving and law-abiding subjects of the rulers, besides excelling in arts, industry, trade and agriculture. The inhabitants of Sindh, 76 per cent. of whom are Mussalmans, are even today, when illiteracy, poverty and the imitation of the western mode of life have conspired to

1. *Vide* p. 3.
2. *Futuhial-Buldan, p.* 446.
3. *Chachnama,* Trans. Elliot. Vol. I. p. 186.

degenerate their simple morals, noted for honesty and veracity [1]

THE ARAB CONQUEST AND A SUMMARY OF HISTORICAL EVENTS

Conquest in Makran

The boundaries of old Makaran, conquered in the time of the second Khalîfa (may God be pleased with him) were nearly the same as the boundaries of the present province of Makaran [2]. After a close and careful study of various histories we have arrived at the conclusion that a third of the Eastern portion of the present province of Baluchistan and Qallat used formly to form part of the old Kingdom of Sindh; but within about 20 years of their early conquests the Muslims conquered and annexed this Eastern part to the territory of Makaran which had already come under their rule, and therefore, this part of Sindh has since been known as belonging to Makaran. This is a point that the earlier historians have not attempted to elucidate and definitely disentangle, with the result that Sir Henry Elliot felt baffled and in many places resorted to erroneous guesses. The Makaran of Vincent Smith (he calls it Baluchisan), which according to him was a province under the rule of the Brahmin government of Sindh, was really a part of Sindh (now forming part of Baluchistan) which the Arabs had seized from the Raja of Sindh and annexed to the conquered territory of Makaran.

This conquest took place during the reign of Amir-i-Mu'awwîya. But the earlier torrent of Arab invasion which drove the Sassanid sovereign out of his fatherland, met with a barrier in the mountain range of Makaran, and, consequently, came to a standstill in the valley of Kaij (in Arabic Koj), particularly because the partisans of Yezd Jurd (Yezd Gurd) were fomenting insurrections in various places in Persia, and the new Arab government was confronted with no ordinary difficulties in suppressing the revolts. In fact it would be only correct to say that the conquest of Persia was finally completed during the reign of the third Khalifa, when the Mussalmans found themselves free to advance. But soon after the assassination of the third Khalifa Mussalmans broke into

1. Imp. Gazetteer., Vol. XXII, p. 408.

2. I have dealt briefly with the raids which the Arabs made into Sindh and upon the Indian sea-coast during the reign of the Second Khalîfa, in my History of India (for Matriculation Class). p. 142 to 144.

civil feuds, and remained divided and disorganised for many years after, until in 41 A.H. (661 A.D.) nearly all the Muslim countries agreed to reunite under one sovereign ruler. This reorganisation and reunion was followed by a resumption of advance by Muslim armies in all directions, and the conquest of Baluchistan, referred to above, as well as raids into the highland districts of Kabul and Kandhar, (which were regarded as parts of India at the time) were the results of this move forward. Sistan and Makaran served as bases whence armies and reinforcements proceeded eastward to the scene of action. It is these "invasions of India," of which the narratives in different annals in Arabic are a fruitful source of blunders. Ibn-i-Mufarrigh, an Arabic poet of this age writes : —

كم با بجر و م و ا ر ص ا لهند من قدم و عن سر ا تلك قتلای لا هم قبر و ا

(There is many a warrior-martyr who lies in our traces in tropical and Indian lands without a grave.) By "India" and "Tropical lands," the poet evidently means Kabul and Baluchistan, which in the days of Amîr-i-Mua'wwîya were repeatedly the objective of raiding expeditions, and parts of which were also conquered.

To swell this chronicle with the record of such minor military operations would be obviously undesirable, particularly when it is remembered that they relate to places beyond the Indian frontiers. Within the Indian borders no specific invasion was so far made upon the province of Sindh proper. Colonel Tod, who has imposed the dignified title of "Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan" upon a collection of unreliable legends says somewhere that the Mussalmans carried their raids through Sindh into Rajputana about the year 65 A.H. (684 A.D.). But this was a period when the Ummayad government was deeply entangled in internecine feuds, and Merwan or Abdul Malik at the time of their succession (65 A.H.) scarcely had the time to dream of sending invading expeditions to foreign countries. In short Tod's narrative is in the words of Elliot nothing but "Baseless fiction."

Invasion of Sindh.

Even after Abdul Malik had overcome his adversaries, and the administration of Iraq and Persia had devolved on Hajjâj Bin-i-Yûsuf Saqafi, the Mussalmans had no design to invade Sindh, but two accidental events, referred to in a foregoing section, forced Hajjâj's attention to the campaign and he duly obtained the permission of the

Khalîfa al-Walîd Bin Abdul Malik, (86 to 96 A.H.=705 to 715 A.D.) to send a punitive expedition to Sindh to suppress the sea-robbers of Debal. Al-Walîd did not feel inclined to sanction an expedition to so distant and uninhabited a land, but was persuaded reluctantly to yield to the persistent requests of Hajjâj, who accompanied his petition with a promise to double the tribute. Hajjâj first deputed Abdullah Bin-i-Binhan to conquer Debal and Southern Sindh, but he was unsuccessful and was succeeded by Budail Bajeli, who, too, fell on the battlefield while many Muslim soldiers were taken prisoners, and thus Hajjâj felt provoked to take a vow not to rest content till he had sternly avenged this reverse. It appears that the people of Nairon[1], too, took part in the last-mentioned engagement, and although they won the day, they had sufficiently gauged the strength of their Arab foe not to be deluded by their accidental success into a false sense of security, and they sent Hajjâj a petition on behalf of the people of Nairon seeking for peace and promising to pay a tribute if the Arab government would undertake to grant the Naironites an amnesty, and guarantee for the future their security. Hajjâj conceded these terms, but warned the Naironite envoy that if all the Muslim prisoners were not released safe and sound, the people of Sindh should know that not a single non-Muslim soul would be spared up to the confines of China. However, on learning this terrible resolve the people of Debal apparently treated it with indifference, and shutting themselves up in the fortress continued to speed on their preparations for the expected struggle, until Muhammad Bin Qâsim led his reinforced armies into Sindh and carried the fortified town of Debal some-time about the month of Rajab (?) 93 A. H. (712 A.D) after a siege of some months. Whether it was the rankling memory of the piratical outrages of the past or the pent-up rage released on the conclusion of the prolonged siege, when the Muslim troops at last succeeded in scaling the walls they spared no combatant, and a terrible slaughter ensued in the streets of Debal, which

1. The majority of Persian and later English authors and geographers are agreed that Nairon is the old name of the present Hyderabad Sindh, where there still exists a fort of that name. But Sir Henry Elliot seems to be determined to contradict this concensus of historical opinion. He opines that Nairon stood some 35 miles from Hyderabad Sindh, near the village Garak, where the present village of Halai is situated. He regards Hyderabad as the modern successor of the ancient Mansūrah. Elliot Vol. I. p. 400.

continued for three days. There is a detailed account of this carnage to be found in Chachnâma ; but some of the particulars narrated appear to be self contradictory and unconvincing. At any rate, if the triumphant general respected the vow of Hajjâj to the letter in dealing with the recalcitrants of Debal, wherever else he went he carried a message of kindness and peace, and invariably concluded peace on easy terms with whoever sued for it—whether a town or a tribe. Probably in the month of Ramadan of the same year, a big battle was fought with Raja Dahir, whose personal valour and strength have found many eulogists among the Persian chroniclers. But his army was routed and he himself taken in action. Aror or Alor, the seat of his government, surrendered, and in almost every other engagement after this the Mussalmans carried the day.

Mohammad Bin Qasim's victories.

To record all the issues joined by Muhammad Bin Qasim with the survivors of the Raja, or other semi-independent chiefs would be to swell these annals disproportionately, and besides to attempt to unravel the identity of the various geographical sites which were the scene of those operations would be to indulge in comparatively fruitless labour. The excessive brevity of the Arabic chronicles and the annoying verbiage of the Persian records leave one wholly undecided as to which route Muhammad Bin Qâsim followed in his triumphant march. However, according to one account contained in the Chachnàma, he carried his victorious armies to the mountainous borders of Kashmîr on the one hand, and to Qannauj (Kannoj) on the other, while all the country lying in between he is reported to have conquered.

Sir Henry Elliot is willing to concede this point and admit the extent of these victories, if Kannoj is taken to mean the outlaying districts of the State of that name, which at that time extended to the vicinity of Ajmere[1]. But Bilazari definitely says that Muhammad Bin Qâsim had conquered Multan, when he received the news of Hajjâj's death, and, therefore, retraced his steps to Alor[2]. We, too, are persuaded to regard the last-mentioned statement as worthy of credence. But the conquest of Multan further implies that all the country stretching

1. Elliot Vol. 1. p. 434. The compiler of Tuhfatul-Kiram too, has confined his account to the " borders of Kanuoj. " Vol. 3. p. 22.

2. Fuluhal Buldan, p. 440.

out to Dipalpore in the East, and extending up to the city of Jhelum in the north, all of which formerly formed part of the kingdom of Sindh and comprises nearly one half of the western part of the Punjab of to-day, had been conquered by Muhammad Bin Qâsim or his lieutenants; and down in the south-east the present State of Bahawalpur and a slice of northern Rajputana, too, had passed into Muslim possession. Nearly all circumstances appear to support the statements in Chachnâma, which fix the outlines of Raja Dahir's territories as indicated above[1].

Personality.

At the time of these victories Muhammad Bin Qàsim was not more than twenty. He was a mere lad, scarcely seventeen when he took command of the army and led it from Shiraz to Sindh. A poet has sung his youth thus:

سا س ا لر جا ل لسبع عشر ہ حجۃ - و لد ا تہ عن ذ ا ک فی ا شغا ل

(While his playmates indulged in games, he a youth of 17 bacame a ruler and commander of warriors). During his early commandership he succeeded in several big campaigns, stormed and carried strong fortresses, displayed conspicuous military ability and personal valour, and victory seemed to attend his arms wherever he went. The generalship of Alexander the Great, who invaded these lands a thousand years before with a considerably greater army and more war material, pales before the military achievements of this Arab youth. Not one among the chiefs and Rajas who opposed the armies of Alexander could be compared to the resourceful and powerful Raja Dahir, whom Muhammad encountered and defeated. Again even the one-sided accounts of Greek historians go to show that Alexander's strategy and tactics were not free from unsoldierly conduct; he would sometimes come upon unarmed peasants quite unawares and display an utter disregard of all the rules of chivalry and pity by massacring them. His victories left no lasting impression in India; nor were they as wide and extensive in scope as the conquests of Muhammad Bin Qasim. Speaking generally, when the achievements of the conqueror of Sindh are taken into consideration, the only generals whose deeds deserve to be mentioned by the side of his are Mûsa Bin Nusair, Tariq, the conqueror of Andalusia (Spain), or Qutaiba Bin Muslim, who scored victory after victory in Morocco and Spain in the

1. Tuhfat-ul-Kiram, Vol. 3, p. 8. Also Elliot, Vol. I. p. 405 on the authority of Chachnâma, Tàrîkh-i-Sindh, etc.

West, and Sogdia and Bactria (Sighd and Bukhara) in the East. It was no fault of Muhammad Bin Qâsim that he was not born an absolute monarch like Alexander, nor was it anything but Fate's decree that he had no opportunity to extend the field of his conquests over as vast an area during the brief flash of his life as was granted to the Greek conqueror. Indeed, these are matters in which human efforts and capability do not avail.

We have instituted a comparison between the quality of Muhammad Bin Qâsim's generalship and achievements during a brief interval of 3 years in Sindh, and the successes attained by Alexander in India. Muhammad was not destined to display his genius after his début in Sindh ; otherwise, as Elliot[1] admits, there was nothing to prevent him from subjugating India and sweeping all before him to the confines of China in obedience to orders from Hajjâj. His youth, universal popularity, and successive victories spurred his ambition ; and the excellent manner in which he managed and organised the conquered territories is as amazing, and is evidence of the fact that he was born to be a conqueror and ruler of vast countries. All our histories are agreed that he dealt with Sindh in a spirit of broad-minded sympathy and gentleness. He imposed no changes on the prevailing customs or laws which might be irksome to the people or savour of the conqueror's despotism. The disposition of the Arab garrisons was so wisely carried out, and cities and fortresses were so excellently drawn into the policing scheme, that peace and order were restored in the province within three years—laws were enforced to ensure the progress and prosperity of the subjects, and the young conqueror came to be loved and respected among the people of Sindh.

The historian Bilazari, whose scholarly brevity seldom permits him to devote attention to such events, observes that when Muhammad was suspended from office and sent to Persia under arrest " the Indians wept for him, and the inhabitants of Khairaj made his image and worshipped him[2]." Hamza Bin Baiz has endeavoured to pack this conception of Muhammad's virtues into a couplet of panegyric thus :—

ا ن ا لمر و ة و ا لسما حة و ا لند ى - لمحمد ا بن ا لقا سم ا بن محمد
سا س ا لجيوش سبع عشر ة حجة - يا قر ب ذ الكسو د د أ من مولد

1. Elliot, p. 434.
2. Futūh-ul-Buldan, p. 440.

But perhaps the most convincing proof of his freedom from any prejudice or narrow-minded bigotry, and of his administrative acumen is furnished by the fact that in the all too brief a space of his administration he had managed to raise a considerable army from among the natives, and had mustered, (besides the garrisons stationed in various military camps), a force of 50 thousand fresh soldiers in Multan ready to proceed to the North or the East as they might be ordered[1].

Arrest and Decapitation.

All the preparations for the projected campaign were probably complete, when Muhammad received the evil tidings, first of the death of Hajjâj and then of the demise of Al-Walîd Bin Abdul Malik. Suleman Bin Abdul Malik, who was on bad terms with the family of Hajjâj, ascended the throne (96 A.H. 714 A.D.), and purposely appointed Sâlih Bin Abdur Rahman governor of 'Irâq, because some persons belonging to the family of the latter had been executed by the order of Hajjâj. Sâlih, therefore, caused almost every soul belonging to the family of " Abi Aqil, " Hajjâj's primogenitor, to be searched out and murdered and, appointing Yazîd Bin Abu Kabsha Saksaki, as governor of Sindh directed him to arrest Muhammad Bin Qâsim and send him up. This order was duly carried out and the young conqueror of Sindh silently surrendered himself, leaving in this act of loyal submission and humility a record, by all standards of discerning criticism, of valiant manliness more amazing and abiding than all the chronicles of his victories. Bilazari, the historian, has quoted a few verses of Muhammad, in which the author affirms that if only he had cared to defend himself, a considerable army would have mustered to his side to lay down their lives for him, and no Saksaki would have dared to touch him[2].

Muhammad was imprisoned in Wâsit, a city in Persian Irâq, where he was, also, decapitated. He himself says in a verse : —

فلئن ثويت بوا سط و با رضها

رهن الحديد مكبلا مغلولا الخ

There seems no human reason to doubt the account of this suspension and decapitation as narrated above,

1. Tuhfat-ul-Kiram, Vol. III. p. 22 ; and Elliot, p. 435.
2. Futūh-ul-Buldan p. 441.

but the Chachnâma has quite a romantic story about it, which, further embellished by Mîr Ma'sùm has, been retold by later Persian authors, and although Sir Henry Elliot regards the former narrative as nearer the truth[1], modern English writers seem to have a tendency not to follow Elliot but to relate the other fiction in different ways so as to reflect discredit upon the Arab ruler[2].

Further victories by Junaid.

Saksaki, the successor of the conqueror of Sindh, did not live long after assuming the office of his predecessor, and the other governors who were appointed during the following nine years remained too deeply engaged insupressing insurrections of rebellious chiefs, or smoothing out civil disputes, to find much leisure to devote to the affairs of Hind (India) or Sindh, until Junaid Bin Abdur Rahmân Almarri succeeded to the office in 105 A.H. (724 A.D.), and renewed the memories of Muhammad's victories. Although his conquests did not prove so lasting, their extent surpassed the achievements of Muham-

1. Elliot. p. 437.

2. Briefly restated, the fiction referred to assumes that the booty from Sindh included two virgin daughters of Raja Dahir who were sent off to be presented to the Khalîfa. When, however, the Khalîfa proposed to honour them by sending them to his Harem, they demurred and accused Muhammad Bin Qàsim of having robbed them of chastity. The Khalîfa waxed furious over this allegation of betrayal and ordered Muhammad Bin Qàsim to be brought up to Damascus, sewn up alive in the hide of an ox. When, however, his corpse arrived in this gruesome condition, and was shown to the accusers, they saw fit to chide the Khalifa on his hasty decision, and informed him that by designing this utterly false accusation against the deceased they had hoped to avenge their father's death. The Khalîfa bitterly repented his act and fretted and fumed when he heard how he had been deceived by those girls, whom he caused to be killed after terrible tortures. But S. Lane-Poole in his " Mediaeval India " p. 11, opines that the second crime could in no way atone for the first, and curiously enough he also admits that Muhammad Bin Qàsim's death occured during the regime of Al-Walid's successor, which fact alone would suffice to establish the groundlessness of the whole story. Mir Ma'sūm, and the translator of Chachnàma do not clearly state in which year and by which Khalîfa's order Mohammad met with this atrocious end ; if they had taken the trouble to look into these particulars, the fictitious nature of this story would not have remained unrevealed.

It is not worth while to say anything about the other Persian or English authors who have done no more than copied the story. Moulana Abdul Halîm Sharar, has discussed the question at exhaustive length in Part I of his History of Sindh and, quoting the authority of a number of Arabic Histories, has conclusively proved that this tale is wholly fabricated.

mad. After quelling the internal revolts and risings, he led the first compaign against "Kairaj." Elliot identifies this with some ancient city of Kachh; but, as he is persuaded to surmise, it must have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of "Mandal," which Junaid invaded some days later, and which, again, according to Elliot is the ancient "Mandwar" of Rajputana, or a town in the state of Jhalawar[1]. This last guess leads us to hazard another, namely, that it would not at all be surprising if "Khairaj" turned out to be what is otherwise known as the "Kan Kraj," a district or State, the old ruins of whose seat of government bear eloquent witness to its past glory[2]. Again, the country lying between the present state of Palanpur (near Sindh) in Gujarat must have formed the natural sphere of operations for Sindh's Arab governor; and after subjugating it, his armies must have advanced upon Marmad, Mandal, Dhanaj and Barus. Apparently, after permanently occupying the last mentioned places, he despatched an expeditionary force under the command of Habîb bin Marrah, to Malwa, which overran the entire country right down to Ujjain; and turning himself to "Jundor" and "Belman" conquered them[3]. Of these Arabic names "Dhanaj" is the only name that it is difficult to trace exactly. Otherwise, relying on Chachnâma and Beglarnâma Sir Henry Elliot identifies Belman with Nilma, which was the name given to the country lying between Sindh and Jaisalmir; Marmad seems to be the equivalent of Marwar, and Barus of the present Bhroach; nor is there any difficulty in recognising "Jazar" (جزر) as the Arabic equivalent of "Guzar-(at)." Professor Dowson, the able editor of Elliot's History, has arrived at the same conclusion after much research[4].

Although Junaid's conquests were transitory, there is scarcely any room for doubt that, during his short term lasting from 105 to 107 A.H. (724 to 726 A.D.), the Arabs dominated the whole country comprising the north-west of India. It is a pity that Arabic histories contain only annoyingly bald accounts of these Indian conquests, because they abound in accounts of the Khalîfas of Damascus and Baghdad or their successors, and touch

1. Elliot, Vol. I. p. 391.
2. Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. 14. p. 403.
3. Futuhul Buldan p. 242; Elliot p. 442; History of Sindh by Moulana Sharar Part II, p. 29 on the authority of Yaqubi.
4. Elliot, p. 358.

Sindh and the doings of its governors only lightly by the way. The same is the case with the later Persian histories which deal with the Ghaznavid sultans or the sovereigns of Delhi. Their authors appear to have contented themselves with collecting scraps of uncritical information about the governors of Sindh ; in fact, it is to be wondered at that such capable compilers as Nizâmuddîn and Abul Fazl too, have handled their materiel on this subject with extreme carelessness, and have consequently been betrayed into frequent blunders. It is, however, wholly providential that some evidence of the events above-mentioned has been preserved to us in the national ballads and traditions of the Rajputs. However slight the historical value of these rhymed or unrhymed stories may otherwise be, they furnish a definite inference, which we may quote below in the words of Colonel Tod, that devoted admirer of the Rajput race :

"Throughout the period mentioned above (*viz :* 8th Century A.D.) there was a stir amongst the Hindu nations, in which we find confusion and dethronement from an unknown invader who is described as coming sometimes by Sindh, sometimes by sea and not infrequently as a demon and magician ; but invariably as *melachchha* or 'barbarian.' From 694 to 724 the annals of the Chauhans the Chawras and the Guhilots bear evidence to simultaneous convulsions in their respective houses at this period*."

Junaid's Successors.

Sir Henry Elliot has drawn on Chinese chronicles too for corroborative testimony as to these Arab conquests[1] ; but we cannot adequately avail ourselves of this source of information. It is certain, however, that Junaid's achievements were the high water mark of the Arab tide, and that his successors failed to pass beyond the line of his advance. When this rising governor, who had covered himself with soldierly distinctions, was promoted to the governorship of Khurasan, Tamim Bin Yazíd succeeded him in Sindh. He was an exceedingly careless and temperamentally slow ruler, though his name has passed into the list of Arab philanthrophists, because he granted a versified petition of Farzdaq, the well-known Arab poet. Probably most of the distant lands conquered

* Annals of Rajasthan (Oxford edition) Vol. I. p. 288.

1, Elliot, Vol. I, 442.

by Junaid passed out of Muslim possession[1] while he remained in office. And evidently it is this very Tamîm, whom Elphinstone has described as successor to Muhammad Bin Qâsim and about whom he says "The advance of the Muhammadan arms ceased with the life of Casim. His conquests were made over to his successor Tamim, in the hands of whose family they remained till the downfall of the house of Ommeia, that is, for about thirty six years; when by some insurrection, of which we do not know the particulars, the Mussalmans were expelled by the Rajput tribe of Sumera, and all their Indian conquests restored to the Hindus, who retained possession for nearly 500 years." (History of India, p. 304).

In other words Elphinstone disposes of nearly three centuries of Arab rule by packing it into a few years and a few words; although in "Târîkh-i-Farishta," the authority on which he relies, we fail to find either this sentence or the allocation of these dates. Moreover, where Ferishta has dealt with Sindh (chapter 8, Section 2) he has more than once complained of his want of definite knowledge of Arab conquests and subsequent events, regretting that he had not succeeded in discovering any well-known histories (he probably meant Persian histories) containing definite information about them. Further it is to be deplored that modern English historians have a tendency to follow Elphinstone on this subject, and cold-shoulder Elliot, who had, most industriously, translated portions of a number of Arabic and Persian history books, and supplemented his "History of India" volume 1, with an essay of permanent value covering the history of Sindh.

Tamîm was succeeded by Hakam and 'Omar Bin Mohammad Qâsim, son of the conqueror of Sindh, respectively, and the Mussalmans regained much of their lost territory during their rule; and the foundations of the cities of Mahfûzah and Mansûrah were also laid[2]. Of these Mansurah rose to much eminence and remained the seat of government and a flourishing market for a considerable time.

We agree with Elliot in locating the site of Mahfûzah where Nasirabad stands to day; whereas Mansûrah

1. Elliot, p. 442.

2. Futûh-ul-Buldan, p. 444; Idrîsi has erroneously connected this city with the name of the Abbasid Khalîfa, Al-mansûr and supposed its foundations to have been laid during his regime.

was planted as a monument to many victories in the vicinity of the ancient "Brahminabad[1]." Its archæological remains have recently been excavated.

Abbasid Khilafat.

According to Ya'qûbi, 'Omar Bin Muhammad was succeeded by Yazîd Ibn-i-A'rar[2], probably some time about 126 A.H. (744 A.D.), but Tuhfatu-l-Kirma and Târîkh-i-Sindh contain some contradictory versons[3], also. This confusion appears to have arisen from the fact that the event under inquiry relates to a period conspicuous for the storm of revolution which put an end to the Ommayad dynasty and installed the Abbâsids in their place.

When peace was restored (by about 132 A.H. 750 A.D.) the second Abbâsid Khalîfa Abu Ja'afar Al-mansûr appointed Hishâm Bin 'Umar Tughlabi governor of Sindh in 142 A.H.[4] (760 A.D.), who infused new vitality and energy into the government of this Muslim dependency. Hishâm extinguished all internal dissensions and rid the country of every vestige of unrest; then, turning his attention to conquests, subjugated certain lands lying as far up in the North as the hinterland of Kabul and Kashmîr, which had not come under Mussalman rule so far. Similarly he despatched a naval expedition along the western coasts of Gujarat to the South and conquered "Barda." Depending, as one must, on the bald accounts found in Arabic histories it is imposible to fix the boundaries of his conquests; but the particular point to be noted, which is conceded by all the early and modern historians, is, that it was under Hishâm that the Islamic power in Sindh attained the highest degree of security: in fact, it was only then that Sindh came to be legally regarded as a "Muslim Dependency."

Independent Arab States of Sindh.

To enumerate and describe all the governors who followed must necessarily remain the province of him who devotes himself to writing a detailed history of Sindh But one of them, who won a wider fame was Omran Bin Mûsa, a Barmakid, founder of the city of Baiza, who was

1. Moulana Sharar's Tarikh-i-Sindh, Part II. p. 38.
2. Ibid.
3. Tuhfatul Kiram Vol. III. p. 23; Elliot, p. 443.
4. Both Elliot and Bilazari have erred in fixing the date of this event. See Tarikh-i-Hind by Sharar Part II. p. 60.

appointed governor of Sindh in the year 221 A.H. (836 A.D.).

Suffice it to say here that, during the following one hundred years, the peace and prosperity of the vast province of Sindh under governors appointed by the Abbâsids were insured by the security and stability of the power enjoyed by the latter. No doubt, the peace of the dependency was disturbed now through the mischief-fomenting antagonism of the Yamanite and Nazarite Arabs and now through the dangerous disaffection of the Ismailia and Qaramita sects ; but on the whole the general pace of progress and public prosperity was in no way seriously impeded. In fact, as borne out by Mas'ûdi, the historian, and later Arab geographers, even when two independent States had been set up there by Quraishite Arabs after the decline of the Abbàsid power, internally Sindh continued to enjoy tolerable prosperity. Mas'ûdi came out to India in the year 393 A.H. (915 A.D.) as a tourist and although some unsound matter has found its way into his book, even the purely personal observations he made during his travels are of interest and value to us. We learn from him that about this time Abdullah Bin Omar Habbari ruled the southern province as a hereditary sovereign, and had Mansûrah for his seat of government ; while the northern state extended over a larger region, and Abu'l Lubàb ul-Munabba reigned over it, with his capital at Multàn. These Quraishite Emirs had surrounded themselves with all the paraphernalia of regular crowned heads and apparently their indulgence in luxury prevented them from prosecuting any campaigns. Moreover, prolonged residence in Sindh hnd transformed them and most of the Arab residents into a mixed race, who had long severed all connections with the fatherland. This isolation must have been further encouraged by the prevailing atmosphere of political independence, and even if the arrivals of fresh parties of Arabs did not altogether cease, they must have considerably dwindled. In short these and many other causes, conspired to prevent the development of any powerful state in Sindh, (such as those established in the trans-Caspian or North Persian regions) after it had broken with the Khilafat, and split up into independent principalities. Multàn and Mansûrah never combined together to make a powerful and united kingdom ; on the other hand, it appears that some time later they lost their western part ; and in Makaran and in the north four separate states sprang up, where

the names of the kings of the Buid dynasty were coupled with the names of the Abbàsid Khalîfas in the Friday Khutbah.

Ismailia and Qaramita Sects.

The above accounts relate to the days of Astakhri and Ibn-i-Hauqal's travels in India, which would be about the middle of the fourth century of the Hijrah. But when Maqdasi came out towards the close of the fourth century he found that even the religious link which had formerly bound Sindh to the Khilàfat of Baghdad had snapped, and they were openly reciting the names of the Fatemite Khalîfas of Egypt in the Friday Khutba at Multan ; and that, apart from this, the Qaràmita and Ismaîlîa sects were daily claiming an increasing number of converts[1], till finally the government of the whole of Sindh passed into their hands. When Sultàn Mahmûd Ghaznavi invaded the country about 401 A.H. (1010 A.D.) men of these sects had spread all over the province and dominated it. Both the sects may be regarded as early branches of the Shi'ite sect ; but some of their sub-branches widely and violently differ in faith and in the theory of State government from the rest of the Muslim world and especially, from the Sunnites. The position was, therefore, for some time critical and perilous for Islam and all Islamic countries when, in the fourth century A.H. men of the Ismaîlî persuasion succeeded in founding a vast empire in Africa, and the sister community of Qaràmita fomented disturbances in 'Iràq and Hejjàz. It was a pure accident that there arose differences among the Ismaîlîs, and their political power crumbled away.

Somrah and Samah.

But men of this persuasion again seized the province of Sindh after decay had set in the Ghaznavid empire, and their ruling clan or tribe is known to history by the name of "Somrah." Some Persian authors have carelessly described the latter as Rajput converts to Islam, and some of the later English writers have, in a way, extinguished the last spark of Muhammadan rule in Sindh by stripping them of the last vestige of Islam and describing them as pure Hindu Rajputs. But the valuable researches of M.Abdul Halîm Sharar of Lucknow with reference to this subject have successfully proved that they were Jewish converts to Islam, who had originally come from Iraq and settled in Sindh and who, after adopting the Qirmiti

1. Ahsanul-Taqasim, p. 481, 485.

articles of faith rose to power and ruled the province of Sindh from about 375 A.H. to nearly 740 A.H. [1].

The author of Tuhfat-ul-Kiram fixes the end of the Somrah rule in the year 752 A.H. (1351 A.D.), the date of the commencement of the Samah dynasty's sovereignty ; and Sir Henry Elliot concurs with this date[2], but Beglaranàma and Tàrîkh-i-Tàhiri give differing dates. The reason for this variation appears to be that Sindh was now becoming the hunting ground of the sultan of the Ghur dynasty and other rulers of Delhi, and the upheaval caused by these invasions used to keep the local government in an unsettled state for years. In any case, it is tolerably certain that the change of government, referred to above, happened some time about the middle of the eighth century A.H. and nearly all historians are agreed that the Samah rule itself came to an end in 927 A.H. (1251 A.D.).

Recent researches have revealed the fact that the new dynasty spoken of in the immediately foregoing lines was Rajput by race and Muslim by faith ; and its ruling head had assumed the Indian title of Jam. It was during their reign that Islam spread in the south of Sindh, where many tribes embraced the Arabian Prophet's faith[3]. Persian histories, too, contain references to the high capability and piety of some of the rulers of this dynasty ; but our historians bestow the highest praise of all upon Jam Nizâmuddîn popularly called Nanda, during whose long reign lasting from 866 A.H. to 909 A.H. (1503 A.D.) the power of the Jam dynasty reached its zenith from every point of view. After him Sindh lapsed into civil feuds, and then it fell a prey to Shah Beg Arghun Khan, a descendant of Changiz Khan. Husain Shah Arghun, his son reigned over Sindh, when Humayun was compelled to abandon his campaign in India, ard make his way through Sindh out to Iran (Persia). Hussain died childless in the year 962 A.H. (1554 A.D.) and the kingdom of Sindh was divided among his officers who are known as Tarkhans. They ceased to be independent in 1000 A.H. or 1591 A.D. when the entire province was permanently annexed to the Moghal Empire.

1. Tàrîkh-i-Hind Part II. p. 13.
2. Tuhfat-ul-Kiram, Vol. III. p. 49 ; Elliot, Vol. I. p. 495.
3. Encyclopædia Brit. Vol. XXV, p. 143 Imperial Gazetteer Vol. XXII, 396 and Elliot, p. 496.

Translation Bureau, Hyderabad. SYED HASHIII

AL-BIRUNI'S "INDIA"

For the first portion of this article, see *Islamic Culture* for January 1927, pp. 31-35.

In taking a comprehensive survey of Indian thought the author used every possible source of information. Such literature as existed in Arabic he was already familiar with. As we have seen, he had no high opinion of it, but he did not ignore it for that reason. He consulted it, commented on it, and corrected its errors. Of Indian books he was a diligent collector. The classical and written language was Sanskrit, which he calls *the* Indian (*Hindi*) language. The name Sanskrit he does not use, but when he wishes to distinguish the classical language from the spoken dialect, he uses the term *Fasih*[1] (elegant). The classical language was the only language of books. But its interpretation and pronunciation varied, and the pronunciation of Sanskrit words was very much affected by the dialects spoken in different localities. This is reflected in the forms of Indian names and Sanskrit technical terms, as transcribed by Al-Biruni. Sometimes they are Prakrit forms, and sometimes forms varying with the influence of local vernaculars. These local vernaculars, as far as we can judge, were probably those of Sindh[2], the Punjab, Kashmir, the Kabul valley (then largely Indian in culture), and perhaps Kanauj and Benares.

Al-Biruni then freely used Sanskrit books and took the assistance of Pandits from all parts of the country in their translation and interpretation[3]. His acute mind, however, used its own judgment, even on points of interpretation. The very errors he makes in the transliteration of words or names[4] show that he trusted his own knowledge in many cases rather than take knowledge second-

1. A. I. Ar. (=Al-Biruni's *India*, Arabic Text, edited by Sachau, Lond. 1887), p. 9. 65. etc.

2. The list of numerals at A. I. Ar. p. 295, clearly betrays its Sindhi origin.

3. A. I. S. I. 24.

4. See A. I. S. II. 390-391, Nos. 8 and 30.

hand. Where his knowledge was consciously imperfect, he stated what was known to him, with a candid confession that his knowledge was not quite satisfactory. For example, in describing geographical facts, he says : " We could not make up our minds to suppress that which we know on account of that which we do not know. We ask the reader's pardon where there is anything wrong[1]." He also used the traditions commonly received among the people[2], where he thought they illustrated something he found in books. Unverified facts he noted, but he was careful to state that they were unverified[3]. In some places he noted absurd legends and fables[4], and we wish he had noted more of them, as they illustrate the psychology of India in his day. He had also a number of learned Pandits as his friends, some of whom read works with him or translated[5] for him. He also freely conversed with learned men from all parts of the country, including a man from Somnath[6] in distant Kathiawar. He must of course have had free intercourse with Mahmud's generals, soldiers, and camp followers, from whom he must have gleaned much information of a hearsay character, and who may have contributed to his knowledge of the itineraries which he sets out[7]. His own translations of Euclid's Elements and Ptolemy's Almagest from Arabic into Sanskrit, and of Sankhya, Patanjali, and other philosophical and astronomical books from Sanskrit into Arabic[8] were a part of his studies, which increased and clarified his knowledge.

The task which Al-Biruni set before himself was to describe accurately all categories of Indian thought and all branches of Indian science or knowledge. He has faithfully set down those ideas which he considered worthy of acceptance and those which he considered incorrect, wrong, or absurd. The first department of thought that he had to consider was religious knowledge. Next he comes to a sort of borderland between religion, cosmogony, literature, and legendary history. After that he takes up Indian theories on points which he could himself test (at least in part) by observation and experiment. This

1. A. I. S. I. 200.
2. A. I. S., II. 11.
3. *Id.*
4. Cf for example the legends about idols in Chap. XII A. I. S.
5. A. I. S., I. 229 and II, 117.
6. A. I. S., I. 161.
7. A. I. S., Chap. XVIII.
8. A. I. R., XX.

part was mainly connected with the geographical features of the country and the astronomical and mathematical sciences. As Al-Biruni's most important branches of study related to mathematics and astronomy, this part was perhaps in his view the most important in the book. But to us the progress of science and investigation has made it obsolete. Greater interest attaches, from the modern point of view, to his account of what he actually observed and to the legends with which he illustrated the mentality of the India of his day. From this point of view his description of Indian manners and customs, festivals, rites and ceremonies, and the practical features of the country's legal system as opposed to the legal theories enshrined in its books, is of the very highest interest. His last chapter deals with astrology, and is mainly based on a book of Varahamihira[1]. He contrasts the Indian methods of practical astrology with those in use among the Muslim astrologers of his day. It does not appear whether he himself believed in astrology, but he expresses the greatest contempt for another learned superstition of the Middle Ages, namely the popular "science" of alchemy. The impostures connected with Rasayana[2] and charms and incantations[3] are described in scathing terms, and they seem to have been even more common in India than elsewhere.

In treating of religion, Al-Biruni distinguishes between that of the educated classes and that of the vulgar mass. As regards the philosophical conceptions of God he sets out the views of Patanjali (as he knew him) in terms that would almost coincide with the conceptions of Muslim theology. "The Hindus" he says, "believe with regard to God that He is one, eternal, without beginning and end, acting by freewill, almighty, all-wise, living, giving life, ruling, preserving; One who in His sovereignty is unique, beyond all likeness and unlikeness; and that He does not resemble anything nor does anything resemble Him[4]." He is hidden to the senses, which cannot perceive Him. But the soul of man can perceive Him, and the thought of man can understand His qualities. The contemplation of these qualities in the human mind and soul constitutes meditation. This meditation is identical with exclusive worship, and by practising it uninterruptedly

1. The Laghujatakam.
2. A. I. S., I. 188—193.
3. A. I. S., I. 193-4.
4. A. I. S., I. 27—Cf. Qur. CXII—4.

man obtains beatitude[1]. A passage is quoted from the Bhagavad-Gita to show that spiritual knowledge is the striving to become as much as possible sim ar to God And this is approved of as being consonant wi h the definitions of Muslim philosophy[2].

This noble philosophical conception of God is identified with *Tauhid*. Not only is the Unity of God absolute, but everything besides God which may appear as a Unity is really a plurality of things. Unity is the absolute perfection of existence. The existence of God is the only real existence. Everything that exists, exists only through Him. It is not impossible to think that existing beings are not, and that He is, but it is impossible to think that He is not and that they are[3]. This also closely corresponds to the doctrine of *Wajib-ul-Wujub* in Muslim theology. Contrasted with this were the popular notions which described God as having a thousand eyes, or as being twelve fingers long and ten fingers broad[4], or other hideous fictions which make up the sum-total of popular superstition.

If God is the Creator and the only real Existence, what is the nature of His creatures and their relation to Him ? On this subject some of the ideas of early Greek physical philosophers are referred to as well as the speculations of Plato, the Jews, and the Muslim Sufis. It is interesting to find a glimpse of the Manichæan doctrine recorded in Al-Biruni from one of the Manichæan works now lost[5], in the following terms :—" When the low dark realm rose from the abyss of chaos, and was seen by the high resplendent realm as consisting of pairs of male and female beings, the latter gave similar outward forms to its own children, who started to fight that other world, so that it placed in the height one kind of being opposite the same kind of the other world." Al-Biruni is careful to point out that educated people in India abhorred anthropomorphisms of this kind, but the vulgar crowd and various individual sects used them most extensively. They even connected with God the notions of a wife, son, or daughter, or the process of rendering pregnant and other

1. A. I. S., I. 29.
2. A. I. S., I. 29.
3. A. I. S., I. 31.
4. A. I. S., I. 32.
5. *Kanz-ul-ihya* A. I. S. I. 39. The fantastic dualism of Manichæism excited the curiosity of Muslim authors, who are our chief sources of information on this phase of human thought now.

physical processes, which to a spiritual mind appear to be silly and revolting.

The Brahmans, who were the true repositories of Indian thought, described all things as divine. Vishnu having created the earth in order to be the habitation of living beings, presented them with recollection and knowledge, as well as their opposite qualities. The five elements according to Hindu[1] philosophy were: Ether, (*akash*), Air, Fire, Water and Earth,—in the descending order of fineness or the ascending order of grossness. There are also five senses of action corresponding to our five physical senses. The compound of the elements and the senses is an animal, which acts merely through its senses[2]. The soul is ignorant of its own essential nature and of its material substratum, but it longs to apprehend what it does not know, and believes that it cannot exist except by matter. It therefore starts off to be united with matter, knowing that it cannot obtain its wish except by such union. All souls are of an identical nature, but their individual characters are formed by union with different bodies. There are three forces that contend for mastery in them, namely, desire, envy, and wrath. These disturb the harmonious qualities of the soul[3].

On the other hand matter on its side is seeking for perfection, and therefore desiring union with a soul. It naturally seeks for the highest kind of soul which it can get. Vainglory and ambition are as the very pith and marrow of matter. The soul which it attracts becomes a sort of pupil to matter, and is carried round through a number of existences into all sorts of vegetable and animal beings. Neither soul nor matter is sufficient by itself for action, and their union is necessary in the interests of both. This is illustrated by the following parable: A carvan is attacked in the desert by robbers, and its able-bodied members escape in all directions. But a blind man and a lame man are unable to escape, and remain in helplessness and despair. They meet and recognise each other. The lame man says to the blind: "I cannot run, but I can show you the way. You can run, but you cannot see the way. Put me on your shoulder, and under my guidance we can both escape together."

1. The word "Hindu" is nowhere used by Al-Biruni, but it is a convenient term, and subject to this caution we shall use it in our account.

2. A. I. S., I. 40—43.

3. A. I. S., I. 45—46.

The blind man agrees, and they thus get out of the desert and the danger. Having attained their object, they separate[1].

The Sankhya doctrine derives all action from matter. The soul has nothing to do with action, but on account of its union with matter, it suffers the consequences of action. The illustrative parable is that of a man who happens to get into the company of people whom he does not know. They turn out to be robbers, returning from a village which they have sacked and destroyed. The avenging party come and capture the robbers, including the innocent man who was amongst them. He therefore suffers the consequences of their deeds without having taken any part in their action. This accounts for the soul being mixed up with things with which it has no concern, and suggests the origin of evil in this world. Another allegory illustrates how the soul can use matter for its own upward progress. The soul is in matter like the rider on a carriage, and is attended by its own sentries, who drive the carriage according to the rider's wishes. But the soul for its part is guided by the intelligence with which it is inspired by God. It is by this intelligence that the reality of things is apprehended. It shows the way to the knowledge of God and to such actions as commend themselves to mankind[2].

As the Kalima is the distinguishing feature of Islam, the Trinity of Christianity, and the Sabbath of Judaism, so, says Al-Biruni, is the doctrine of Metempsychosis the distinguishing feature of the religion of India. The soul, as long as it has not risen to the highest absolute intelligence, does not comprehend the totality of objects at once, independently of time. Therefore it must explore all particular beings and examine all the possibilities of existence. As their number is enormous, the soul wants an enormous space of time in order to finish the contemplation of such a multiplicity of objects. It gains experience from each object. The soul is imperishable, but it wanders through perishable bodies, and gains or suffers by their good or bad actions. The migration begins from low stages and rises to higher and better ones. It lasts until the object aimed at has been completely attained both for the soul and for matter. The lower aim is the disappearance of the shape of matter

1. A. I. S., I. 47.
2. A. I. S., I. 48—49.

except any such new formation as may appear desirable. The higher aim is the cessation of desire in the soul to learn what it did not know before. When the soul realises its own nobility and the meanness of matter, it separates from matter and has no further desire to reunite with matter. The soul then becomes one with the final Intelligence[1].

It follows from this doctrine that the theory of rewards and punishments rests on a wholly different basis from that on which doctrines postulating a single earthly existence rest. The Hindu conception of the world divides it into three primary divisions. The upper regions (Swarga-loka) correspond in a rough sense to a heaven, in which man receives the reward of good deeds for a certain length of time. The middle region (Manushya-loka) is that in which he actually lives here and earns the reward of punishment of the immediate future. The lower region (Narka-loka) corresponds to a hell, in which he receive the punishments which he earns in the middle regions but which are limited to a definite period of time. Besides these three regions of the world of men, there is another one for those who do not deserve to rise to heaven or to sink as low as hell. This is the irrational world of plants and animals through which the soul wanders in Metempsychosis, until it returns to the state of a human being. There are a large number of hells, one for each kind of sin. The lists of sin are detailed, and form curious reading from an ethical point of view. For example the maker of arrows and spear-points goes to the same kind of hell as the man who fails to honour his parents and grand-parents or who neglects his duty towards the angels (spiritual beings). A public performer or a singer in the markets is consigned to the same hell as the incendiary or the man who betrays his companions. According to some schools of thought, the irrational world of plants and animals is itself a hell[2].

While man receives in a heaven or a hell the reward or punishment of his life in this middle world, his soul is without a body, but it is not without passions and desires. It is still seeking for reunion with matter[3]. The ultimate aim of existence is to seek final salvation (Moksha) from the fetters of matter. This however can only be obtained by absolute knowledge without any conditions

1. A. I. S., I. 50—51.
2. A. I. S., I. 59—62.
3. A. I. S., I. 62—64.

or limitations. He who wants God wants the good for the whole creation without a single exception for any reason whatever. When a man attains to this degree, his spiritual power prevails over his bodily power, and he can do many things which are described in detail, but which appear like fantastic miracles. A description of these lands us in the illusive region of Yoga philosophy[1]. Returning from it to questions of practical morality, we find that evil is defined as springing mainly from three roots, cupidity, wrath and ignorance[2]. The path of liberation is three fold : concentration on God, renunciation of things which most men desire, and worship. Worship has to be offered through body, voice and heart, and under the last head are the duties of humility, patience, self-restraint, and cheerfulness[3]. According to Sankhya doctrine a good and pious life in this world is on an inferior plane to one in which absolute knowledge is attained. It may have its reward in happiness, but it does not lead to Salvation. Salvation is only through knowledge. Of this there are several degrees, the final one ending in the " divine lights,"—the absorption into the universal light from which there is no more return to the grosser world[4].

This account of the philosophic aspect of the Hindu religion by Al-Biruni is remarkable for the extent to which he seeks points of unity with the philosophic aspects of Muslim theology and with Sufi and neo-platoinc thought. He could not have laboured his points with more precision if he had set out expressly to show that there need be no antagonism between the two systems of thought when understood in their highest meaning. From this point of view it would not be far-fetched to call him a noble and worthy precursor of Kabir, Nanak, Malik Muhammad Jaisi, and Akbar.

(To be continued.)

1. A. I. S., I. 68—69.
2. A. I. S., I. 72.
3. A. I. S., I., 76—80.
4. A. I. S., I., 83—88.

A. YUSUF ALI.

IMPRESSIONS OF THE TAJ MAHAL.

I

THE TAJ AND THE POET.

" Thus I pacified Psyche and kissed her,
And tempted her out of her gloom —
And conquered her scruples and gloom ;
And we passed to the end of the vista,
But were stopped by the door of a tomb —
By the door of a legended tomb ;
And I said—" What is written, sweet sister,
On the door of this legended tomb ? "
She replied—" Ulalume—Ulalume—
'Tis the vault of thy lost Ulalume ! "

E. A. Poe.

These are the lines of one who had never beheld that long avenue of cypresses* at Agra nor the great mausoleum at its termination. And yet every admirer of the American poet, who has seen the Taj by moonlight on a frosty night in January, will be able to recognise, in the dim Jumna (which at that period of the year scarcely flows as a river) nothing less than " the dank tarn of Auber " : and, in the bitter shadows of the misty garden, something as like the " ghoul-haunted woodland of Weir" as one could wish to see. The macabre atmosphere of the moonlit scene, the " crystalline light, " and many other features that blend it with the poem, vanish however by daylight—as becomes the spacious design of the Taj, which could not subserve one mood only. But that Edgar Poe did see a Taj in his sad reveries; that he guessed, with the intuition of genius, that a greater artist had in a distant land anticipated his *dream* with the *reality*, one may fairly choose to believe.

* These when seen by moonlight might well represent " the alley titanic of cypress " of the same poem.

For the Taj is certainly real, in spite of its unearthly beauty. Its pallor is of the white marble; its delicate veins of colour are the cornelian, jasper, jade, onyx, and lapis lazuli; its almost fragrant sculptures are garden flowers; the purity of its virginal shapeliness is, after all, delved from out the quarry; and behind is draped the universal sky. Its creator converted very simple elements into a synthetic wonder; and if the Great Moghul's purse was a good deal longer than other mens' his materials at least were but those which are at the service of all. The just Earth which could offer the monarch no more, offers every artist no less.

In his portraits this artist-Emperor is generally depicted as somewhat of a dreamer; one misses from the Moghul paintings of him the signs of power which—one would think—should be stamped upon the lineaments of the man who could not only conceive of his "misty mid-region of Weir,"—his "dim lake," and his "legended tomb" in his mind, but could set the concept palpably before our eyes;—and yet, unlike the unhappy Bard—could temper that mornful domain with flowers! A great deal has been written about Shah Jehan's object in building the Taj,—his devotion to his consort; and the "Light of the Palace" herself. But the Taj does not merely silently narrate one human love story—however interesting, but stands rather as the monument to Everyman's Romance. Does not Everyman, in his heart, appropriate that chaste habitation to his own "dread burden"; —and therein (for nothing less could serve his turn) does he not worthily lay *his* "lost Ulalume"? The world does not view the Taj as the tomb of an Empress so much as the Crown of Honour of all women who have queened it over Man's heart. As we look on its loveliness we can almost hear its maker proclaim: —"Behold the immortal emblem of *all* mortal love!"

Yet, underlying, but articulate, there comes also the message of the Inevitable —

> "The glories of our blood and state
> Are shadows, not substantial things;
> There is no armour against fate;
> Death lays his icy hand on Kings."

It is the message of the stately Moghul humility which was so strangely intertwined with the stately Moghul pride.

And still, no charnel thoughts are wafted about the Taj, for its architect could not have thought grimly on death. Rather the quintessence of restfulness and peace exhales from the marble flowers of the tomb, and breathes through the garden breezes.

Even if Life was indeed that march of splendid enjoyments which the glittering Moghul records tell of, the Taj speaks to us finally of Death—not, like the cypress-crowned Poet, or the Eastern scribe, who both only knew him as " The Terminator of Delights, and the Separator of Companions, " but gratefully, as of the last—and sweetest—luxury.

II

THE TAJ AND THE STUDENT.

There were more ways into Babylon than the well-trodden and well-defended routes as Cyrus demonstrated very feelingly for the Babylonians when he marched in along the river bed. The grand routes of Indian Art are very well frequented ; but it will be strange if we also who tread the unfrequented bye-ways with the Indian students do not bring back with us from our simpler explorations something of that knowledge which is power.

True an Indian Art Student is not very talkative — about what he does—but then one may watch him at his work.

His manner of approaching his subject is never circumlocutory. He is a great believer in the attack direct as the best means of overcoming all obstacles,—literally all ! Even so portentous a problem as that which the Taj offers has for him none of those terrors which might appal the accomplished Western painter ! For there is a main difference in the Taj as seen by the stranger from overseas, and by the Indian student from Bombay, which no study or toil however reverent will probably cancel. The one piously perceives the great gulf fixed between himself and the object of his admiration ; the other is conscious of no barriers, except the technical question of how to make camel hair brushes, stretched paper, and pigment however superior in quality rise to so grand an occasion ! The Student warily surveys the complex loveliness before him, and calmly sizes up the task, as one differing in degree only, not in essentials,

from many others with which he has wrestled (and not unsuccessfully either) of yore. Here—it is true—are domes as light as bubbles, and a baffling whiteness surcharged upon a field azure ; here are cypresses (save the mark !) and fine gardens, and, over all, the perplexing sunlight ;—but what of these ? Are not the temples of Ajanta and Ellora more difficult to paint than all the Tombs of Upper India ? We shall see ! So, after pottering about a little between the yew and the cypress, sensing his subject as it were, he mentally stakes out his claim. Then cheerfully producing his colour box and brushes he forthwith proceeds to annex the Taj !

He paints the Taj as it stands before him—quite oblivious of the disapprobation of these "debased Western" methods by those distant critics who have, of course, never seen his work. I do not think that he theorises very much over his picture—but it grows all the same beneath the *artist-craftsman's* touch. He does not see, with the Poet's sombre fancy, an " alley titanic of cypress " before him, but only an exceedingly hard nut to crack in the furry outlines of those strange trees, trooping like cowled devotees (but that also is not his simile !) towards the shrine. They must be handled tactfully—those trees—or they will undo him ! Nor does he regard the edifice itself so much as " a legended tomb " as a particularly puzzling study of silvery lights ; and shades almost too fragile to be analysed in colour. Then his background ;—that blue—paling into those opalescent tints : and those *obstinate* minarets !

As he works on pluckily he shivers ; for Agra is " a far cry " from Bombay ; and this is January, and all the icy sprites from the Himalayas must surely be capering in the great shadow of the North Gate in which, lightly clad, he sits ! But there he will continue to sit, and work, and freeze until he has finished his picture ; or until the time comes when the garden must give up the students who are in it,—when he and his fellow students shall foregather again, and depart, still shivering but exultant, packed in the clattering little *tongas*, clutching their cherished trophies (a graphic orgy of Taj Mahals indeed !) destined for the delectation of the Art Patrons of distant Bombay.

And we also follow, somewhat more diffidently, in the cheerful wake of the Indian students, marvelling that we too have been privileged to enter, with them, the Palace

of the King. For, once one is *there*, what does it really matter whether one was admitted by the Portal or the Postern ?

III

THE TAJ AND THE PHILOSOPHER.

It is a consoling paradox that the world's most beautiful things are not the property of any one nation, or group, or individual however wealthy, but belong to us all.

All people of taste who have seen the Acropolis of Athens, the Hermes of Olympia, Titian's "Sacred and Profane Love," Verocchio's Horseman, the Taj, or the Ellora Caves acquire these wonders for themselves, (as permanent aids to existence) by that inalienable right which surpasses the Divine Right of Kings. The hoard over which the miser sits gloating is his own, but after all a pile of gold is no more than that. The greater treasures are not exclusive ones ; no Prince or Patron can possess alone the brightest jewels of human genius. Such reflections are no doubt trite enough ; and yet is it not just the obvious that most persistently eludes us ? We enthuse with rapture over our modern discoveries now-a-days, but who would listen to anyone eulogising Grey's "Elegy in a Country Churchyard" and Michaelangelo's "David" ? These are old stories ! It is safer to rave over Gaugin and Van Gogh, for at least their merits are still a novelty to many. What a fundamental contempt exists in the human mind for community of thought, or goods, or anything else, no matter how much we may talk about the charms of Socialism ! The discoverer in any sphere of knowledge is a more subtle danger to the theory of true democracy than the aristocrat. We still strive to efface our common birthmark—by toil, and effort unthinkable ; still glory in any kind of release from the uniformity of ordinary views. To be something out of the common is so interesting that it has plunged Modern Art into the limbo of the *bizarre*, the decadent, the mad. But we cannot escape the Artistic Law of the Universe.

It matters not that it was the autocrat Shah Jehan who made the Taj. From the moment of the first inception of its idea in the beauty-haunted mind of the Great Moghul, the Taj became the property of the World.

So why should not the Imperial Democrat have employed twenty thousand men to build this tomb for his wife ? And why should he not have spent millions upon the work ? Shah Jehan, the Oriental Despot, was in this a greater Socialist than the most radical of our reformers. He believed in the Community of Art. He did better than all the Mystics, Philosophers, and Wise Men who have ever pretended to expound truth when he made the simulacrum of an artist's reverie materialise, stone upon stone, for the greater joy of mankind. It is no use raving over the Taj today, for that has been done so often that the miracle of its existence has become as hackneyed as that other small matter of the acorn and the oak tree! We have Wireless Telegraphy, Aeroplanes, and Poison Gas to astonish us now,—in the Western World. We have discovered the beauty of the Sky-scraper and the *Art Nouveau !* But as surely as the prodigal returns, penitent and humbled, to his forgiving Mother, we shall all come back to the Taj.

The value of the possession in the mind of an image of natural beauty has been sung by a noble singer:—

" For oft when on my couch I lie
In vacant or in pensive mood,
They flash upon the inward eye
Which is the bliss of solitude ."

Such rejuvenating pictures can be painted upon the mind not only by Nature but by Man at his best. A view of Mont Blanc ; of a sun-kissed field in England ; of a portrait, a statue, or a building, are all subjects for this introspective Art Exhibition, the great advantage of which is that we can enter it when we will—without paying !

Those of us who have been lucky enough to see and to enshrine the Taj in this mental gallery cling to it as to the embodiment of Man's Idea of Beauty. However fevered and tired by the sordid disappointments and mean shifts of life we may be, we have but to call to mind those snow-like contours of inspired marble, to feel the refreshing springs of belief renewing our souls ; belief in the dignity of Life, by virtue of the sublimity of Man's achievement. It is akin to the uplifting thrill which comes over us when we read " King Lear. "

No doubt this is the paramount value of Indian Art to mankind. Indian Art should be one of the great stabilisers of our Modern Life ;—should set a standard by

which to measure our distance from the goal; and withal to realise that the goal is *not* the unattainable. The Taj is the summing up of many forms of beauty —a presentation of many well-known features,—line, and marble; jewels, domes, and minarets,—all the artist's stock-in-trade in fact; but all so coordinated that the creation can never pall. Of all our modern Western painters perhaps Arnold Böcklin alone *might* (in some other world than this —in some more glowing canvas than he ever painted) have given us this sheen of silver marble in its setting of black cypress against the spangled enamelled sky. But he could not have followed all the moods and phases of the Taj and its protean environment; for one cannot conceive of one genius who could give us the glow of Titian the *verve* of Tintoret, the drawing of Dürer, the landscape of Salvator Rosa, the grandeur of Rembrandt, and the truth of Velasquez—all incorporate in his own work. Shah Jehan recognised this law of individualism when he made the Taj. Smilingly he created for his arabesque the perfect setting, and cheerfully he left it without a background. He did not try to give the finishing touch to the whole work, but abandoned it imperially to the Sun and the Moon to decorate, and they have wrought wondrously as did the angel before the eyes of Manoah and his wife; so that still the unending message of the Taj is being unfolded; still we may inhale luxuriously its exotic perfumes from the Past, or bathe in the full tide of its triumphant Promise!

W. E. GLADSTONE SOLOMON.

A LEAF FROM SHAYKH-I-AKBAR.

THE BEZEL OF ADAM. (FAS-I-ADAMIYYAH)

Shaykh Muhîyyuddîn ibni 'Alîul 'Arabî calls this Fasi *Ilqa-i-Rahmaniyyah*, a direct inspiration to him, as opposed to indirect inspiration (*Nafth-i-Ruhi*). A direct Rahmânîyyah inspiration is from the name (*ism*) Hâdi without any intervention from the name (*ism*) Muzill. Again these two inspirations are opposed to the inspirations from the name Muzill, which also are both direct and indirect. Direct inspiration whether Rahmânîyyah or Shaitânîyyah comes direct from the *asma* (names) *Hadi* or *Muzill* on the mind of the *Salik*, while the indirect *Nafth-i-Ruhi* comes through the chain of lower *Jamali* (beautiful) names ; and an indirect Shaitânîyyah comes through a material object, *e.g.*, the temptation to steal, when there is an object to steal.

The Shaykh had a vision of the Prophet (peace be on him) in the year 627 of the Hijrâh, in the latter part of the first ten days of Muharrum, in the city of Damascus ; the Prophet had a book in his hand—it was *Fusus-ul-Hikm*—and directed him to take it to the people and give them the benefit of it. He accordingly determined to write the book and propagate it in the way that the Prophet had desired. The Shaykh says that he is the translator and not one who writes out his own thoughts, that he is an heir (of the Prophets), and cultivator of deeds for the next world.

The first thing that the Lord caused to dawn on the mind of His servant (*i.e.*, the Shaykh) was the Bezel of Adam. The word *Fas* (of which Fusûs is the plural) means either Essence of Widsom or the bezel on a ring. In the former case, it is the essence of wisdom attaching to a particular Prophetship ; the fountain of which wisdom is the particular name of God which overshadows the soul of that Prophet, according to his *'ain* (formed in the knowledge of God). When the word is construed as a bezel,

it means that the heart of the Prophet is engraved with a particular name (ism).

When God wanted to see the forms ('ayan) of his names (asma) or, if you like, to see his own form ('aîn) in such a composite creature, as, being attributed with his own innumerable names (asma), exhibited His full grandeur, having been endowed with His existence, He exhibited His own secret to Himself, *i.e.*, He saw it in such a creature which exhibited all His attributes, so that His own secret manifested itself to Him. He was observant of Himself before manifestation, but this observance is not the same as the observance of self in another. For, in the former there is no necessity for an external figure, while in the latter there is. In the first case, the self takes the shape which the requirements of the external figure demand. When he wanted to see His *Dhat* by means of His *asma* (names), He made a form of the cosmos in the shape of a symmetrical figure which had no soul. That form was like a glass without brilliance and did not reflect His *asma*. When a thing is made perfect, it becomes fit to receive the breath of God. This process of reception is called blowing-in of breath. This blowing-in is herein called Command (amr) and is the eternal Divine *tajalli* (reflection) which then flashed on the perfected form. All such commands emanate from Him and merge in Him. Adam became the brilliance of that form and also its soul; angels became the faculties spiritual and physical of that form, which became the cosmos—which the Sûfis call 'Alam-i-kabîr (macrocosm). Angels are the powers hidden in the faculties and organs of man; these powers in their individualities are hidden from one another.

Reason cannot penetrate as far as this; it is only *Kashf* (spiritual discernment) which can do that. *Kashf* alone shows the reality of the figures of the World, which are fit to receive the soul. This reality alone is Insân (man), and Khalîfah (viceroy). The reality surrounds everything in the cosmos. To God, it is like insân-ul-'aîn (the pupil of the eye) by which He sees. It is also called *Basr* (sight), for God sees His creation through it. It is also *Insan*, because it has *uns* (affection) for all things. It is *Hadith* (temporary) from the view-point of manifestation, for it was not before in *azl* (eternity without beginning) but became eternal in *abad* (eternity without end). The *Insan* is a comprehensive and composite World. By its creation, the cosmos became perfect. It is like the bezel (*fas*) on the ring. The King attaches his seal

to the treasury and protects it from being tampered with. Thus, in the protection of His treasury, this signet is the vicegerent of God. The World will be safe, so long as there is a perfect man in it. All the names (*asma*) of God, became manifest in man; and hence man surrounded everything in the universe.

God reprimanded the angels about this very Man. They were not aware of his worth; for everybody can know only so much of God as his capacity allows. The angels are restricted to only such *asma* as they can take count of; and are unaware that there are innumerable asmâ besides, of which they have no cognizance and do not sing the hymns of, while Adam knew all *asma*.

و ا ذ قا ل ر بک للملا ئکة ا نی جا عل فی ا لا ر ض خلیفة قا لو ا تجعل فیها
من یفسد فیها و یسفک ا لد ما ء و نحن نسبح بحمد ک و نقد س لک قا ل
ا نی ا علم ما لا تعلمو ن
و علم آ د م ا لا سما ء کلها ثم عر ضهم علی ا لملا ئکة فقا ل ا نبیئو نی با سما ء
هو لا ء ا ن کنتم صا د قین

" And when thy Lord said unto the angels Lo! I am about to place a viceroy in the earth, they said: What! Wilt thou place therein one who will make mischief and shed blood therein, while we hymn thy praise and sanctify thee. He said: Surely I know that which ye know not.

" And He taught Adam all the names (*asma*) then showed them to the angels, and He said: Inform me of the names of these if ye are truthful.

" They said: Be glorified! We know but that which Thou hast taught us—Thou, the all-knowing, All-Wise."

Such was the connection of the angels with God. Adam sang the praises of God with all His asmâ. This incident is mentioned that we may reverence God and not complain about events that come to pass.

The cosmos has no knowledge of itself but it is contained in God's knowledge; it is *batin* (internal) in that knowledge and is not destructible; it has its effect on all external existence. The external existences are its *'ayan* (forms) and not ghair ahû (other than it). By cosmos I mean the relation of *'ayan*. The cosmos is external in respect of 'aîn, (form) and internal so far as it is in knowledge. But its nature in the two aspects is different. It is *hadith* (temporary) in manifestations, and eternal (*abadi*) in the knowledge of God.

Knowledge is connected with the knower, and life with one alive. Knowledge is a reality in Internality, and so also is life.

We say God is Living and Knowing ; angels are living and knowing : men are living and knowing.

The realities of life and knowledge are the same throughout ; but the knowledge of God is eternal (qûdim) and of man temporary (hàdith). Humanity is existent everywhere ; the multiplication of bodies does not multiply its essence. To make temporality, it is necessary that it should depend on one who makes it.

Thus God explained His *nafs* (self) in terms of our attributes. When we observe our attributes, we observe His attributes ; only our attributes are dependent and His are not. He is without beginning and without end. He is the First in reference to us, and He is the Last similarly. We emerge out of Him, He is the First ; We merge into Him, He is the Last. His First is thus His Last and *vice versa*. Thus also He is zâhir (external) and bâtin (internal). He made *'alam-i-ghaib* (the unseen world) and *'alam-i-shahadah* (the seen world).

He attributed Himself with beauty (Jemâl) and glory (Jalâl) ; for He endowed man with Hope and Fear. The pair of these attributes are called His hands. These pairs of attributes conjoined to create the perfect Man, who is the composite of all realities in existence ; God remaining under veils of darkness (natural bodies) and veils of light (souls). God is thus a veil over His own *nafs*.

The Necessary existence is for God alone ; the world has no part in it. God will therefore remain unrecognized by knowledge, which comes out of observation.

God created Adam with His two " hands," by bestowing on him the garments of His attributes. Hence He said to Iblîs :

Ma manaaka an tusjudu lima khalaqtu bi yadayya

" What prevented you from bowing before that which I created with both my hands ?"

The garment of Adam is the very compositeness of attributes in him, Iblîs is a part of the cosmos but he does not possess this compositeness. Adam therefore is the Khalîfah (viceroy) of God, and he is in the likeness of God. He possesses all things that the Khalîfa should possess from his Lord ; God made man in His own image. The

Possible has two phases, the Necessary on one side, and the Negative on the other. If it takes the aspect of the latter, it becomes *'adum* (Nothingness); if it takes the likeness of the former it acquires existence.

It does not become the latter *in esse*; for then it will be a case of transformation of reality, which is impossible. The 'abd (created) cannot therefore become Rabb (creator). It takes on only the likeness of Rabb and becomes His Khalîfah (Vicegerent).

This Khilâfat is attainable only by the Perfect Man, whose externality is according to the Forms of the world, and internality according to the Reality of God. He is the compound of all external and internal realities (*haqayiq*). Thus God said *Kuntu Sama'hu Wa Basrahu* "I become his hearing and his sight" and did not say *Kuntua 'Ainahu Wa Aznahu*, "I become his eye and his ear." Mark the difference between these two. God is present in the things of the creation, according to their requirements, but not in composite form as in the Khalîfah. If God were not immanent in created things, the latter would never have existed. Thus the world is dependent on God, who alone is independent (*ghani*). Everything is correlated to everything else, and is not separated from the Divine *Dhat* (essence).

From the internal and external phases of the Dhât of Adam, it is plain that he is the Truth as well as the created. Adam is one nafs, from which the humans have come out

Ya Ayyuhan-Nas Uttaqu Rahbakum Alladhi Khalaqakum Min Nafsin Wahidatin Wa Khalaqa Minha Zaujuha Wu Batha Minha Rijalan Kathiran Wa Nisaan.

"O Mankind, fear your Lord, who created you out of one *nafs*, and out of that *nafs* created its consort and out of the twain brought many men and women.

Wattaqû Rabbakum (Fear your Rabb) means: that which manifests itself from you make it your screen of defence, and let what is hidden in you be made your screen. What is hidden in you is your God. Things are good and evil. In evil make yourself the veil, so that you become a people who reverence God. If therefore, when refining your *nafs*, you refer evil to God, you become Mulhid (one who conjoins himself with God). If, after refinement, you do so, you become disrespectful. The Prophet observed the Sharî'at himself.

God observed Himself and became aware of His Reality. The first internal (bâtin) form in which He

observed Himself is called by the Sûfis *Haqiqat-i-Muhammadi* (the Reality of Muhammad); by the Christians of the school of Alexandria, the Son of God; and by the Hindus Narrain. The first observance marked four, hypostases ('itibârât), 'Ilm (knowledge), Nûr (sight), Wûjûd (existence), Shahûd (observation). Here He observed the forms ('ayan) which became the realities of the world. In the second observation which was that of 'ayan (forms) in detail, knowledge of self became knowledge of *ghair* (other, or that which is outside self); existence became life. Nûr became Ego, Shahûd became Power. To these, three more 'itibârât are added *Kalam* (speech) *Sama'* (hearing) and *basr* (sight). When He realized His potentialities, sight (*basr*) came into evidence, when the requirements of his potentialities were realized, hearing (*sama'*) came into evidence—and when He attended to their requirements, kalam (speech) resulted. So in the second observance, seven attributes are observed. This stage is called Haqîqat-i-Insanîah (the Reality of Humanity). Then come 7×4 or 28 attributes with their forms which are called *asma*—which are external (zâhiri) manifestations.

Now each *ism* (form with an attribute) takes the shape of the *ism* above it, just as *Haqiqat-i-Muhammadi* took its shape after *Dhat:* and *Haqiqat-i-Insaniah* took its shape after *Haqiqat-i-Muhammadi.*

The point to be noted is that the *Dhat* flashed its *tajalli* (reflection) on the first form which became *Haqiqat-i-Muhammadi:* there was no diminution or vacuum in Dhât, as there is no such vacuum in the light of the lamp when it shines on things around. The criticism of Benedetto Croce*, the living philosopher of Italy, that descent implies vacuum in the higher grade, becomes null and void, so also become the doctrines of Incarnation and Avatarism. If God becomes incarnate on earth or an Avatar, His place in the highest stage must become void. According to Ibni 'Arabi, He only flashes His attributes (in which the Dhât inheres) on the forms which are in knowledge, and He is as He was before (Hûa al'âna kamâ kâna). The attributes flashed become limited according to forms. They are *batin* (internal) and, when flashed, they become zâhir (external or apparent) although in both cases, they are still in knowledge. In the one case, they

* "The Philosophy of the Practical" translated by Douglas Ainlie p. 295.

are *'ayan-i-zahirah.* This exposition of the doctrine of *asma* cuts at the roots of the doctrine of metempsychosis. It is the lower *ism* that takes after the higher *ism* and the higher *ism* does not itinerate as the theory of Transmigration suggests.

The First Form in internality takes its light from the *Dhat* and the lower forms from this First Form, till the last Form takes its light from all the Forms and becomes a perfect form in externality. Hence in the Hadîth of Jaber, the Prophet (peace on him) is reported to have said *ana min nurillahi wu kullu shayin min nuri* " I am from the light of God, and all things are from my light. " The Dhât of God, with all the attributes, shone on the First Form (Haqîqat-i-Muhammadi) and Haqiqat-i-Muhammadi made its tajalli in all its effulgence (with all asmâ) direct on the mind in the case of the Prophet and indirectly through Haqîqat-i-Insânîah on the minds of other Prophets according to the *ism* of *asma* which they represented.

Thus the Prophet (peace be on him) was not an incarnation (God embodying Himself in man) or an Avatar (God descending in Man) ; but only an *'abd* or servant of God so far as form was concerned and partook of the attributes of God directly so far as his attributes were concerned, while the other Prophets partook of one or more of them indirectly through Haqiqat-i-Insânîah.

The figure of Adam is the composite of both kinds of attributes (*jalali* and *jamali*) and contains all asmâ (forms with attributes) from *Badi* to *Jami'* on the Ilâhi side, and *Aql-i-Kull* to *ism Insan* on the *kiyani** side. It was thus formed with both the hands of God. It is thus the macrocosm. *Insan-ul-kamil* (kîyani side) is the counterpart of *Rafi-ud-darajat* (Ilâhi-side). The microcosm corresponds to, and is the result of, this macrocosm. This is the meaning of the Bezel of Adam. Muhammad (peace be on him) is the composite bezel of the bezels of all the perfect men that have appeared and will appear on earth ; for perfection once manifested on earth cannot become more perfect. Awlîya however appear to call all men who are astray and bring them to the path of the perfect man.

*Vide the diagram which forms the frontispiece to my book: " The secret of Anal Haqq."

KHAJA KHAN.

CONSTRUCTION OF CLOCKS AND ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION.

I

It is well known that ancient Muslims—Arabs as well as non-Arabs, —like many other peoples knew the sun-dial and such other instruments of a very primitive type as must have enabled them to know the different periods of day and night ; but few of us to day have any idea of how ingeniously and with what admirable skill the Arabs used to construct clocks, deriving their inspiration from the Byzantinians. Faithful disciples of the Greeks, as they were in almost all the sciences and arts of that age, they based also their art of horology on the experiences of Greek scientists. The study of Greek sciences though begun as early as in the Umayyad period, was taken up in right earnest during the reign of Ma'mūn (198-218 A.H., *i.e.*, 813-833 A .D.), the time when flourished the first Arabic writer on Mathematics, Abú Abdulláh Muhammad al-Khwârazmi (about the year 205 A.H.=820 A.D.) whose works have come down to us. Similarly the oldest writer on Astrology, Abū Yúsuf Ya'qúb ibn 'Ali al-Qarashî al-Qarsarāní, wrote[1] during the reign of the same Caliph.

Ma'mún's father, the great Hárúnu'r-Rashíd is said to have sent to Charles the Great a clock which, according to Einhard's report, was received by Charles in 807 A.D[2]. About the same time, or perhaps even a little earlier, the Arabs must have begun to construct astrolabs and other instruments, mention of which has incidentally been made by Jáhiz[3], in his well known book, the *Kitabu'l-*

(1) About 200 A.H.—815-16, A.D.

(2) *Einhardi Annales*, edidit G. H. Pertz, p. 53-54. Hannover 1845 *Eihnards Jahrbuecher* (German translation by O. Abel), p. 108-09. Berlin 1850. *Vide* Eilhart Wiedemann and Fritz Hauser, *Die Uhr im Bereich der islam-ischen Kultur*, p. 36, to which work I am greatly indebted.

(3) Jàhiz died in 255 A.H.=869 A.D.

Haywan. In the first volume of that admirable work[1] we read how the Byzantinians used to ascertain the hours of a day by means of certain instruments or apparatus. In the second volume of the same book[2] Jáhiz tells us that certain hours of the day were ascertained, (he means by his own countrymen), by the crowing of a cock or the braying of a donkey and such other things. Then he says:

> "Our monarchs and scholars use astrolabs during day and waterclocks during night to ascertain the hour. At day time they have, besides astrolabs, also certain other instruments for measuring the shadow of the Sun, and the Sun-dials, which enable them to know how much of the day has elapsed and what part of it still remains."

In this connexion Jáhiz remarks further that experienced gaderners are able to know the time by the smell of flowers at particular hours.

Thus we see that clocks in those days were in no way used by people generally; they were rather a luxury for kings and a hobby-horse of the scientist; but we learn from a number of works, of later date, written by specialists that Muslims had begun as early as about the third century of the *Hijra* to construct instruments with the help of which they used to ascertain the hour. Ancient books on Arabic bibliography, such as the *Fihrist* of Muhammad ibn Is-hàq ibnu'n-Nadím of Bághdád which was compiled about 378 A.H.=988 A.D.[3], mention an Arabic version[4] of a book on clocks ascribed to Archimedes[5]. In the original writings of Archimedes there is no such book to be found, nor do we know the name of the author of this Arabic version; but the description of the clock contained in that book shows that it must have been in respect of the type of clocks used in Byzantine. It seems rather probable that the original work of Archimedes was lost after the Arabic version had been composed.

Abù Ja'far al-Kházinì wrote his "Book of the Balance of Widsom" in 515 A.H.=1121 A.D. A considerable

(1) Cairo edition 1323 A.H., p. 41.
(2) Ibid, Vol. II., p. 107.
(3) The author died in 385 A.H.—995 A.D.
(4) MSS. in the British Museum, London, and in Paris. A German translation of the Arabic text was published by Wiedemann and Hauser in the *Nova Acta*, Vol. III. Halle 1918.
(5) *Kitabu'l-Fihrist*, edited by G. Fleugel (Leipgig 1871-72) p. 266. also see Inbu'l-Qiftis' *Ta'rikhu'l-Hukama*, edited by J. Lippert, p. 67.

portion of the 8th *Maqala* of this work is devoted to the subject with which we are here concerned. Chapter IV of the *Maqala* is on the hour-balance, the construction of its beam and its calculations, Chapter V on the construction of reservoirs of water, sand, etc., Chapter VII on hours and their fractions, Chapter VIII on the construction of an " accurate balance" and how to use it for ascertaining the hours of the day and their fractions[1]. The balance, as described by al-Kházinì, consisted of a long lever which turned on an axis, the latter being a little above the centre of gravity. At one of the two arms of the lever there was attached a reservior of water which, through a small aperture in the bottom, emptied itself in twenty-four hours. This reservoir when full of water was held in balance by means of weights attached to the other arm of the lever. As the water flew out, the arm with the reservoir went up higher and higher and the weights attached to the opposite end came down lower and lower, and thus the weights indicated the number of hours which had elapsed.

In 600 A.H.=1205 A.D. Rizwán wrote his book on astronomical clocks which contains quite a number of drawings, illustrating the mechanism and functioning of clocks[2]. It gives a description of the famous clock which stood in the great mosque of Damascus, and which was originally constructed by Rizwán's father Muhammad ibn 'Alì ibn Rustam of Khurasan, known as *as-Sa'ati* " the Horologist." In the preface of his book Rizwán says[3] that he had seen the clocks which his father had constructed and that his father had constructed the clock in Damascus which had been damaged and, as his father was dead, none could mend it but Rizwán himself. The clock must have first been made by the father some time in the 12th Century of the Christian era, and reconstructed by the son a little later, say about the end of that century. Ibn Jubair, the Arab traveller, who was in Damascus in 1173 A.D., gives a report of the clock which shows that he saw it in its original form. Also Benjamin of Tudela, who travelled between 1159 and 1173 A.D., gives a very

(1) *Analysis and Extracts of the "Book of Wisdom," an Arabic book on the Waterbalance, written by al-Khazini in the 12th century,* by H. Khanikoff in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* Vol. VI. (1857).

(2) MS. in Gotha (Germany), No. 1348 of Pertsch's catalogue, Vol. III p. 18 and Wiedemann, *op. cit.*

(3) Wiedemann, *Beitroege zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften,* III, pp. 258-59.

short report of the clock. Rizwán reconstructed it during the reign of the famour predecessor of Sultán Salahu'ddin, al-Malik al-'Adil Nuru'ddin Mahmùd ibn Zangi' (1146—1174 A.D.), who treated Rizwán with munificence and also gave him a salary for being in charge of the construction of clocks. His two sons were, like himself, known as " *Ibnu's-Sa'ati*, " but neither of them had taken up the profession of the father, the one being a prominent poet of his age, the other a distinguished physician and literateur who used to be a *vazir* to al-Maliku'l-Fái'z and to his brother al-Maliku'l-Mu'azzam ibn al-Maliki'l -'Adil, and at the same time served as physician to Muazzam[1].

The fact that a number of men were called *Sa'ati* is in itself a testimony of there being men who were clockmakers by profession. Besides this family of *Sa'atis* there were also other *Sa'atis* : Hájì Khalìfa mentions one Muhyìu'ddìn Abu'l-Ma'álì Murtafi' ibn Hasan *as-Sa'ati*[2].

Badi'u'z-Zamán Abu' Bakr al-Mu'izz ibn Isma'il, ibnur'-Razzáz al-Jazari composed his important work, *Kita'bu'l-Banakim*, on water-clocks, magic-cups and all sorts of hydraulic apparatus[3]. The works of Rizwán and Jazarì, which are the most important of all the books on the subject, will be dealt with in the next part of the present article.

During the 6th and 7th centuries of the *Hijra* (=12th and 13th centuries of the Christian Era) clocks, sun-dials and such other instruments of an improved type with rather elaborate mechanism seem to have been in common use, so that in 675 A.H.=1276 A. D. Abu'l-'Abbas Ahmad ibn 'Umar as-Súfì the Astronomer found it worth his while to write a treatise on how to " remove the defects in the construction of a sun-dial" Popularity of gnomonic instruments among the Muslims is quite explicable. With them those instruments were a religious necessity, as they wanted to know the exact hours of the five daily prayers ; and this was one of the reasons why construction of clocks occupied the attention

(1) Ibn Abi Usaibi'a, *'Uyunu'l-Anba*, edited by A. Mueller (Koenigsberg 1884) Vol. II, p. 183 ; Wiedmann, *Beitræge*, III, pp. 231-32.

(2) *Kashfu'z-Zunun*, edited by G. Fluegel (Leipzig 1855—), Vol. I, p. 346 and Vol. VII, p. 1171.

(3) MSS in the British Museum (No. 1661) and in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris (No. 2477). See Brockelmann, *Geschiete der arabischen Literatur*, Vol. I, P. 494.

of numerous scientists among Muslims in all lands. In India, however, they were rather content with more primitive devices of ascertaining the hour. The elaborate and inconvenient clocks of those days did not fully satisfy the religious requirements of Muslims, especially because those clocks could not be easily carried about. Also the "*Sunduqu'l-mawaqit*" (Box of times), ascribed to 'Alì bin Ibrahim ibn Muhammad ash-Shátir[1] seems to have been a complicated instrument which instigated Muhammad ibn abi'l-Fath as-Sufi (about 850 A.H.= 1446 A.D.) to write a tract on how to work on it[2]; and such books were needed as the treatise on the "Way of determining the times of the prayers and the direction of the *Ka'ba* in the absence of instruments[3]" by Musa ibn Muhammad ibn 'Usman al-Khalili (who died in 805 A.H.=1402 A.D.), the *Nazmu'l-'Uqud fi'amoli's-Sa'at, ala'l-amud* on the "working out of hours on the perpendicular (or stile)" by 'Izzuddin 'Abdul'-'Aziz b. Muhammad al-Wafa'i, the *Muwaqqit* of the Mu'aiyadi mosque (died about 876A.H.=1471 A.D.), the *Ma'rifatu'l-Awqati' Shar'iya* (on the knowledge of Times appointed for Rituals) by Badru'ddin Sibt al-Máridìnì, the *Muwaqqit* of al-Azhar (who died in 934 A.H.=1527 A.D.), and Sulaim ibn Hamzas' book on the "Knowledge of the Hours[4]."

Clocks, besides those described or mentioned by Rizwán and Jazarì, were the sand-glass, the candle-clock and the mercury-clock. In the 16th century of the Christian Era, if not earlier, Muslims scientists began to construct clocks with wheel-work. A book on the technique of this sort of clocks is preserved in two manuscripts in Paris and Oxford[5]. Its author, Taqì'u'ddìn Abù Bakr Muhammad ibn Ma'rùf *ar-Rasid, i.e.*, "the Observer" of Damascus, was born in that city in 932 A.H. 1525—26 A.D. and died perhaps in Constantinople in 993 A.H.=1585 A.D. He wrote his book in Constantinople

(1) Ash-Shatir, who died in 777 A.H.=1375 used to be the "*Muwaqit*" (an officer whose duty it was to determine the time) of the mosque of the Umayyads (al-Jami'u'l-'Umawi).

(2) *Risala fi'l-'Amal bi Sundqui-l'-Mawaqit* (not *yaqwaqit* as given by Brockelmann, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 128).

(3) *Talkhis fi ma'rifati Awqati's-Sala't wa Jihati'l Qibla 'inda 'Adami'l-Alat.*

(4) *Tarzu'l-Ghurar fi Halli'd-Durar fi Ma'rifati's-Sa'at.*

(5) *Shifa'u'l-Asqam fi waz'is' -Sa'at 'ala'r-Rukham* as contained in the Leyden manuscript No. 1097. See Brockelmann. *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, Vol. I., p. 495.

Wiedemann and Hauser, *Die Uhr, etc.*, p. 11 *etsgq.*

during the reign of Sultan Sulaimán (1520–1566 A.D.), who was very fond of beautifully constructed clocks. Taqì'u'ddìn studied the subject for a number of years and was not only acquainted with the works of Greek astronomers and mathematicians but also with such clocks and instruments as were invented or used in other European countries. This enabled him, as he himself says, to construct clocks with wheel-work (*as-Sa'atu'd-dawriya*). These were, according to his description, clocks worked by a number of wheels and wound by drawing a chain with a weight attached to its lower end.

Mention has already been made of the famous clock of Damáscus[1]. Besides that reports are available of a number of other clocks, but it seems necessary, before entering upon a description of them, to enumerate and explain the names of the chief types of clocks which were in vogue in Islamic countries in ancient times :

1. *Sa'at* (the plural of *Sa'at* " hour") is most probably an abbreviation of *Alatus'-Sa'at* or *Ala li Ma'rifati's-Sa'at* " the instrument for knowing the hours. " *Cf. finjanu'n li's-Sa'at* (Yáqùt, *Mu'jamu'l-Buldan*, Vol. I, p. 383) and *'Ilmu Alati's-Sa'at* (Haji *.)

2. *Bankam* (plural : *Banakim* and *Bankamat*), arabicised from Persian *pingan* " a cup. " The term was first applied to the cup with a small hole through which water rushes into the cup and fills it up in a given period of time. Later it was applied not only to the various kinds of clepsydra, but also to clocks of every description. Also the other arabicised form, *finjan* is used in that sense. The Persian word itself is probably borrowed from the Greek P i n a x .

3. *Sunduqu's-Sa'at* and *Sunduqu'l-Mawaqit*, " the box of hours or times" is used for a clock. It is also applied to the box (in a clock) which has openings or doors which indicate the hours.

4. *Muwaqqita*, " time-piece," *Muwaqqit* " time-keeper " being used for an officer in a mosque whose duty it was to determine the correct time for the five daily prayers.

5. *Surraqatu'l-ma'*, " clepydra ."

(1) A description of this clock and certain others, with illustrations will be given in part II of the present article.

* Khalifa, *Kashfu'z-Zunun* Vol. I.— p. 398. *As-Sa'ati* is a term for the clock-maker ."

6. *Rukhama* " Marble plate " is particularly used for the sun-dial or plate on which the shadow is projected.

7. *Shisha-i Sa'at.* " the glass of the hour" is a Persian expression applied to the " sand-glass." Similarly *Tas-i Sa'at* and *Painmuna-i Sa'at.*

(*To be continued.*) A. SIDDIQI.

AFGHANISTAN TO-DAY.

THE buffer territory or no man's land between India and the extreme boundary of the ruler of Kabul is not Afghanistan. The tribes occupying the strip are not amenable to the new forces of law and order which prevail in Afghanistan proper. Nor are the Kabulis who annually visit India and those who live on usury in our midst representatives of the Afghanistan of His Majesty King Amanulla Khan. This was pertinently pointed out by Sardar Mahmud Beg Turzi, the Foreign Minister, this January when he passed through Bombay on his way to Europe. And this fact needs emphasis. It is curious to note the lack of public interest in the country which in pre-British days was reckoned almost an integral part of India.

Afghanistan is a land related to India from remote antiquity. Part of it was always held to be comprised in India from the dawn of history. During the Hindu period Gandhara or Qandahar included the Rawalpindi and Peshawar districts up to probably Jalalabad. Bharata's sons Tuksa and Pushkara conquered Gandhara according to the Mahabharat. The city was the capital of India in the time of the glorious Buddhist sovereign, Kanishka, 78 A.D. whence dates the Shaka era. Whatever the language in these days the current script was Kharoshthi written from left to right and used in one of his inscriptions by Asoka. It bespeaks the early foreign influence. We are far from sure about our chronology. It is possible even that the Buddhists and the Hindus ruled over parts of the land as contemporaries. The Rigveda mentions the Pakthas the philological ancestors of the modern Pathans. According to the Mahaparinibban Sutta of the Buddhists, among the relics of the Master distributed over the world a tooth of his was allotted to Gandhara. In one of his rock edicts Asoka mentions the Kabulis next after the Ionians and then Gandhara. The famous Chinese traveller Huen Thsang accurately describes the land as a Buddhist country. His itenerary

has been closely studied by M. Foucher who has identified a number of ancient cities now bearing different names. Jalalabad for instance was Nagarahara. An amazing number of cities and sites are given their Buddhistic names in the Mahamayuri Sutra as proved by M. Sylvian Levi. In the Jaina scriptures the people of Gandhara are mentioned among the tribes of sorcerers. In the Rigveda again the wool of the Gandhara sheep is extolled. The Vedic river Kubha is the Kabul. Later the region formed part of the Persian empire. A detachment of the Gandharis accompanied Xerxes in his campaign against the Greeks. In the old Persian inscription at Behistan the Gandhars are mentioned as subject to Darius Hystaspes. A king of Gandhara, Nagnajit, is mentioned in the Aetareya Brahman. In the Shatapatha Brahmana, Nagnajit gives an opinion on ritual which is rejected on the ground that the author was merely a "princely" person as opposed to a Brahman. Under the Buddhist rule were erected enormous monuments, towers like the Minar Chakri near Kabul and the colossal statues of the Buddha. Material ruins of Indian origin or Gracco-Bactrian influence strew the country. Iranian suzerainty is attested to this day by Shar-i-Zohak, the castle of Nariman, the tower of Rustam, the citadel of Godharz. The place-names in the Shahnama are perpetuated into our generation with scarcely a change.

The land has especial interest for the Parsis. The geographical names of countries, mountains and rivers occurring in their sacred scriptures are located more in modern Afghanistan than in Persia. The territory covered by Afghan Turkestan is familiar to the Avesta with the flourishing cities of Balkh, Merv and Herat.

Politically from the time of Babar 1526 down to Aurangzeb 1707 the Moguls scarcely considered modern Kabul and Qandahar as outside their sway. The Mogul Viceroy was stationed there. At Nimla near Jalalabad there is a garden with running water, so dear to the Central Asian people, which is an exact replica of the Shalimar of Lahore. The trees supposed to have been planted by Shahjahan rise straight from the ground to a considerable height forming a noble avenue.

Our notion about Afghanistan as a country of blood-thirsty savages without civilization, culture or amenities of life, needs considerable revision. I have done my honest bit in this connection taking advantage of the invitation

issued to me by His Majesty the King of Kabul last September. As with Persia so with Kabul. The average Indian bracketted both the countries with lands of savages before the reports I had the privilege to publish. Afghanistan has a telegraphic service and the rate of three annas a word brings Kabul within the reach of ordinary communicators. Wires are being put up between the metropolis and the other towns like Ghazni, Qandahar, Jalalabad. Kabul has telephone, electric light, cloth mill and ammunition factory, a disciplined body of uniformed police and an excellent motor road connecting with Paghman, the summer residence of the Shah, which can vie with our better roads in India. The climate of Paghman in summer should make it an ideal sanitorium. The electric current is generated eighty miles up at Jabal Siraj, noteworthy for its charming scenery amid the monotony of arid rocks.

The geographical situation of Kabul exalts it, a comparatively poor country, in the estimation of Russia on the one hand and Britain on the other. Tsarist Russia unfeignedly strained to get to Kabul. The Bolsheviks have made offensive and defensive alliances with the Afghans. The northern portion of Afghan Turkestan with Herat, Balkh, Merv, lands renowned in medieval ages, not less than in antiquity, and seats of a triple civilization, have come under some Moscovite influence and naturally. The British aura does not project itself long beyond the historic Khaybar Pass. British attitude is one of caution and *qui vive*. The injustice of the first aggressive wars on Afghanistan is recognised by public opinion both in England and India. The British Minister at Kabul, Sir Francis Humphreys, is a personal friend of His Majesty Amanullah Khan. The largest number of Europeans in Kabul are from Russia if Russia is regarded wholly as a European power. They are in charge of the æroplanes which abridge the distance between Kabul and Peshawar to an hour and a half and obliterate the whilom formidable Hindukush. Next come the Germans. Very many are employed as engineers chiefly on the construction of the new city, Dar-ul-Aman, some of the buildings of which have stately appearance and striking proportions. Road making, bridge repairing, and Public Works in general engage both Germans and Italians. The French are given the monopoly of archæological excavations, under the greatest living authority on Buddhistic antiquities, M. Foucher. The Shah devotes him-

self heart and soul to the improvement of his fatherland and the social amelioration and advancement of his subjects. He is inspired by one ambition,—to see his country reckoned among the foremost in the world. His is a noble personality, simple in manners, courteous, energetic, agile, with a broad outlook on life, a sportsman and a wonderful shot. For an Oriental potentate his demeanour is charmingly unostentatious. When I was presented to His Majesty the first thing which struck me was his perfectly natural bearing. He addresses his people with the accent rather of a distinguished primus *inter pares* than of a commanding despot. Since his accession to the throne the barbarism of bygone days has vanished. The administration is placed on a sounder footing with responsible Ministers. Slavery, the abolition of which from Nepal was broadcasted last year, has ceased to exist in Afghanistan these eight years. Polygamy and concubinage are prohibited. Education demands the especial care of His Majesty. There are schools for boys and girls and there are middle schools under the French and the Germans. Yearly, batches of eligible lads are sent out to continental Europe for education at state expense. Indigenous arts and crafts are vigorously encouraged. Horticulture is given an impetus with improved methods under a Frenchman. The official language of the country is Persian, though strange to say there are some twenty dialects spoken in the King's dominions according to Morgenstierne.

The modern Afghan under his enlightened ruler is far from a fanatic Moslem. I was invited to enter the chief mosque shoes-on and I saw the devout at prayer in the shrine without removing footwear. Both the Mufti and the Governor of Bamiyan, however, were inclined to theological warmth over many of my edifying discussions on moot points touching Islam,—merits of conversion and penalty for apostacy. There is no sanctity attaching to old fashioned attire. The modern or European mode is generally adopted. The pace at which progress towards freedom of woman in Kabul moves to her complete social emancipation is likely to leave Teheran behind. Tolerance of Islam is exemplified here more even than in Turkey. Thousands of Armenian families were expatriated from the Turkish Republic. But here reside in Afghanistan thousands of Hindus in peace and legal equality with Moslems. Their sacred places are respected. Their customs and ritual are not interfered with and their

children are educated in the state seminaries. Especial teachers are engaged for the religious instructions of Hindu and Sikh children in government schools. His Majesty's appreciation of personal merits irrespective of birth and faith has left no doubt in my mind. Hindus have been chosen for special reward for promoting trade and commerce, and accelerating economic prosperity of the country. But there is a natural partiality for the Afghan as contra-distinguished from a foreigner. The Afghans do not seem to fraternise closely with Turks. Indians and Persians are found more congenial.

As regards the security of the country my experience may appear exaggerated but this is what I saw : Hindu sharrafs with bags of silver and gold coins transacting business in the market place of Kabul, thronged by a motley crowd comprised of Pathans, Turkomans, Uzbegs, Kirgiz, Persians, Russians and Indians ; silver rupees conveyed from Peshawar to Kabul in carts without any armed police ; absence of robbery, dacoity and theft. My stay in the country was too short to justify wide generalization but it must be a unique state if what I experienced for two months was the average rule and not accidental exception. I travelled hundreds of miles in motor without hearing of serious crime except the knocking down of a child by an Indian motor-driver and a village quarrel near Ghazni. In the efforts of the sovereign to lift the country to the level of advanced states of the West, he has the co-operation of some trusty officials. The Shah Agassi is a man of high education. It will be invidious to mention Afghan names. There is a small Irani colony in Kabul and the community of language commends the young Persian to the Afghan government. Some are employed in the education department. The head of them is Zya Humayum an accomplished engineer educated in France, whose energy and perfection of French are the envy of all Asiatics and most Europeans. Though the King is anxious to develop connections with the outside world he has set his face against the import of luxuries which are taxed almost to prohibition. The officials, civil and military, and the Army are clothed in home-made fabrics. Indian cloth has a market in Qandahar and I saw some consignments of piece-goods from Moscow. Petrol is carried into Afghanistan from Russia in cylinders on camel back. How it can compete with the commodity from Peshawar is a mystery. Hides and guts are exported mostly to America. At Paghman there is a well known

business firm with branches in Peshawar, London and Moscow. I purchased a hat made in Italy at a price not higher than ruling in Bombay. The Russians give special credit and other facilities to Afghan merchants who appear dissatisfied with London firms. The Indian government gives considerable incentive to import of fruit, fresh and dry from Qandahar. In the season a fruit train leaves Chaman, the second British rail head, the first being Peshawar, every night with fruit in refrigerators to the various cities of India. Improvement of the motor road between Qandahar and Chaman would spell more commercial gain to Afghanistan. When mule loads give place entirely to motor lorries the mounds of raisins and the baskets of grapes and melons in the station yard of Chaman will be considerably multiplied to the mutual advantage of importers and consumers.

Despite the mountainous terrain, the country lends itself to quick travel. A tolerable motor road links Peshawar to Kabul. An enterprising Parsi agent Mr. Kekobad Gai, arranges for the transport. Kabul is reached *via* Dakka and Jalalabad in much less than 48 hours. The customs officers are zealous and jealous of undesirable imports. The method and regularity of the *Gumruk-khana* of Qandahar are admirable. Wine and spirits are prohibited. The traveller runs the risk of his whisky being confiscated as was mine at Dakka. The country is run on dry lines of stern Islamic inhibition—rather a pity from the view-point of a Zoroastrian, not whose ancestors alone, but emperor Babur spoke with delight of the Herat vintage. The courtesy of European Legations and the regard of my old friend Prof. Bogdanov provided me with my much stinted ration. From Kabul to Ghazni you see real Afghanistan; more of it from Ghazni to Qandahar,—huge flocks of sheep and camels racing before your car in bewildered scamper; gypsies in batches in dark tents are on the move; girls carrying muzzle-loaders, the caravan protected by fierce dogs; remnants of massive ruins evidencing past habitation of man. An enjoyable trip can be made from Kabul to Bamiyan where the colossal images of the Buddha are carved from the rock, cut hollow to house shrine and monastery and honey-combed with cells for recluses, with domes still preserving paintings not different from Ajanta and resembling in figure and technique the art of the Sasanians, all conserved by the Islamic potentate, anxious over the restoration of the material vestiges of the past. In some

parts of the country; the mountain side has inscriptions in Indian script photographed by Mr. Gulam Mohiuddin, Curator of the Kabul Museum. I have taken some of them in hand for translation with the help of my colleagues. The archæological wealth of Afghanistan has scarcely been tapped. The resources of the state are not adequate to expensive undertakings. The promise which the country holds for antique research can be judged from the Kabul Museum which among countless curiosities in sculpture owns what is known as the " bowl " of the Buddha. There seems to me to be no reason why Indians should not visit in large number a country of their historic relationship abounding in relics of their common ancestry.

Afghanistan has an assured future. Rejoicing in a ruler of the type of King Amanulla Khan, with a homogeneous population it must progress more rapidly than India where we cause our respective religions to fashion infernoes for each other here below, so we acquire a problematic paradise hereafter. The Afghan, at any rate the educated one has passed that stage of human evolution and surpassed the much more " highly civilized " Indian in religious tolerance.

G. K. NARIMAN.

*ISLAMIC CULTURE**

CAUSES OF RISE AND DECLINE.

THERE is not one standard and one law for the Muslim and another for the outsider. In the Kingdom of Allah there are no favourites. The sacred Law is one for all, and non-Muslims who conform to it are more fortunate than professed Muslims who neglect or disobey its precepts.

ا ن ا لله لا يغير ما بقوم حتى يغيرو ا ما با نفسهم

"Lo! Allah changeth not the condition of a people until they have changed in that which concerneth themselves"—that is, in their conduct.

The test, as I have said before, is not profession of a creed, but conduct. All men are judged by conduct both in this world and the next.

I suppose you have all of you in mind at least an outline of the course of Muslim history. It may be divided into three periods—named after the three great nations and languages of the Muslim world—the Arab, the Persian and the Turkish. And I suppose everyone of you has heard it said that Islam in early days was propagated by the sword.

The Holy Qurân says:—

لا اكرا ه فى ا لدين قد تبين ا لرشد من ا لغي و من يكفر با لطا غوت
و يو من با لله فقد ا ستمسک با لعر و ة ا لو ثقي لا ا نفصام لها و ا لله سميع عليم

"Let there be no compulsion in religion. The right direction is henceforth distinct from error. And he who rejecteth vain superstitions and believeth in Allah hath grasped a firm handle which will not give way. Allah is All-seeing, All-knowing."

And again:—

قا تلو فى سبيل لله ا لذ ين يقا تلو نكم و لا تعتد و ا ا ن لله لا يحب ا لمعتد ين

"Fight in the cause of Allah against those who fight against you, but begin not hostilities. Verily Allah loveth not aggressors."

*Lectures delivered in Madras in January 1927 by the Editor.

There are many other texts that I could quote to prove that Muslims are forbidden to use violence towards anyone on account of his opinions. and I can find not a single text to prove the contrary. Whatever may have happened later on in Muslim history, such injunctions were not likely to be disobeyed in days when the Qurân was the only Law —a law obeyed alike by great and small with passionate devotion, as the word of God.

The wars of Islam in the Holy Prophet's lifetime and in the lifetime of his immediate successors were all begun in self-defence, and were waged with a humanity and consideration for the enemy never known on earth before. It was not the warlike prowess of the early Muslims which enabled them to conquer half the then known world, and convert half that world, so firmly that the conversion stands unshaken to this day. It was their righteousness and their humanity, their manifest superiority in these respects to other men.

You have to picture the condition of the surrounding nations, the Egyptians, the Syrians, the Mesopotamians and the Persians—ninety per cent slaves. And they had always been in that condition. The coming of Christianity to some countries had not improved their status. It was the religion of the rulers and was imposed upon the rank and the file. Their bodies were still enslaved by the nobles, and their minds still enslaved by the priests. Only the ideal of Christianity, so much of it as leaked through to them, made the common people dream of freedom in another life. There was luxury among the nobles, and plenty of that kind of culture which is symptomatic not of progress but corruption and decay. The condition of the multitude was pitiable. The tidings of our Prophet's embassies to all the neighbouring rulers, inviting them to give up superstitions, abolish priesthood, and agree to serve Allah only, and the evil treatment given to his envoys, must have made some noise in all those countries ; still more the warlike preparations which were being made for the destruction of the new religion. The multitude were no doubt warned that Islam was something devilish and that Muslims would destroy them. And then the Muslims swept into the land as conquerors and by their conduct won the hearts of all those peoples. In the whole history of the world till then, the conquered had been absolutely at the mercy of the conqueror, no matter how complete his submission might be, no matter though he might be of the same religion as the conqueror.

That is still the theory of war outside Islam. But it is not the Islamic theory. According to the Muslim Laws of war, those of the conquered people who embraced Islam became the equals of the conquerors in all respects. And those who chose to keep their old religion had to pay a tribute for the cost of their defence, but after that they enjoyed full liberty of conscience and were secured and protected in their occupations.

An utterly false interpretation has been given to the alternatives "Islam or the Sword" as if the sword meant execution or massacre. The sword meant warfare, and the alternatives really were: Islam (surrender in the spiritual sense), Islam (surrender in the ordinary sense) or continued warfare. The people who did not surrender, were not fully conquered, and were still at war.

The Muslims intermarried freely with the conquered peoples of Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia and all North Africa—a thing none of their conquerors—and they had known many in the course of history had ever done before. The coming of Islam brought them not only political freedom, since it dispelled the blighting shadow of the priest from the human thought. The people of all those countries except Persia now claim Arabic as their native language and, if questioned as to their nationality, would say: We are sons of the Arabs. They all still regard the empire of Islam as the kingdom of God on earth.

The result was what might be expected from so great a liberation of peoples who had never really had a chance before. A wonderful flowering of civilization which in the after generations bore its fruit in works of science, art and literature! In spite of its incessant wars, this is the most joyous period in history. In judging of it you must not take literally every word that you may read in European writers. You must make allowance for enemy propaganda then as now.

In my youth I saw a good deal of the Christian population of Syria, the descendants of such of the conquered people of those days as would not embrace Islam: and they used to speak of the early Muslim period almost as a golden age and of the Khalîfa 'Umar ibn-ul-Khattâb almost as a benefactor of their religion. Folklore is sometimes more enlightening than written history. Yet even from written history, with a little research, you will discover that fanaticism towards Christians is hardly

found in orthodox Islam till after the Crusades, though the Christians were not always easy subjects for toleration. Many of them thought it a religious virtue to insult the religion of Islam in public, and so court martyrdom from the natural indignation of the rulers. There were epidemics of this kind of religious mania at various times in different countries, and the sensible, calm manner in which the Mulsim rulers dealt with them is one of the great things in Muslim history. I shall have to speak to you at length upon the subject of religious tolerance. So at present I will only read you an extract from Whishaw's "Arabic Spain." It runs: -

"The epidemic of religious hysteria which occurred at Cordova in the middle of the ninth century is no doubt the reason why we have more information about the state of the Church at that date than at any other time during the Muslim rule. The Christians were forbidden to enter the mosques or to vilify the Prophet, under pain of conversion to Islam or death. 'This,' says Florez (a Spanish writer), 'was the most criminal offence of the martyrs at that time, so that, although they exalted the faith, the judges remained unmoved until they heard them speak evil of Muhammad or of his sect.' According to the *Cronica General* two 'martyrs' of the time, Rogelio and Serviodes, entered the great mosque of Cordova and began not only 'preaching the faith,' but also 'the falseness of Muhammad and the certainity of the hell to which he was guiding his followers.' It is not surprising to learn that this performance cost them their lives. Both the Muslim rulers and the more sensible of the Christians did their best to prevent these fanatics from throwing away their lives, and Recafred, bishop of Seville about 851 to 862, was distinguished by his common sense in this matter. He forbade Christians to seek martyrdom when their rulers did not attempt to make them deny their faith, and imprisoned 'even priests' who disobeyed him. Abdur Rahman II, appointed him metropolitan of Andalucia that he might do the same at Cordova, and there he imprisoned a number of Christians, including St. Eulogius and the Bishop of Cordova, doubtless to keep them out of mischief."

Similar outbursts of religious hysteria are recorded in Eastern countries, which the Muslims bore with even greater fortitude. The Christians as a rule were treated with the utmost toleration both in East and West.

Mr. G. K. Nariman, the well-known Parsi Orientalist, has proved from his research that the story of the wholesale massacre and expulsion of the Zoroastrians from Persia by the Arab conquerors is without historical foundation.

There are Zoroastrians in Persia till the present day. In Syria the Christians used to speak of the times of the first four Khalifas and of the Omayyad dynasty as the golden age of Muslim magnanimity; which struck me then as curious because the Omayyads are generally given a bad name, on account of the personal character of some Khalifas of that house and especially of the cruel tragedies which marked its rise to power. But it is a fact that Islam owes much to Bani Umayya historically. They preserved the simple, rational character of Islam – its Arab character; they maintained in Damascus the intimate relations between the ruler and the subject which had characterised the Khilâfat of Medina. In their days the Khalîfa himself still climbed the pulpit and preached the Friday Khutbah in the mosque. The anxieties of an exceptionally intelligent Khalîfa of this house are depicted in a little anecdote in Kitâb-ul-Fakhri.

قيل لعبد الملك لقد اسرع اليك الشيب فقال شابني صعود المنابر
والخوف من اللحن وكان اللحن عندهم في غابر الدهر

("Someone said to Abdul Malik: Grey hairs have come to you very early. He answered: What has turned me grey is climbing pulpits with the fear of making a false quantity in Arabic. For to make a mistake in Arabic was with them a thing most horrible.") They kept back the fanatical, "ecclesiastic" faction which even in those early days began to raise its head, and allowed time for the formation of a body of opinion which withstood the creeping paralysis of ecclesiasticism or scholasticism, and thus upheld the banner of Islam for centuries. Next to the Khulafa-er-Râshidin, as a Khalîfa of true Muslim character, comes 'Umar-bin-'Abdul 'Azîz of the Umayyads. And a scion of their house who fled westward after their down-fall and massacre, founded a dynasty which made of Spain for many generations the most progressive and enlightened country in the West.

It is important for the student of history to remember that the Khilâfat of Bani 'l-'Abbâs represented a compromise between the out-and-out Sunnism of the Ummayads and the out-and-out Shî'ism of the Fatemites. For the Ummayads, the Abbasides themselves were Shî'a. When

in the Spanish Muslim chronicles you read of Shî'as, they are not those whom we call Shî'a, but the people whom we regard as Sunnis, the followers of Bani 'l 'Abbâs, opponents of Bani Umayya.

And it is important also to remember that the Khilâfat of Bani'l 'Abbâs represents a betrayal, nay, a double betrayal. On one hand they had persuaded Ahl-ul-Beyt *i.e.*, our Prophet's family —that they would set one of them upon the throne of the Khilâfat; and on the other they had persuaded many earnest Sunnis who till then had been supporters of Bani Ummaya, but objected to the dynastic Khilâfat, that they would restore the original custom of electing the Khalîfah from among the Muslims most distinguished for their public service. They did neither. They set up their own dynasty, they massacred the whole house of Bani Ummaya, except one member who fled to Spain, because that house had made itself beloved in Syria, Najd, Egypt and throughout North Africa, and any member of it left alive would have been a formidable rival, and they persecuted Ahl-ul-Beyt on account of their standing claim to the Khilâfat. It is a mistake to impute a religious character to the strife between those factions. It was a tribal quarrel of North Arabia against South Arabia dating from pre-Islamic times, which the personality of the Prophet was able to rule for a time, but which the murder of the Khalîfa Usman caused to break out more ferociously than ever. The later Umayyads and the Prophet's family may be regarded as the victims rather than the cause of it. The simple, rational, Arab character of Muslim Government passed with the last of the Umayyads to Spain; the Khilâfat of the East was transferred to Bani 'l 'Abbâs, who were already under Persian influence, and the capital was removed from Syria to Mesopotamia. The city of Baghdad—a much more glorious Baghdad than the present city of that name—a triumph of town-planning, sanitation, police arrangements and street lighting—sprang into existence. There, and throughout the Empire in the next three centuries, Islamic culture reached its apogee. But except in Spain it had less and less of Arab simplicity and more and more of Persian magnificence. In the words of Mr. Guy Le Strange: At that period of the world's history, Cordova, Cairo, Baghdad and Damascus were the only cities in the world which had police regulations and street lamps. A reverence and a manner of address which the rightly-guided Khalifas and the Umayyads would have repelled

as blasphemous were accepted first, and then expected, by the Khalifas of the house of 'Abbâs.

The strict zenana system was introduced, and woman in the upper class of society, instead of playing the frank and noble part which she had played among the earlier Muslims, became a tricksy and intriguing captive. There was a tendency to narrow down Islam to the dimensions of a sect, which the rational Muslims were able to restrain only by the weight of their superior learning. The Khalîfa leaned towards that tendency, because it flattered him, exalting his position high above its proper Muslim status.

The people, in a long period of uninterrupted prosperity, became unwarlike. There were little wars within the Empire now and then, but they did not affect the mass of the people for reasons which I shall explain when I address you on the laws of war. Many were the rational students of the Qurân who pointed out the danger of this state of things, but the fanatical, "ecclesiastic" faction flattered the Khalîfa to a false security, declaring that he was especially favoured and protected by Allah, and that the glory of his realm would last for ever.

The defence of the frontiers was confided to the fighting tribes, chiefly to the Turks, who also formed the body-guard of the Khalîfa. These people, from the guardians, soon became the masters, of the nominal rulers. They were men of simple, downright, brutal character; of energy and common sense; who did not hide their contempt for the luxurious and feeble princes who succeeded one another on the throne of the great Mâmūn and Hârūn-ar-Rashîd. One after another, they murdered or put them away with every circumstance of ignominy, but they did infuse some manhood into the declining empire, which would have perished but for them, and keep at least its central provinces together in good order. Over the outlying provinces the Khalîfa's rule was now purely nominal. As chief of the Muslims, he sanctioned the appointment of the local ruler—a ceremony which had religious value in the people's eyes—and that was all. Persia declared itself independent. Egypt was conquered by a family known in history as the Fatemites or Obeydites who were descended from the Holy Prophet, though the Sunnis of those days denied their claim and said they were descendants of a Jew of Kerbela. They set up a rival Khilâfat, conquered Palestine and Syria twice, and Hejjaz once.

Nominally the Abbaside Khilâfat of Baghdad lasted for full five hundred years, but for the last three hundred and fifty years of its nominal duration the real sovereign power had passed already to the Turks, and its political prestige was that of Turkish chiefs : -first, of the Seljuks -- Toghrul Bey and Alp Arslan and Malik Shah then of the Zenghis : Imâd-ud-dîn and his son Nur-ud-dîn, and then of the Ayubis, Salâh-ud-dîn (the Saladin of the Crusading period), Malik Aâdil, Malik Kâmil and the rest. There was change of rulers, but the civilization remained that of the Abbasides. Indeed it hardly, if at all, deteriorated, and the condition of the common people throughout the Muslim Empire remained superior to that of any other people in the world in education, sanitation, public security and general liberty.

Its material prosperity was the envy of the Western world, whose merchant corporations vied with one another for the privilege of trading with it. What that prosperity must have been in its prime one can guess from the casual remark of a modern English writer, with no brief for Muslims, with regard to Christian Spain : " Notwithstanding the prosperity which resulted from her privileged trade with the New World in the sixteenth century, her manufactures, and with them her real prosperity began to decline under the Catholic kings, and continued to do so in fact, if not in appearance, until the explusion of the Moriscoes (*i.e.*, the last remaining Muslims) by Philip III, completed the destruction begun by Isabel in the supposed interests of religion. "

In other countries, even in Europe, in the same period, the peasantry were serfs bound to the land they cultivated, the artisans had still a servile status, and the mercantile communities were only just beginning, by dint of cringing and of bribery to gain certain privileges. In the Muslim realm the merchant and the peasant and the artisan were all free men. It is true that there were slaves, but the slaves were the most fortunate of the people. For the Holy Prophet's command to " clothe them with the cloth which ye yourselves wear and feed them with the food which ye yourselves eat, for the slaves who say their prayers are your brothers," was literally obeyed, and so was the divine command to liberate them on occasions of thanks-giving, and as a penalty for certain breaches of the Sacred Law ; so that slavery would early have become extinct but for the spoils of war, and there was no

such thing as a condition of perpetual or hereditary servitude.

The slave was regarded as a son or daughter of the house, and in default of heirs, inherited the property. In the same way, the slaves of kings have often in Islam inherited the kingdom. It was no unusual thing for a man who had no male descendant to marry his daughter to his slave, who took his name and carried on the honour of his house. The devotion of the slaves to their owners and the favour which the masters showed the slaves became proverbial. And when in after days the supply of slaves by warfare ceased, and purchase was restricted in some regions, like the Caucasus, where it had been customary, many Muslims complained that kindness to slaves and emancipation of slaves was a duty enjoined upon them in the Qurân, and how could they perform that duty if no slaves existed? That of course, was a complete misapprehension of the purpose of Islam, which was to abolish slavery without a rough upheaval of society. But that is an argument which I myself have actually heard adduced to justify the cruel slave-trade with the Sûdân. The slave-trade was a horror which had no Islamic sanction.

I do not say that there were no abuses in the Muslim world, but I do say that they were not what Europeans have imagined, and had no analogy with things similarly named in Christendom; just as the slavery which existed in the Muslim world had no analogy with that of the American plantations. No colour or race prejudice existed in Islam. Black, brown, white and yellow people mingled in its marts and mosques and palaces upon a footing of complete equality and friendliness. Some of the greatest rulers, saints and sages in Islam have been men as black as coal—like Jayyâsh, the saintly king of Yaman in the period of the Abbaside decline, and Ahmad Al-Jabarti, the great historian of Egypt in the time of Arnaût Mohammad 'Ali, founder of the Khedivial dynasty. And if anyone thinks that there were no white people in that mighty brotherhood, be it known that there are no men whiter than the blonde Circassians and the mountain folk of Anatolia who very early found a place in it. It was a civilization in which there were differences of rank and wealth, but these did not correspond to class distinctions as understood in the West, much less to Indian caste distinctions.

A notable feature of this civilization was its cleanliness at a time when Europe coupled filth with sanctity. In every town there was the hammâm —public hot baths, and public fountains for drinking and washing purposes. A supply of pure water was the first consideration wherever there were Muslims. And frequent washing became so much associated with their religion that in Andalusia in 1566 the use of baths was forbidden under severe penalties, because it tended to remind the people of Islam, and an unfortunate gardener of Seville was actually tortured for the crime of having washed while at his work. I myself in Anatolia have heard one Greek Christian say of another : " The fellow is half a Muslim ; he washes his feet. "

The public food and water supplies were under strict inspection in all Muslim cities ; and meat and other damageable food exposed for sale had to be covered with muslin as a protection from dust and flies.

Intercourse was free between all classes of society, so was intermarriage ; and everybody talked to everybody.

I am speaking now of something I have seen and known, for that civilization still existed in essentials when I first went to Egypt, Syria and Anatolia. When I read Alf Leylah wa Leylah (the Arabian Nights)—most of the stories in which are of the period of the Abbaside Khilâfat though they were collected and published in Cairo some centuries later—I see the daily life of Damascus, Jerusalem, Aleppo, Cairo and the other cities as I found it in the early nineties of last century. But when I saw it, it was manifestly in decay. What struck me, even in its decay and poverty, was the joyousness of that life compared with anything that I had seen in Europe. These people seemed quite independant of our cares of life, our anxious clutching after wealth, our fear of death.

And then their charity ! No man in the cities of the Muslim empire ever died of hunger or exposure at his neighbour's gate. They undoubtedly had something which was lacking in the life of Western Europe, while they as obviously lacked much which Europeans have and hold. It was only afterwards that I learnt that they had once possessed the material prosperity which Europe now can boast, in addition to that inward happiness which I so envied. It was only long afterwards, after twenty years of study, that I came to realize that they had lost material prosperity through neglecting half the Sharî'ah,

and that anyone can find that inward happiness who will obey the other half of the Sharî'ah which they still observed.

Now let me go on with my story and tell you how the Muslim civilization came to decay.

We have seen how it survived the decadence of the Abbaside Khilâfat upheld by the strong arms of Turkish slaves ; for such was their position when they entered the Khalîfa's service, though their chiefs soon gained the title of Amîr-ul-Umara, and later of Sultân and Mālik. You may wonder how it happened that, for centuries, the civilization of Islam was altogether unaffected by this transfer of power from a cultured race to a race of comparative barbarians— nay, continued to progress in spite of it. The comparative barbarians were ardent Muslims. If they treated the Khalîfa's person often with a brutal disrespect, born of intense contempt for such a worthless creature, it was not as the Khalîfa that they so illtreated him but as a wretched sinner quite unfit to bear the title of Khalîfa of the Muslims.

As a contemporary couplet quoted by Ibn Khaldûn in his first Muqaddamah puts it : —

خليفة في قفص بين وصيف و بغا
يقول ما قالا له كما تقول الببغا

" A Khalîfah in a cage, between a boy slave and a harlot, repeating all they tell him parrotwise."

But the Khalîfah was not the Khilâfat. Though the Khalîfa might be worthless, the Khilâfat as an institution was still redoubtable, and commanded the respect of every Muslim, particularly of the simple-minded Turkish soldiers. The civilization of the Muslims had another guardian, whom the Turkish warders treated with most grave respect. This was the opinion of the 'Ulama, the learned men, expressed in the convocations of half a hundred universities, of which the delegates met together when required in council. You must not think of them as what we now call " 'Ulama," by courtesy. The proper Arabic term for the latter is " fuqaha, " and it had hardly come into general use in those days when the science which we now know as *fiqh* was still in its infancy.

The Muslim universities of those days led the world in learning and research. All knowledge was their field, and they took in and they gave out the utmost knowledge attainable in those days. The universities

of those days were, of course, different from those of modern times, but they were then the most enlightened institutions in the world. They were probably the most enlightened institutions that have ever been a part of a religion. The German Professor Joseph Hell in a little book on the Arab civilization which has lately been translated into English by Mr. S. Khuda Buksh, thus writes of them :

" Even at the universities religion retained its primacy, for was it not religion which first opened the path to learning ? The Quran, Tradition, Jurisprudence, therefore —all these preserved their pre-eminence there. But it is to the credit of Islam that it neither slighted nor ignored other branches of learning ; nay, it offered the very same home to them as it did to theology—a place in the mosque. Until the fifth century of the Hijrah the mosque was the university of Islam ; and to this fact is due the most characteristic feature of Islamic culture—perfect freedom to teach. The teacher had to pass no examination, required no diploma, no formality, to launch out in that capacity. What he needed was competence, efficiency, mastery of his subject ."

The writer goes on to show how the audience, which included learned men as well as students, were the judges of the teacher's competence and how a man who did not know his subject or could not support his study with convincing arguments could not survive their criticism for an hour, but was at once discredited.

These teachers of the Arab universities were the foremost men of learning of their age ; they were the teachers of Modern Europe. It was one of them, a famous chemist, who wrote : " Hearsay and mere assertion have no authority in Chemistry. It may be taken as an absolutely rigorous principle that any proposition which is not supported by proofs is nothing more than an assertion which may be true or false. It is only when a man brings proof of his assertion that we say : Your proposition is true."

These 'Ulama were no blind guides, no mere fanatics. The Professors of those Universities were the most enlightened thinkers of their time. In strict accordance with the Prophet's teaching, it was they who watched over the welfare of the people and pointed out to the Khalîfah anything that was being done against the rights of men as guaranteed by the Quran. It was they, indeed,

who kept down the fanatic element, discouraged persecution for religious opinion, and saved Islamic culture from deteriorating in a thousand ways. They even forced ambitious Muslim rulers, in their un-Islamic strife, to refrain from calling on the people to assist them, to fight only with the help of their own purchased slaves and to respect all crops and cattle and non-combatants. They were able, by the enormous weight of their opinion with the multitude, to punish even rulers who transgressed the Sacred Law, in a way which brought them quickly to repentance; and they exacted compensation for transgression.

The hosts of Chenghiz Khan, in their terrific inroad, destroyed the most important universities and massacred the learned men. This happened at a time when the Eastern boundaries of the Empire were but lightly guarded, the forces of the Turkish rulers having been drawn westward by the constant menace of the Crusades. Once the frontiers were passed, there was practically no one to oppose such powerful invaders. Then it was seen that another command, which is implicit in the Sharî'ah, had been forgotten or neglected: that every Muslim must have military training. So strongly was that point impressed upon the public mind that it became the chief point of the Sharî'ah in public opinion, from thenceforward till the remnant of the Muslim Empire was partitioned by the powers of Europe only the other day.

The Muslim Empire revived after the attack of Chenghiz Khan and even made fresh progress - a progress so remarkable that it once more threatened Europe as a whole, and so aroused the old crusading animosity in modern dress, which was the secondary reason of its downfall. I say the secondary reason; for the primary reason of the downfall must be sought in the Sharî'ah, among those natural laws which always must control the rise and fall of nations.

The Empire was apparently progressing, but it was progressing on the wave of a bygone impulse. The 'Ulama who sought for knowledge "even though it were in China" were no more. In their place stood men bearing the same high name of 'Ulama claiming the same reverence, but who sought knowledge only in a limited area, the area of Islam as they conceived it—not the world-wide, liberating and light-giving religion of the Qurân and the Prophet, but an Islam as narrow and hidebound as religion always

will become when it admits the shadow of a man between man's mind and God.

Islam, the religion of free thought, the religion which once seemed to have banished priestly superstition and enslavement of men's minds to other men for ever from the lands to which it came, had become —God forgive us—priest-ridden.

The pursuit of natural science had already been abandoned. All knowledge coming from without was reckoned impious, for was it not the knowledge of mere infidels ? Whereas the command was to seek knowledge even unto China, even though it be the knowledge of a heathen race. A growth of pride accompanied the cult of ignorance.

The Christian nations, which had been moved to the pursuit of science by the example of the Muslims had advanced materially just as the Muslims had advanced materially so long as they obeyed that portion of the Sharî'ah or Sacred Law which proclaims freedom of thought and exhorts to the pursuit of knowledge and the study of God's creation. The Christian nations threw off the narrow shackles of ecclesiasticism and espoused free thought, and their advance in the material field was as surprising in its way as were the conquests of the early Muslims in their way.

But before I come to my conclusion, I must mention one great assertion of the universal nature of Islam which occurred in the darkest hour that Muslims ever knew. You will find it narrated in the first chapter of Kitâb-ul-Fakhri where the author speaks of the importance of justice as a quality of the ruler according to the teaching of Islam, that when Sultan Hulaqu had taken Baghdad and held the unfortunate but worthless person of the Abbasid Khalîfa at his mercy, he put a question to the 'Ulama who had assembled at his bidding at the Mustansiriyah—a question calling for a fatwa of the Learned, a question upon the answer to which depended the fate of the Khilâfat :

ا يما ا فضل ا لسلطا ن ا لكا فر ا لعا د ل ا و ا لسلطا ن ا لمسلم ا لجا ئر

" Which is preferable (according to the Sharî'ah) the disbelieving ruler who is just or the Muslim ruler who is unjust."

The 'Ulama were sitting all aghast, at a loss what to write, when Rizauddin Ali 'ibn Tawus, the greatest and

most respected Aâlim of his time, arose and took the question paper and signed his name to the answer :

السلطان الكافر العادل

" The disbelieving ruler who is just." All the others signed the answer after him. All knew that it was the right answer ; for the Muslims cannot keep two standards, one for the professed believer and the other for the infidel when Allah, as His messenger proclaimed, maintains one standard only. His standard and His judgment are the same for all. He has no favourites. The favoured of Allah are those, whoever and wherever they may be, who keep His laws. The test is not the profession of a particular creed, nor the observance of a particular set of ceremonies ; it is nothing that can be said or performed by anybody as a charm, excusing his or her shortcomings. The test is Conduct. The result of good conduct is good, and the result of evil conduct is evil, for the nation as for the individual. That is the teaching of Islam, and never has its virtue been more plainly illustrated than in the history of the rise and decline of Muslim civilization.

The last Abbasid Khalîfa and his family were put to death most horribly, and for a little while the Mughal conqueror established his dominion over Western Asia. But in less than a generation, troubles in Persia called away the Mughals ; the Turkish chiefs revived their principalities, which the Sultan of Qonia tried in vain to bring back to their old dependency. It was then that the Osmanli Turks first came upon the scene.

The rise of the Osmanli Turks, which brought the restoration of the Muslim Empire on a larger scale than ever, has interesting analogies with the history of the House of Timûr —another Turki dynasty. The Ottoman Empire, at its zenith, was not less glorious than that of Akbar, Shâhjehân and Aurangzêb. It was then that the third great Muslim language blossomed in a literature which is utterly Islamic and yet definitely Turkish, covering all fields except the modern-scientific—an exquisite literature in an exquisite but very difficult language, which latter point —the language difficulty— is perhaps the reason why the Orientalists of to-day, as a rule, ignore it. It was then that gems of architecture, mosques and palaces arose. It was then that all the remnant of Islamic learning flocked to Brûsa, Adrianople and at last, Stambûl, the successive capitals of the Osmanli Sultans who were

munificent patrons of every kind of literary and artistic merit, themselves generally poets of distinction.

The poetry of the Ottoman Turks is, to me, strangely appealing; it is usually sad, as is but natural to a race of men who, when they thought a little deeply had always to reflect that death was near to them, but it is never despondent, and the passionate -almost desperate—love of nature it displays is really sincere, a characteristic of the people. The most characteristic productions of Turkish literature have an affinity with what I have read, — though in translations only -of Chinese literature. But it is their beautiful home life to which I should point to if asked to indicate the greatest contribution of the Turks to Muslim culture; it has or had, for I am speaking of before the war—in common with their poetry, the nobility and depth which everything acquires for those who are prepared to die at any minute for a cause which they regard as worthy; and the way they went to death, and the way their women bore it,—the dignity, the grace of every action of their daily lives -those are achievements every nation in the world might envy.

The Osmanli Turks were soldiers first, poets second, politicians third, and theologians fourth. It was not their fault if they took the word of others in the matter of religion. The language of religion was Arabic, and only learned men among them knew Arabic, though all were taught to recite the Qurân, " for a blessing ," that is, without thought or understanding of the meaning, as a sort of charm. They were soldierly in all they did, and they trusted their spiritual experts as they trusted their military experts. The people were contented in the decline as they had been in the prime of the civilization, for the decline came gradually, imperceptibly, and affected all alike; nor were they conscious of the deterioration which had actually taken place, since all the accustomed paraphernalia still existed, with a shadow of the former pomp.

The schools, primary and secondary, still existed; so did the universities, but they were now engaged in teaching, the former the Qurân without the meaning, the latter all the hair-splitting niceties of Fiqh—religious jurisprudence -a science of great use to every Muslim, but taught in such a way as to imprison the intelligence. The machinery of justice, sanitation, police and public works still existed, only it had ceased to function properly. It was not until some Powers of Europe began to interfere

in order to improve the status of the Christian subjects of the Porte that the Turks became aware that they had dropped below the standard of the times. It was only after they had met a modern army in the field that they realised that their whole military system and equipment was now antiquated and then, to do them justice, the Turks tried with all their might to recover the lost ground.

If they were the leaders, all unconscious, in the decadence of Islam, they became afterwards the conscious leaders in the struggle for revival. The Turkish literature of the last fifty years is altogether different from the older Turkish literature. From the poetic works of Nâmiq Kamâl and Ekrem full of patriotic ardour, to the remarkable work of the late prince Sa'îd Halîm Pasha entitled "Islamlashmaq" (Islamise), in which the principles of the Sharî'ah are expounded in modern terms and shown to be somewhat different from those taught by its alleged exponents, and leading to quite different consequences, the modern Turkish literature is all progressive and constructive. It is full of hope in spite of the terrific ordeals the Turkish nation and the Muslim Empire had to undergo. Alghâzilar, the warriors of Islam are still heroes, and the قانلی کفن "the bloody shroud" is still the guerdon of the bravest of the brave; but the Jihâd which is celebrated is no longer in defence of a dying empire, it is the true Jihâd of Islam, the Jihâd of human freedom, human progress, human brotherhood in all allegiance to Allah.

The Turkish revolution was the small beginning of a great revival of Islam, of which the signs can now be seen in every quarter of the Muslim world. Every one now sees that ecclesiasticism —or scholasticism, if you prefer the word, it is more accurate —was the cause of the decline, and that Islam, as planted in the world, requires all available light and knowledge for its sustenance. The Muslims must seek knowledge even though it be in China. Islam can never thrive in darkness and in ignorance.

BROTHERHOOD.

يا ا يها الذ ين ا منو ا تقو ا الله حق تقا ته و لا تمو تن ا لا و ا نتم مسلمو ن

و ا عتصمو ا بحبل ا لله جميعا و لا تفرقو ا و ا د كر و نعمة ا لله عليكم ا ذ

كنتم ا عد ا آ ء فا لف بين قلو بكم فا صبحتم بنعمه ا خو ا نا و كنتم على شفا

حفر ة من ا لنا ر فا نقذ كم منها كذ ا لك يبين ا لله ا يا ته لعلكم تهتد و ن

" O ye who believe ! Observe your duty to Allah with right observance, and die not till ye have surrendered (unto Him).

" And hold fast, all of you together, to the cable of Allah, and do not separate. And remember Allah's favour unto you : how ye were enemies and He made friendship between your hearts so that ye became as brothers by His grace ; and (how) ye were on the brink of an abyss of fire, and He did save you from it. Thus Allah maketh clear his revelations unto you in order that ye may be guided."

These two verses of the Holy Qurân are a reminder of the progress already made in a few months owing to the advent of Islam, and a command to all the Muslims to continue in the way of progress by clinging to the cable of Allah, the Sacred Law, and never again to return to the unhallowed state. of warring tribes and hostile classes which had reached such a pitch as to threaten human culture in Arabia with complete destruction. Our Prophet (may God bless and keep him !) said : The Muslims are as a wall, one part supporting another. The Muslims are all one body. If the eye is injured the whole body suffers, and if the foot is injured, the whole body suffers.

In his speech from Jabal Arafât to a great multitude of men, who but a few months or years before had all been conscienceless idolators on the occasion of the Hajjat al Wadâ' " the farewell pilgrimage," his last visit to Mecca, he said :

" O people, listen to my words with understanding for I know not whether, after this year, I shall ever be among you in this place :

" Your lives and property are sacred and inviolable one to another until you appear before your Lord, even as this day and this month are sacred for all. And remember you will have to appear before your Lord who will demand from you an account of all your acts.

" The Lord hath prescribed to every man his share of inheritance ; no testament to the prejudice of heirs is lawful.

" The child belongeth to the parent, and the violator of wedlock shall be stoned.

"Whoever falsely claimeth another for his father or his master, the curse of God and of the angels and of all mankind shall be upon him.

"O people, ye have rights over your wives and your wives have rights over you. It is their duty not to break their wifely faith, nor commit any act of manifest indecency. If they do so ye have authority to confine them in separate rooms and to punish them but not severely. But if they refrain, clothe them and feed them properly. Treat your women with loving kindness, for they are with you as prisoners and captives. They have no power over anything that concerneth them. Lo, ye have taken them on the security of Allah and made their persons lawful to you by the words of Allah.

"Be faithful to the trust imposed on you, and shun transgression.

"Usury is forbidden. The debtor shall return only the principal; and the beginning will be made with the loans of my uncle 'Abbâs son of Abdul Mutallib.

"Henceforth the vengeance for blood practised in the Time of Ignorance is forbidden, and the feud of blood is abolished, beginning with the murder of my cousin Rabîa' ibn Hârith ibn Abdul Mutallib.

"And your slaves! See that ye feed them with such food as ye yourselves eat, and clothe them with the stuff that ye yourselves wear; and if they commit a fault which ye are not ready to forgive, then part with them, for they are servants of your Lord, and must not be ill-treated. The slaves who say their prayers are your brothers.

"O people! Listen to my words and understand them. Know that all Muslims are brothers one to another; ye are one fraternity. No thing belonging to one of you is lawful to his brother unless given out of free goodwill. Guard yourselves from committing injustice.

"Let him that is present tell it to him who is absent. Haply he who shall be told will remember better than him who hath heard."

At the end of his discourse, the Holy Prophet, moved by the sight of the devotion of that multitude, most of

whom had been the enemies of Islam but a little while ago, exclaimed :—

" O Lord, I have delivered my message, and accomplished my work. "

The hosts below made answer with one voice :

" Aye, that thou hast ! "

He said :

" O Lord, I beseech Thee, be Thou witness to it ! "

Had ever man such fulness of success ? Was ever man more humble in his hour of triumph ?

Notice how Muhammad (God bless him !) never was content with precept. He always strengthened precept with example. Though he had become, in fact, the Emperor of Arabia, he never sat upon a throne and issued edicts. He was always one among his people, his leadership being that of the Imâm before the congregation, setting the example, foremost in obedience to the law which he himself proclaimed. When he proclaimed the brotherhood of Muslims he did not exempt himself. He was, and is, the elder brother of all Muslims. Of all he taught he is the great example.

Now this subject of human brotherhood is one upon which the Muslims have no apologies to make to any other creed or nation or community. Here they have a great achievement, as clearly visible to-day as when the Prophet spoke, to show for an example to the nations.

Other religious communities declare their belief in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, but they have shown no practical result of that belief to help a struggling world ; so little help has their ideal been that the struggling world, in its convulsive efforts to escape from misery has turned its back upon religion as one of its oppressors, and sought help in other humanistic formulas, associated, through reliance on a false analogy, not with religion but with atheism or agnosticism—" Liberty, equality, fraternity "—the materialistic gospel of Karl Marx, and so forth.

" Liberty, equality, fraternity. " Which is practicable ? Liberty and equality in human society, must always be only relative, for they are positively unattainable. The liberty of an individual or a nation must be bounded by the liberties of neighbouring individuals or nations, and opinions differ as to what constitutes liberty

and equality. To talk about the rights of man as something intrinsic, existing apart from man's position in society, is to talk nonsense, from our Muslim point of view. Man was not born with rights. He was born with instincts and gifts. He acquires rights only as he learns to curb and to control those instincts and to use those gifts for the common weal. His rights are in exact proportion to the duties he performs, and otherwise have no existence.

To claim equality for all men is absurd, and to seek to enforce it is to seek to paralyse humanity. To claim liberty for all men is to claim a thing concerning the nature and measure of which people hold widely divergent opinions, and will, moreover, fight for their opinions. One man's ideal of liberty is the British Constitution, and another's is the Soviet System.

In the strife about liberty and equality, fraternity is quite forgotten and grows more remote than ever. But fraternity is attainable wherever men of honest purpose and goodwill agree together to obey a certain code of laws religiously. Yet, to look at the past history and the present condition of the world, we might think it a Utopia, if it were not for the example of Islam. It is this that makes one inclined to propound the axiom that no real democracy in the shape of human brotherhood can exist anywhere apart from the ideal of Theocracy.

The Prophet of Nazareth brought an ideal of human brotherhood; which depends practically on the ideal of theocracy which prevailed among the Jews. Consequently, it was never put in practice, since theocracy has never been the system of Government, much less the basis of society, in Christendom.

Our Prophet not only proclaimed the fact of universal human brotherhood, but, for the first time in the history of the world, made of it a principle and fact of common law. All the ordinances of Islam tend towards it, and it is shown to be the only ground of genuine human progress. Social inequality remained; there remained those restrictions upon individual liberty which must exist in every organized society. But brotherly relations were established permanently between men and nations however different in character and rank and wealth and power. "The slaves who say their prayers are your brothers." And it was no mere pious phrase. They were actually so treated. In the intercourse between nations also there was established a brotherhood which still endures. The

spirit of aggressive nationality was abolished among Muslims by our Prophet's saying :

" He is not of us who sides with his tribe in aggression, and he is not of us who calls others to help him in tyranny, and he is not of us who dies while assisting his tribe in injustice."

Islam became a super-nationality which extinguished nationalism in the body of Islam, and made the idea of a man's fighting for " his country right or *wrong* " appear a madness of the Time of Ignorance, as the period in Arabia before the coming of Muhammad (God bless him !) is called. He also said that an Ethiopian slave who does right is more worthy to be made the ruler than a Sharîf of Quraish who does wrong. Social service was acknowledged as the strongest claim to the respect and reverence of the community—a claim much stronger than the claim of birth or riches or brute force.

" Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you. "

How can you bring that maxim home to stupid individuals (and most individuals are made obtuse to social truth of this kind by self-interest) except by making them feel when they do wrong to others exactly what those others felt when wrong was done to them. Hence the law of strict retaliation, which some people seem to think in some way cruel. It is not cruel, as enjoined on Muslims, who are forbidden to go beyond the measure of the criminal's own deed. They are forbidden to make an example in punishment—that is to punish a criminal more ruthlessly than his crime demands with the idea of deterring others or intimidating them. لا لمثلة و لو بكلب عقور ! يا لئيم "Woe to you if ye indulge in exemplary punishment even of a rabid dog." Strict justice in retaliation is the only example in punishment which has genuine human value.

The laws of Allah as revealed in the Qurân are simply that maxim " Do unto others, etc.," extended to collective as well as individual human conduct, codified and reasoned out in detail in such a way that the ignorant and the intelligent, the nation and the individual, alike can know for certain what their duty is in given circumstances. Usury is anti-social, is unbrotherly, because it is to take a mean advantage of a brother's need, wherefore it is written :

يمحق الله الربوا و يربى الصدقات و الله لا يحب كل كفار اثيم

" Allah maketh usury barren and alms-giving fruitful. Allah loveth not any impious and guilty (creature). "

To hoard up riches also is anti-human, therefore the Muslim is adjured to spend of the wealth which God has given him all that is superfluous العفو —*i.e.*, in excess of his own requirements. The verse which I just quoted concerning usury contains a truth which many people have lost sight of in these days. It is that the rush for riches does not increase the sum of human culture or human happiness, which can only be done by the equitable circulation and continual dispersal of wealth—that is to say, by discouraging the greed of individuals and encouraging their generosity.

Many, even among Muslims, to-day speak of the law against usury as antiquated. Such people cannot have looked on the pageant of the present day with seeing eyes. A good part of the business transactions of modern life, which the law of Islam forbids if strictly interpreted, seem harmless enough when compared with the more outrageous forms of usury which every decent human being would condemn. As a substitute for the worst usury, the present financial system seems desirable. But its general social influence, upon the whole, has, been against fraternity. Why do socialism, communism, syndicalism to-day threaten the whole structure of the capitalist order of society—an order of society which has had a bare century of existence, and which its supporters are now hurrying to bolster up with tardy measures for the relief of suffering *majorities*? Why was it that when Bolshevism came to power in Russia the first thing that it did was to abolish interest? Why is it that the abolition of interest is included in every Socialist programme and Utopia? It is because the capitalist form of society is founded upon usury, and that is held by the thinkers opposed to it to be the reason why it is productive of so much social evil and injustice.

Trade is licensed by the Sharî'ah, which strictly forbids usury. Here it is well to remember that the kind of trade licensed by the Qurân was not the ruthless profiteering trade of modern times, much of which, in my opinion, must be classed as usury, in the Islamic sense, in so far as it takes unfair advantage of the crying needs of men and women. Drunkenness is anti-social; gambling is anti-social. Therefore the use of intoxicating liquor is forbidden, so are games of chance. Private

property is sanctioned in Islam and strongly safeguarded; but the idea of property as belonging absolutely to the individual, to do exactly what he likes with it, and to leave it by bequest to whom he likes, is anti-social, therefore it is discountenanced. All property is a trust from God, and is held upon conditions clearly stated in the Sacred Law. A certain portion of the income must be paid out to the poor, a certain portion to the community, every year. And when a man dies his property must be divided among certain relatives, women as well as men, in fixed proportions.

Aggressive nationalism is anti-human, therefore it was abolished, as already mentioned. Race and colour prejudices disappear completely in the Muslim brotherhood, and the differences of class are purged of arrogance or humiliation, and reduced to differences of occupation. Islamic civilization is a complete system, covering every field of human thought and action from the spiritual to the menial—a system which has been tried in practice with success.

I have traced the decline of Muslim civilization in my previous lecture and have shown that its cause is to be found in the neglect of certain precepts of the Sacred Law. The system of civilization is nowhere to be found completely operative to-day. But there is one respect in which the Muslim community is as far ahead of the rest of the world as it was in the days of 'Umar (رضي الله عنه), or the second Umar, or Harûn-ar-Rashîd, or Salâh-ud-dîn, or Suleymân the Magnificent, and that is brotherhood.

Where, in the whole history of the world, will you find anything to compare with this great brotherhood of all sorts and conditions of human beings, bound together by a tie so strong that the fierce assaults of hostile armies, the most cunning efforts of diplomacy have failed to break it? A brotherhood composed not of a single class or nation but of innumerable classes, many nations.

A League of Nations has been started to try to do a part of the work Islam has done, to bring the varying nations into unison and frame a code of international law conducive to peace and progress. But it is starting at a disadvantage, for it admits the principles of aggressive nationalism and imperialism. It has to deal with nations which regard those anti-human principles as respectable and even noble. It is hard to see how, starting from such

a point, so handicapped, it can ever reach the true solution of the problem, which is that nations have the same rights as individuals and that the same moral laws and standards must be applied to them as are applied in the case of individuals. The Islamic brotherhood should be the model of the League of Nations, for here the peoples are at heart united. Shattered though the Muslim realm has been politically, the solidarity of the peoples remains unimpaired, unbroken. Some critics, seeing it, hold firm against all pressure from without, exclaim : " The Muslims, even when they pretend to be nationalists, have no patriotism, only fanaticism. " They would have us exchange our super-national outlook for the outlook of aggressive nationality. If Muslims did that, they would indeed (in the words of the Qurân) " barter that which is best for that which is lowest " as surely as did Bani Israîl of old. Islam is thirteen hundred years ahead of Europe in such matters.

There are certain ordinances, the observance of which tends to preserve and to extend this universal brotherhood of Islam ; which is without comparison, for it has bound together black and white and brown and yellow people in complete agreement and equality, has reconciled the claims of rich and poor, the governor and the governed, slave and free. One of the most important of them is the daily and the weekly prayers in congregation, where all Muslims of every degree stand as equals in humility, and the Imâm, the leader, is chosen not for rank or wealth, but piety. Another is the yearly pilgrimage—a most important institution to the culture of Islam, which is often quoted by opponents as a proof that Islam is hopelessly behind the times—these pleasure-seeking times ! On the pilgrimage, Kings, peasants, nobles, workmen, rich and poor, all wear the same coarse clothing, perform the same ceremonies in the same way, equal as all mankind are equal in the hour of death. Every Muslim who is able to do so, without injury to those dependent on him has to make the pilgrimage at least once in his life, has to make his will, arrange his worldly business, forsake his home and occupation, and embark upon a long and tedious journey for no earthly gain. There are people in the world who think that useless. I do not.

Then there is the fast of Ramadhân, the yearly month of training, when every Muslim who is not sick or on a journey has to fast in the strictest sense of the word

from dawn till after sunset. The king, the peasant—everybody. There are people in the world who think that senseless. I do not; nor will any one who takes the trouble to reflect a little on the rough vicissitudes of human life and on the kind of training men require to face them manfully. All men worthy of the name must prepare themselves to become soldiers on emergency—most of all those who stand for principles essential to the progress of humanity.

In reality, all these ordinances do but ring the changes on the Prophet's saying:—

موتوا قبل ان تموتوا "Die before you die" the sacrifice of man's will to the will of God as revealed in the Qurân and manifested in creation, which is Islam itself. In the daily prayers, the prayer-mat signifies the grave, the ruku (bowing) means submission to the will of God as Sovereign of this world, and the Sujūd (prostration) is a figurative death, surrender to our Lord as Monarch of the Day of Judgment.

In Ramadhân, the Muslim changes his whole round of life, and rich and poor endure the pangs of hunger till, when sunset comes, the king gives heartfelt thanks to God for such a simple matter as a glass of water.

In the pilgrimage the Muslim goes as to his death, having settled all his worldly business, paid up all his debts, made his will and freed himself from earthly cares.

Life, with its pleasures and pursuits divides mankind and makes men rivals, enemies. Death—the mighty leveller, as it has been called—makes all men brothers. It is a perpetual warning, set before all of us, never to forget that all are brothers in the sight of God, and that our pride, ambition, wealth and power, all that here makes distinction between man and man, will fall from us when we reach that awful boundary. Death is, indeed, the most important fact of life, and a scheme of life which strove to ignore or belittle it, would be misleading. At the same time, to spend one's life in contemplation of the fact of death would be to neglect the duties of this world, of which Allah is King as much as of the others. Islam presents us with a way of life, by following which men lose the fear of death and view it in its true perspective. And the way is joyous, anything but gloomy. These things are simple for the simple, and profound for men of intellect. For all, they are the firmest ground of human brotherhood.

Islam is, as I have said, in this matter of fraternity, as far ahead of the rest of the world to-day as it was in its days of splendour. By that I do not mean that there has been no falling off, but merely that, nowhere else is to be found even the smallest attempt at such a human brotherhood. There has been falling off, and, as in every other case where Muslim culture has declined, it can be traced to the neglect of some provision of the Sharî'ah. In this case it is due to the neglect of Zakâh—the Muslim poor rate. The Arabic word *Zakah* means growth by cultivation. When Zakâh was regularly collected and distributed and any surplus put into the Beyt-ul-Mâl, a sort of bank which backed the efforts of the whole community, we read that there were no needy Muslims. In countries where it is still regularly collected and distributed—as, for instance, Najd—there are no needy Muslims. In countries where it is neglected they abound. This neglect and the consequent misfortune of the Muslim brotherhood is not the fault of the people. It is the fault of the despotic Governments of former days who took all such matters out of the people's control, and so in time deprived them of initiative, making them wait for Government officials to do things for them, even things which it was their Muslim right and duty to do for themselves. It should be the first care of every group of Muslims who seek progress to revive Zakâh and the Beyt-ul-Mâl with proper safeguards.

Indeed they would do well to study the whole Muslim system of finance. People seem to think that there was no such thing, that Muslims are by nature unbusiness-like, and that there was never a Muslim financier till English training gave us Mr. Hydari.

There were many great Muslim financiers, and the Muslim system of finance was a complete system. Only it is difficult for modern men of affairs even to begin to understand it, because its aim was not private profit or State profit, but public benefit, the welfare and progress of the whole Muslim brotherhood. It was a potent factor in the success of the Muslim civilization, and the decline of that civilization synchronised with the gradual neglect of it. Books have been written on it by Western Orientalists —notably a large volume by an American University Professor who treats it as a serious contribution to civilized thought. Being framed in strict accordance with the Sacred Law, that old Muslim system, which was prac-

tised with success in a huge Empire, is of special interest to those Muslims who find their conscience troubled by the present system of finance and commerce.

It is the surest, simplest, most effective way for building up a strong community or restoring a broken or decayed one ; but it is a way requiring some degree of sacrifice from everyone. If we obey the Sharî'ah we have to spend what God has given us, not only money but all other gifts, in God's way, not our own way. The modern world says " Save all you can, bank it, invest it, place it out at interest." The Holy Qurân says " Spend whatever remains over—" that is, after you have satisfied your needs and the needs of those dependent on you, have paid your poor rate, and bestowed a due amount in charity —and spend it in such a way as directly to benefit your fellow-men, encourage the deserving, and increase the sense of human brotherhood. It absolutely forbids usury, which means deriving profit from a brother's need, as it forbids *Israf*, which means the squandering of money or of other gifts of God on things frivolous and vain, of no real use to anyone. Some of its injunctions seem amazing at the present day until one realizes that they refer to a state of society founded not on the idea of competition but on that of brotherhood—a state of society in which no one is allowed to starve, a state of society which, so long as it existed in a flourishing condition, was the most successful that the world has ever known from the point of view of " the greatest good of the greatest number." It seems to me essential that Muslims of to-day should study carefully the proper Muslim system of finance.

Another great cause of deterioration is neglect of the command that every Muslim, male and female, shall be educated ; which neglect is nowhere so deplorably apparent as in India. In other Muslim countries—in the Turkish Empire and in Egypt, for example—a system of universal education did exist, and there were schools for everybody, before the modern education came in vogue. It was an ancient system of education, which had once been in advance of the world-standard, but had become old and somnolent and purblind. But every Muslim did at least acquire a working knowledge of the teachings of Islam and his religious duties. In India there is not even that. There are people classed as Muslims here in India who only know the Kalimah, if they know that ; who are absolutely ignorant of all religion. Then, in

every country, many were chary of admitting European knowledge and so fell behind, saw others placed above them for reasons which they could not understand, became disheartened and aggrieved—a fruitful source of poverty. All this can be remedied in time, and many are at work to remedy it. But while it is so it must dim for all onlookers the brightness of the great example of fraternity which Muslims do in truth set to the world.

Wars between Muslim potentates, differences of political opinions, divergences of race and colour do not affect this bond of brotherhood. That is something which outsiders always fail to understand. There is something in the words " I am a Muslim " and in the greeting " As-salâmu 'aleykum " which touches the heart of every other Muslim. We differ not as outside people differ radically. We differ not concerning ends but only means. The end which every Muslim has in view is the end which Islam has in view, namely, the building up of world-wide human brotherhood in allegiance to the One God. We differ only as to the way in which it is to be done ; and the spread of proper Muslim education, allowing everybody to have access to the words of the Qurân, and to compare their teaching with the requirements of the age in which we live, will very largely mitigate our differences, and remove misconceptions with regard to the scope of the Muslim brotherhood, which properly includes not only Muslims, technically so-called, but all who seek to establish the Kingdom of God on earth.

SCIENCE, ART AND LETTERS.

In this brief survey I shall, with your permission, leave out from our discussion the greatest achievement of all, the Holy Qurân itself, because in the whole cultural development of Islâm that must be taken for granted, it is not one of the achievements of Islamic culture ; it is the inspiration and the cause of all achievements.

To take Science first. The frequent appeals to human reason and exaltation of the natural above the miraculous, in the Qurân, with such clear injunctions of the Holy Prophet as those I have already quoted :

طلب ا لعلم فر يضة لكل مسلم و كل مسلمه

" To seek knowledge is a religious duty for every Muslim and every Muslimah."

ا طلبو ا لعلم و لو كا ن في ا لصين

"Seek knowledge though it be in China" and most remarkable of all, his saying:

"An hour's contemplation and study of God's creation is better than a year of adoration,"

started Muslim civilization on a basis of free thought and free inquiry in the name of Allah.

To look for scientific treatises in the Qurân or indeed in any Scripture claiming to be the word of God is futile. Divine revelation is only of laws which man is unable to find out for himself; the physical laws of nature he can find out for himself by research and experiment, and it is part of man's development and growth to make that effort after knowledge. When the infinite intelligence speaks to the limited intelligence it must be in the language of the latter's limitations, or the message would seem nonsense to the little people, who would turn away.

There are passages in the Qurân which might be taken as opposed to modern science by any one who reads them separately without the context: they are part of the intelligible language of the time; the language of to-day would have been unintelligible. On the other hand there are many passages which seem to take us to the utmost heights of human knowledge.

I quote but three of them:

و ما من د ا بة فى ا لا ر ض و لا طا ئر يطير بجنا حيه ا لا ا مم
ا مثا لكم ما فر طنا فى ا لكتا ب من شيء ثم ا لى ر بهم يحشر و ن

"And there is not an animal in the earth nor flying creature flying upon wings but is a people like unto yourselves. We have neglected nothing in the book of Our decrees. Then unto their Lord they will be gathered.

سبحا ن ا لذ ي خلق ا لا ز و ا ج كلها مما تنبت ا لا ر ض و من ا نفسهم
و مما لا يعلمو ن

"Praise be to Him who created all the wedded pairs, of that which the earth groweth, and of their own kind and of kinds which they know not."

The most recent of all scientific discoveries is that everything exists in pairs as male and female, even the rock crystals, even electricity.

And, to me, the most significant words of all, though quite beyond my fathoming, are these: "And ye shall not be judged save as a single soul." The soul of all mankind? Perhaps the soul of all created life!

The Qurân undoubtedly gave a great impetus to learning, especially in the field of natural science; and, if, as some modern writers have declared, the inductive method to which all the practical modern discoveries are chiefly owing, can be traced to it, then it may be called the cause of modern scientific and material progress.

The Muslims set out on their search for learning in the name of God at a time when Christians were destroying all the learning of the ancients in the name of Christ. They had destroyed the Library at Alexandria, they had murdered many philosophers including the beautiful Hypatia. Learning was for them a devil's snare beloved of the pagans. They had no injunction to "seek knowledge even though it were in China." The manuscripts of Greek and Roman learning were publicly burnt by the priests. The Western Romans had succumbed to barbarism. The Eastern Roman Emperors kept their library and entertained some learned men; but within their palace walls. The priests ruled everything beyond. We find the Khalîfa Al-Mâmûn making war upon the Christian Emperors of Constantinople for the sole purpose of obtaining certain ancient books and the persons of certain men of learning versed in ancient sciences. These were shut up in the Imperial Palace at Constantinople, but when they came to Baghdad their learning became useful to humanity; for those learned men, in collaboration with the learned men among the Muslims, were set to work at once on the translation of the ancient books. Thus the Muslims saved the ancient learning form destruction and passed its treasures down to modern times.

In their Chemistry—which was of course three parts Alchemy—the Muslim scientists were constantly experimenting and, what is more, recorded and compared results. Before that time such scientific knowledge as existed in the East had been jealously kept secret by its owners for their personal repute as wonder-workers. The Muslim scientists published their results and welcomed the advice and help of other scientists. They did not jump to conclusions, but worked step by step on the inductive method, which they were first to adopt; and they recorded all observed phenomena. The data which they thus obtained are the acknowledged basis of modern chemical science with its wonderful discoveries.

It was a Muslim chemist of the third Islamic century who wrote :—

> " Hearsay and mere assertion have no authority in chemistry. It may be taken as an absolutely rigorous principle that any proposition which is not supported by proofs is nothing more than an assertion which may be true or false. It is only when a man brings proof of his assertion that we say : Your proposition is true."

That chemist was no exception among Muslim men of learning of the first eight or nine centuries. All were in search of proof, all were experimenting.

In Physics they worked in the same way, experimenting and recording the results of their experiments. They were mathematicians, and geometricians. They invented Algebra as we know it. They had a very complete science of Botany as any comprehensive Arabic, Persian or Turkish Dictionary will prove. But this is so completely lost at the present day by the majority that if you ask a fairly educated Arab the name of some wild plant he will, ten to one, reply : " It is a kind of grass " or with supreme contempt : " it is a wild plant. " Only plants which have some medical use or some peculiar perfume are known by name to the majority to-day.

In Natural History, they began by following Aristotle—a blind guide to our modern thinking, but the best obtainable and generally respected in those days—but here also they observed for themselves, and noted down their observations, thus correcting Aristotle and advancing scientific knowledge.

In Geography they made a great advance. The Arabs were the greatest traders, travellers and navigators of that age, and they recorded every thing of note they met with in their travels. That part of the earth's surface which the Arabs regularly visited was pretty accurately charted, and the political, social and commercial condition of the inhabitants, with fauna, flora, exports and imports, was generally known, being taught in the schools.

In medicine both theory and practice—their achievements, were so notable that for centuries the Yūnâni system that is the Greek system translated into Arabic and enriched by the practical observations and experiments of the Arabs was accepted throughout Europe no less than Asia. I may add that the Greek contribution to this

most valuable science would have been lost but for the enterprise and learning of the Muslims.

The Muslim physicians were the first to inculcate the virtues of fresh air, and perfect cleanliness. They were the first to establish hospitals in which the patients were grouped in separate wards according to their diseases, where cleanliness and fresh air formed part of the treatment, and in which the patients' comfort was the first consideration.

In a later age—so late as the eighteenth century—the Turks gave back to Europe the knowledge of the ancients as to the benefits to be derived from mineral springs and change of air and water; and it was from Turkey in the eighteenth century that the notion of inoculation was first brought to Europe. It was among the needful things brought back by Mr. Stuart Wortley Montagu, husband of the Lady Mary whose "Letters" are of a nature to dispel false notions as to the relative barbarism of the Turks in those days.

Their Astronomy was, of course, three parts astrology, but they kept observatories fitted with instruments of some precision, and carefully recorded all their observations. The best known of these observatories are those of Spain and the particularly fine observatory at Samarcand.

Astronomers compared notes with travellers, geographers and mathematicians; and it was as the result of their combined observations, that the revolving terrestrial globe happened to be part of the educational equipment of the Spanish Muslim Universities at the time when the learned Bruno was burnt at a slow fire by the Inquisition for upholding the Copernican theory of the revolution of the earth, and before the even greater Galileo was forced by persecution to recant and sign a solemn declaration that the earth was fixed immovably as the Bible said it was. He is said to have murmured under his breath, as he put his name to the lie: "*Epur simuove.*" "And yet it moves!" It was from the teaching of the Spanish-Muslim Universities that Columbus got his notion that the world was round, though he too was forced by persecution to recant it afterwards. When we remember that the Spanish-Muslim Universities in the time of the Khalîfa Abdur Rahman III and the Eastern Muslim Universities in the time of Al Mâ'mūn—I mention these two monarchs only because it is recorded of their times—welcomed Christian and Jewish students

equally with Muslims—not only that, but entertained them at the Government expense, and that hundreds of Christian students from the south of Europe and the countries of the East took advantage of that chance to escape from ecclesiastical leading-strings, we can easily perceive what a debt of gratitude modern European progress owes to Islam, while it owes nothing whatsoever to the Christian Church, which persecuted, tortured, even burnt the learned.

Let us now turn to Art.

Painting and sculpture were restricted by universal consent to conventional designs, because of the association of the forms of living creatures with idolatrous worship. There is no direct command that I can discover either in the Qurân or in our Prophet's recorded sayings ; only he refused the request of a Persian painter to be allowed to paint his portrait and take it back to show the Persian people, for fear lest it might be idolised. It is only in loose Persia and the countries under Persian influence, and after the decadence of Islamic civilization had set in that portrait and *genre* painting flourished among Muslims and though the artistic results were in some cases remarkable, they cannot be classified as Islamic. For the same reason—their association with idolatrous worship—music and the drama came to be discouraged and despised arts. Though the delight of the common people kept music in existence, it was regarded as an accessory of feasting, hardly as an art.

The only singers in the Muslim world who were respectable were the Muezzins ; these were honoured and were highly paid when they could be persuaded to sing at social gatherings, and sang a higher class of music than the common singers. There was music and song all through the Muslim world in the great days, but it was the music of men who strum the lute and sing for pleasure, not the ponderous art of music known to modern Europe.

As for the drama, it was also disregarded from the idea that it was beneath the dignity of a Muslim to dress up and pretend to be what he was not, and utterly beneath the honour of a Muslim woman. It was left at a low level in the hands of strolling players, Greeks and Armenians. The only thing approaching drama which was usual in the Muslim world were the shadow plays. These were given at all public and domestic festivities covered a great variety of themes, and were brought to such perfection

that the most intelligent could take delight in them. It is this sort of performance that is referred to in the famous Ruba'îyah of 'Umar Khayyâm, which in Fitzgerald's translation runs :

> " We are no other than a moving row
> " Of magic shadow-shapes that come and go
> " Round with the sun-illumined lantern held
> " In midnight by the master of the show."

And the word Khayyâm : " tent-maker " reminds us of another art, highly developed in the Muslim civilization, the adornment of the inside of tents with many coloured arabesque designs and texts in intricate embroidery. The Khayyamin, the tent-makers—St. Paul, a highly educated Jew, was one of them, you will remember, —were not mere tradesmen, they were artists of much skill and fancy. I myself have witnessed many of the shadow plays —they were still going in Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt in the 'nineties and though they were then quite relegated to the common folk, I can testify to the skill with which they were displayed and to the wit and wisdom of the showmen. They were indeed among the most amusing performances I have ever witnessed.

It was only in the early nineteenth century that there was any sign of a real drama in the Muslim civilization. Then, in Persia and in Turkey, some good plays were written, but not performed, by Muslims. The performers were Armenians or Jews. And some really stirring plays, which rank as literature, were written by a learned Sheykh of Damascus upon subjects culled from Muslim life and history. I recall " Salâh-ud-din ul Ayyûbi " a historic drama on the grand scale, and a most touching and poetic little play in verse called " 'Afîfeh."

The position which the favourite actor fills in modern Western Civilization was filled in the Muslim Civilization by the famous story-teller. A wonderland of stories, marvellous and quaint, exciting, interesting, always amusing, sometimes instructive, often true to life, was woven round the people's daily business by this class of artists. The product of their art, ever since it has been gathered into books, has never in the East held rank of literature, though here and there a learned man, with conscious effort, has, *as a jeu d' esprit*, stooped to raise it for a moment to that rank, as in the case of that pecul-

iarly Arabian type of fiction known as *Maqamat.* " Maqâmah " has nearly the same meaning as " Samar, " which is the name given to the stories which delight the common folk. Both words mean sitting up at night for entertainment. But *Maqamah* applies to sittings up for entertainment in the mansions of the great, whereas " Samar" refers to the sitting up for entertainment in public coffee-houses or at corners of the street. Both " Maqâmât " and " Samar " were still in vogue in Cairo and Damascus when I first knew them. Al-Harîrî took the idea of his great work his Maqâmât, and even the name of his great rascal-hero, Abu Zeyd, from the story-cycle of Abu Zeyd al Hajjâzi which was in the repertory of the strolling story-tellers. The cycle which is the best known is that of the Thousand and One Nights, which people in the West regard as the great work of Arabic literature.

Wilfrid Blunt, in " the Stealing of the Mare, " translated part of the story-cycle of the Abu Zeyd abovementioned. But there are many other story-cycles as voluminous, and which have of recent years been published in Arabic—that of 'Antar, the pre-Islamic hero-poet, for example, who has been called the Hercules of Arabia, and that of Seyf bin Zî Yazal, the patriarch who brought the Nile to Cairo, and no end of others.

The romance of 'Antar—is a literary production if tradition tells the truth. It is said that there was once a shocking scandal in the palace of the Ruler of Egypt, and all the people in the streets kept clustering together to whisper about it. In order to give them something else to think about, the Ruler ordered a clever writer of the time to compose a story and distribute it to the public story-tellers. He chose the legend of 'Antar, the Arabian hero, the poet whose fine poem beginning

هل غادر الشعراء من متردم ام هل عرفت الدار بعد توهم

is among the seven Golden Odes of Arabia. He wrote the story in numbers, each number ending at a most exciting moment. These he gave out to the story-tellers, one by one and the story-tellers recited them at night to those who gathered round their flaming torches. Soon, we are told, the scandal in the Ruler's palace was forgotten absolutely. The people took the keenest interest in these narrations. It is told of a man who had heard part of the story of 'Antar told in a street of Damascus centuries after its first publication in Cairo, that he could not sleep that

night for thinking of poor 'Antar in the hands of the Persian enemy, and wondering how he could escape. The story-teller had left off at a most exciting point, just like a modern serial-story-writer. In the end he went and roused the story-teller and, by promising him money induced him to recite the next instalment of the story to him in the middle of the night. And so his mind had rest.

These compositions on the borderland of folk-lore and literature were regarded in the Muslim world with amusement but some measure of contempt, as the pasture of comparatively ignorant and light-minded people. But we of the modern world cannot so despise them since to them can be clearly traced the origin of the most important form of literature in the West in modern times -the art of fiction.

In Architecture -What is left for me to say about the achievements of the Muslim civilization in the field of Architecture! From the Cathedral of Cordova to the square of Samarcand, from the Alhambra to the Taj Mahal, from the little Saint's tomb, which crowns the high hill overlooking Pesth across the Danube, to the Domes of Kairojan and Cairo and the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem —which a learned German has lately called the most glorious monument to be found on earth to-day—there are as many styles of architecture as there are countries in Islamic history, and all are Islamic and all can show examples which all nations must admire, mosques, palaces, castles, schools, hospitals, pleasure-houses and above all, gardens -there is no end to the variety of the paradise which Islamic architecture has created for the lover of beauty. The Muslims of the great days were lovers of beauty before everything -beauty of shape, beauty of intricate design, beauty of colour -and because the forms associated with idolatrous worship were denied to them, they concentrated all the more upon the beauties of nature. Their works are in subtle harmony with nature, they never clash with their natural surroundings. The beauty of their vaulted buildings, and their great covered bazaars is like that of mighty caverns of the hills or the sea-shore; and objects in them have the shimmer of things seen in depths of water. Coolness in the shadow, colour in the sunshine, strength, majesty and power combined with grace and delicacy. These are the marks of Muslim architecture the world over. There were never such magnificent patrons of architecture, never such makers of gardens

never such beautifiers of landscape, as the Arab Caliphs or the Turkish Sultans or the Mughal Emperors. You all know the story of the Taj Mahal. But some of you may not know the story of Mo'tamid King of Seville, and what he did to give his living wife a little pleasure. Because his lady 'Ittimâd had once while travelling admired a snowstorm on the mountain-tops, Mo'tamid planted the whole hill above Cordova with almond-trees that she might see it clothed in snow of blossom every spring. No one who has ever seen them will forget the beauty of the Turkish and the Persian gardens, which I include here under architecture because, like the old Greek gardens, they are planned architecturally.

The art of caligraphy elaborated into intricate designs is peculiar to the Muslim world, as may be gathered from the name we give it –" Arabesque" –and very beautiful. It is entirely due to the restriction on the art of painting. The same is true of the mosaics of beautifully coloured tiles, and the exquisite flower and leaf designs in stone which distinguish Muslim architecture.

In Arabia, before the coming of Islam, there was only one form of literary composition –the poetic. The pagan Arabs excelled in poetry, and many Orientalists, on the strength of the Saba 'Mudhahhabat—the seven Golden Odes—incline to rank the few known poets of the Ignorance above all the hundreds and thousands of poets of the Muslim period. That is the view of men who prefer the music of the Shepherd's reed to that of a fine orchestra. I think I am of those who do prefer it. There is a pathos in the few examples of the poetry of the Ignorance—the very best—which very strongly appeals to me ; but from the point of view of range and culture there is no possible comparison between the work of Imru'l-Qais or 'Antar or Ka'b ibn Zuhair, for example and that of Abu'l-Tayyib Al-Mutanabbi or of any other of the greater Muslim poets. Poetry was not a gift of the gods to a chosen few ; it was the pastime and delight of all intelligent men. The mere names of the Arab poets and the Persian poets and the Turkish poets, who have left behind them verses of high merit, would fill several books.

I leave out from this survey the translated works of ancient Greek and Latin authors and the commentation on it which filled multitudes of famous books, though these have been of signal service to humanity, carrying the torch of ancient learning for the West over a gulf of a

thousand years ; but they cannot be claimed as products of Islamic civilization. Works on ethics abound, and form a class of literature, largely conventional in form and contents, of which the Arabs were particularly fond, their fondness being largely for the stately cadence of the words. Rhetoric and logic of an academic kind filled many books, which, however are generally unattractive to the modern reader. Works of philosophy abounded, all of them interesting, many of them –as, for instance, those of Al-Ghazzâli worthy of the closest study even now.

History was a science highly cultivated by the Muslims. It was ordinarily, as in Europe, an array of dates and wars and dynasties arranged for the convenience of the student's memory. But there are any number of historical works of a different character, giving intimate details, throwing light on human nature and contemporary manners, free of thought and wide of outlook. Among the Arabic writers of history who have charmed me, I must mention first " 'Umârah " the gossiping historian of the wars between Zabîd and Sana'a in the Yaman, next the Kitâb-ul-Fakhri,then Ibn-ul-Athîr, and then Ibn Khaldūn, whose view of history is so very modern that it is difficult to remember when reading him, that he lived so long ago. Nor must I forget the voluminous but most interesting Ahmad-al-Jabarti, the historian of Egypt at the time of the French occupation and Arnaūt Muhammad Ali's rise to power. These are what Europeans would call secular historians. There is, besides, the great class of historians who treat exclusively of the history of Islam. Among the more sober of these, I love Ismâîl Abu'l Fidâ, and among the more fantastic Majr-ud-dîn, the historian of the holy city of Jerusalem, the *Beyt ul-Maqdas*, as he calls it.

Then there are the many books of travel, of which Ibn Batūtah's is the best known to-day, but by no means the most useful or interesting.

I now come to classes of literature which have no counterpart outside the countries of Islam. The vast number of collections of the Sayings of the Holy Prophet, with or without comments. The peculiarity of this class of literary work is its meticulous eagerness to check and verify, to admit nothing that is not authentic. The work of the early collectors was revised and sifted by collectors of another age, authorities in every case were given, and

if a tradition seemed imperfectly supported, it was labelled "Weak." There are six collections which Sunni Muslims accept as authentic, the best known being Sahîh-ul-Bukhâri and Sahîh Muslim.

Then there is that other great volume of literature perhaps the greatest which is included under the heading "Fiqh" or Muslim Jurisprudence, which includes the laws of statecraft, the political and social laws, and rules of daily conduct, with a wealth of illustration which enlightens it; as well as the rules of 'ibâdat (worship) down to the way to fold one's arms and place one's feet and bow one's head in prayer, and the exact degree of intimacy that a man should observe with his wife. This peculiar science is a product of the ecclesiasticism or scholasticism which I have shown to be the cause of the decay of Muslim institutions. The object of its authors was to show the sufficiency of the Qurân without the light of this world. It errs in exalting the letter and neglecting the spirit, and contains much that, to a modern mind, seems very trifling. But it is not negligible, much less despicable.

It charts the detailed exploration of a field of knowledge which is absolutely necessary to the Muslims if they would succeed. Just as in the pursuit of Alchemy men lighted on the truth of chemistry, so in the pursuit of a false aim (the aggregation of Islam, the restoration of the barrier between secular and religious which Islam abolished) the learned professors of Fiqh throughout the centuries have garnered up and classified for us the whole treasure of Islamic teaching. Only one thing—the recognition that these laws were never static, but dynamic—is required to make of Fiqh the richest portion of our Muslim heritage.

Then there is another very large class of literature entirely concerned with Arabic grammar, which for Muslims ranks as one of the exact sciences—by no means a dull science as you might suppose, but a very fascinating pursuit to which many Westerners, who have touched it, have been tempted to devote their lives. No other language of the peoples who embraced Islam has such an ancient, deeply rooted and enduring structure, therefore no other language can stand the close analysis to which Arabic has been and is still being subjected without exhausting the material, that is the wonder of it. There are always new problems to be solved, and new discoveries

to be made. The Turks alone have been able to adopt the Arabic Grammar to a large extent, and that is chiefly owing to their amazing system of verbs, and particularly gerunds. This science being closely connected with the study of the Holy Qurân, and bringing light to bear upon that study, has always held high rank among Islamic peoples. Browning's glorification of the Grammarian in his poem, "The Grammarian's Funeral," would be natural in a Muslim poet treating of an Arabic grammarian. As compared with the science of the Arabs, we Europeans, most of all we English, have no Grammar at all.

I have merely touched on a few salient points in this immensely interesting and vast subject. In conclusion, I will name another class of purely Muslim literature—again a huge one, and with many subdivisions—I mean that which deals with Tasawwaf, the means by which a man in this world can make personal approach to God. Most moderns seem to think that the existence of God is debatable. The Muslim does not think so, for his belief in God is based not on faith alone but also on his personal experience. And the Sūfi writers have described that experience with a critical exactness which would satisfy the Psychical Research Society. In days when the Western world is so much interested in attempts to demonstrate the existence of the spirit-world and establish relations with it, this natural science (for it is a science, and, I think, as natural as any other which aims at the improvement of man's status and enlargement of his mental vision) is one that deserves more notice than is generally given to it. Some of the best Philosophy, the deepest thought and the most splendid poetry which Islamic culture has produced is to be found in this class of literature. I speak only of that portion of it that I know, which is the Arabic and Turkish portion. The Persian is more widely known and advertised, but the Arabs would reject much of it as too imaginative, and not characterised by the sobriety of thought and scientific accuracy, proper to the treatment of so high a subject. Certain it is that many Sufis of the Persian tradition have become schismatics and led many astray which has never been the case with those of the Arabic tradition. Indeed, Persia, though a land of gorgeous poetry and varied culture has always been a source of false Islamic inspirations. The Persian mind seeks ecstasy even at the cost of truth, whereas the Arab and the Turkish mind seeks truth even at the cost of disillusionment. True Sufism is the spirit as

against blind worship of the letter of Islam and the true Sufis have kept the spirit alive and pure through days when the majority of Muslims saw the letter only. I would recommend the study of this scientific Sufism—the sober Arab sort—especially to the European spiritualists who, in their search to find the evidences of life after death, aim low at intercourse with departed spirits. Study of this science would tell them that the only spirits of the dead which are in a position to answer to their call are the less fortunate whose sins attach them to this world for some time after they are disembodied. Study of this science might inspire in them a higher aim, and spare them many disappointments.

Muslim art and literature, even in the darkest period, have never died ; but natural science was quite dead among the Muslims for about two centuries. Muslim literature began to revive about the middle of the nineteenth century. In Turkey, Syria and Egypt there has been a great revival with the spread of printing. I have already spoken in a former lecture of the very interesting modern literature of Turkey. In Egypt and Syria there has been a reblossoming of almost the whole field which we have just surveyed, from Fiqh and tasawwuf on the one hand, to the wonders of the story-tellers on the other, with the addition of any number of translations of the modern literary works of Europe, good, bad and indifferent. But the books which have had the greatest influence are books expounding the great laws of Fiqh in reasonable style. Here in India, also, we see a revival of Muslim literature centering around disputed points of Fiqh. In Hyderabad, the foundations of a new era of culture, associated with a new literary language—Urdu—which may come to be the fourth great language of Islam—have been well and truly laid by the great Muslim ruler whom it is my privilege to serve. Everywhere there are signs of the beginning of a great revival which, please God, will place Islam once more in a position to fulfil its mission in the world.

TOLERANCE

THERE is a quality which one associates with a high degree of human culture, and that is tolerance. One of the commonest chargesbrought against the Islâm historically and as a religion by Western writers is that it is intolerant. This is turning the tables with a vengeance when one remembers various facts—one remembers that not a Muslim

is left alive in Spain or Sicily or Apulia. One remembers that not a Muslim was left alive and not a mosque left standing in Greece after the great rebellion in 1821. One remembers how the Muslims of the Balkan peninsula, once the majority, have been systematically reduced with the approval of the whole of Europe, how the Christians under Muslim rule have in recent times been urged on to rebel and massacre the Muslims, and how reprisals by the latter have been condemned as quite uncalled for. One remembers how the Jews were persecuted throughout Europe in the Middle Ages, what they suffered in Spain after the expulsion of the Moors; what they suffered in Czarist Russia and Poland even in our own day; while in the Muslim Empire Christians and Jews had liberty of conscience and full self-government in all internal affairs of their communities.

In Spain under the Ummayad and in Baghdad under the Abbâsid Khalîfâs, Christians and Jews, equally with Muslims, were admitted to the schools and Universities—not only that, but were boarded and lodged in hostels at the cost of the State. When the Moors were driven out of Spain, the Christian conquerors held a terrific persecution of the Jews. Those who were fortunate enough to escape fled, some of them to Morocco and many hundreds to the Turkish Empire where their descendants still live in separate communities, and still speak among themselves an antiquated form of Spanish. The Muslim Empire was a refuge for all those who fled from persecution by the Inquisition; and though the position which the Jews and Christians occupied there was inferior to that of Muslims it was infinitely to be preferred to the fate of any Muslim, Jews or Heretics—nay even any really learned and enlightened man—in contemporary Europe. The Western Christians, till the arrival of the encyclopædists in the eighteenth century, did not know, and did not care to know, what the Muslims believed, nor did the Western Christians seek to know the views of Eastern Christians with regard to them. The Christian Church was already split in two, and in the end, it came to such a pass that the Eastern Christians, as Gibbon shows, preferred Muslim rule, which allowed them to practise their own form of religion and adhere to their peculiar dogmas, to the rule of fellow-Christians who would have made them Roman Catholics or wiped them out. The Western Christians called the Muslims pagans, paynims even idolators—there are plenty of books in which they are de-

scribed as worshipping an idol called Mahomet or Mahomud, and in the accounts of the conquest of Granada there are even descriptions of the monstrous idols which they were alleged to worship — whereas the Mulsims knew what Christianity was, and in what respects it differed from Islam. If Europe had known as much of Islam, as Muslims knew of Christendom, in those days, those mad, adventurous occasionally chivalrous and heroic, but, utterly fanatical outbreaks known as the Crusades could not have taken place, for they were based on a complete misapprehension. To quote a learned French author: Every poet in Christendom considered a Mohammedan to be an infidel and an idolator, and his gods to be three; mentioned in order, they were Mahome or Mahova or Mohammad, Opolane and the third Termogond. It was told that when in Spain the Christians overpowered the Mohammadans and drove them as far as the gates of the city of Saragossa, the Mohammadans went back and broke their idols. A Christian poet of the period says that Opolane the "God" of the Mohammadans, which was kept there in a den was awfully belaboured and abused by the Mohammadans, who, binding it hand and foot, crucified it on a pillar, trampled it under their feet and broke it to pieces by beating it with sticks; that their second God Maho they threw in a pit and caused to be torn to pieces by pigs and dogs, and that never were Gods so ignominously treated; but that afterwards the Mohammadans repented of their sins, and once more reinstated their Gods for the accustomed worship, and that when the Emperor Charles entered the city of Saragossa he had every mosque in the city searched and had "Muhammad and all their Gods broken with iron hammers." That was the kind of "history" on which the populace in Western Europe used to be fed. Those were the ideas which inspired the rank and file of the crusaders in their attacks on the most civilised peoples of those days. Christendom regarded the outside world as damned eternally, and Islam did not. There were good and tenderhearted men in Christendom who thought it sad that any people should be damned eternally, and wished to save them by the only way they knew—conversion to the Christian faith. The mission of St. Francis of Assisi to the Muslims and its reception, vividly illustrate the difference of the two points of view. So does the history of the Crusades of St. Louis against Egypt which also had conversion as its object. A very interesting illustration

of this point is to be found among the records of the Society of Friends commonly called the Quakers. It was the subject of an artist by Mabel Brailsford in the Manchester Guardian in Novermber 1912.

In Charles II's reign a young English woman who had been a servant-girl, became an active member of the Society of Friends and suffered persecution on that account. She was twice flogged in England for protesting against Church customs of the day. She, with two other Quakers, went to preach in New England, as the American colonies were then called. There they were thrown into prison on a charge of witchcraft and released only after many hardships. After her return to England she set with five other Quakers to convert the Grand Signior, as the Sultan of Turkey was called. In the journey across Europe her companions fell into the hands of the Inquisition, and only one of them was ever heard of afterwards. He returned to England after many years, a gibbering madman. She after much precaution and annoyance, pursued her journey quite alone, took ship at Venice and was put ashore on the coast of the Morea, far from the place she wished to go to, but in Muslim territory. From thence she walked all the way to Adrianople, but she need not have gone on foot, for from the moment she set foot in the Muslim Empire presecution was at an end. Everybody showed her kindness; the Government Officials helped her on her way; and when she reached Adrianople, where the Sultan Bayazid was then encamped and asked for audience of the Emperor, saying that she brought a message to him from Almighty God, the Sultan received her in State, according her all the honours of an ambassador. He and his courtiers listened with grave courtesy to all she had to say, and, when she finished speaking, said it was the truth, which they also believed. The Sultan asked her to remain in his country as an honoured guest or, at least, if she must depart, to accept an escort worthy of the dignity of one who carried a message of the Most High. But she refused, departing as she had come, on foot and alone, and so reached Constantinople, without the least hurt or hindrance, and there took passage on a vessel bound for England. It was not until the Western nations broke away from their religious law that they became more tolerant; and it was only when the Muslims fell away from their religious law that they declined in tolerance and other evidences of the highest culture. Therefore the difference evident in that anecdote is not of

manners only but of religion. Of old tolerance had existed, here and there, in the world, among enlightened individuals ; but those individuals had always been against the prevalent religion. Tolerance was regarded as unreligious, if not irreligious. Before the coming of Islam it had never been preached as an essential part of religion.

For the Muslims, Judaism, Christianity and Islam are but three forms of one religion, which in its original purity was the religion of Abraham Al-Islam, that perfect self-surrender to the will of God, which is the basis of Theocracy. The Jews, in their religion, after Moses, limited God's mercy to their chosen nation and thought of His Kingdom as the dominion of their race.

Even Christ himself, as several of his sayings show, for instance when he asked if it were meet to take the children, bread and throw it to the dogs, and when he declared that he was sent to the lost sheep of the House of Israel—seemed to regard his mission as to the Hebrews only ; and it was only after a special vision vouchsafed to St. Peter that his followers in after days considered themselves authorised to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles.

The Christians limited God's mercy to those who believed certain dogmas, and thought of His Kingdom on earth as a group apart from the main stream of this world's life—the aggregate of devout Christians. Everyone who failed to hold the dogmas was an outcast or a miscreant, to be persecuted for his or her soul's good. In Islâm only is manifest the real nature of the kingdom of God.

ا ن ا لذ ين ا منوا و ا لذ ين ها دوا و ا لنصارى و ا لصا بئين من ا من با لله
و ا ليوم الاخر و عمل صا لحاً فلهم ا جر هم عند ربهم ولا خوف عليهم و لا هم يحزنون

" Verily those who believe, and those who keep the Jew's religious rule, and Christians, and Sabæans—whosoever believeth in Allah and the Last Day, and doeth right—their reward is with their Lord ; and there shall no fear come upon them, neither shall they suffer grief."

و قا لوا لن يد خل ا لجنة ا لا من كا ن هود ا او نصا رى تلك ا ما نيهم قل
ها تو برها نكم ا ن كنتم صا د قين بلى من ا سلم و جهه لله و هو محسن فله ا جر ه
عند ر به و لا خوف عليهم و لا هم يحز نون

" They say ; none entereth in Paradise unless he be a Jew or a Christian. Such are their vain desires. Say : Bring your proof (of that which ye asserteth) if ye be truthful.

" Nay, but whosoever surrendereth his purpose to Allah while doing good (to men), surely his reward is with his Lord ; and there shall no fear come upon them, neither shall they suffer grief."

And again :

وقالوا كونوا هوداً او نصارى تهتدوا قل بل ملة ابراهيم حنيفاً وما كان من المشركين قولوا امنا بالله وما انزل الينا وما انزل الى ابراهيم واسمعيل واسحاق ويعقوب والاسباط وما اوتى موسى وعيسى وما اوتي النبيون من ربهم لانفرق بين احد منهم ونحن له مسلمون

فان امنوا بمثل ما امنتم به فقد اهتدوا وان تولوا فانما هم في شقاق فسيكفيكهم الله وهو السميع العليم

" They say : Be Jews or Christians then will ye be rightly guided. Say : Nay, but (ours is) the religion of Abraham the man by nature upright and he was not of those who ascribe partners (to Allah). Say : We believe in Allah and in that which is revealed unto Abraham and Ishmael and Issac and the tribes, and that which was given to Moses and Jesus and that which was given to the Prophets. We make no difference between any of them, for we are those who have surrendered (unto him).

And if they believe in the like of that which ye believe, then are they already rightly guided ; and if they are averse, then are they in opposition. Allah will suffice thee (for defence) against them. He is All Hearing, All-Knowing."

And yet again :

الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاخذه سنة ولا نوم له ما في السموات وما في الارض من ذا الذي يشفع عنده الا باذنه يعلم ما بين ايديهم وما خلفهم ولا يحيطون بشيء من علمه الا بما شاء وسع كرسيه السموات والارض ولا يؤوده حفظهما وهو العلي العظيم لا اكراه في الدين قد تبين الرشد من الغي فمن يكفر بالطاغوت ويؤمن بالله فقد استمسك بالعروة الوثقى لا انفصام لها والله سميع عليم

" Allah ! There is none to be worshipped save Him, the Alive, the Enduring. Age and slumber come not nigh Him. His is all that is in the heavens and that all that is in the earth. Who is he that intercedeth with Him save by His leave. He knoweth all that is in front of them and all that is behind them, while they encompass nothing of His knowledge save what He will. His throne extended beyond the Heavens and the Earth, and He is never weary of preserving them. He is the Sublime, the Tremen-

dous." "There is no compulsion in religion. The right direction is henceforth distinct from error. And who so rejecteth vain superstitions and believeth in Allah hath grasped a firm handle which will not give way. Allah is All-hearing, All-Knowing."

The two verses are supplementary. Where there is that realisation of the Majesty and dominion of Allah, there is no compulsion in religion. Men choose their path —allegiance or opposition —and it is sufficient punishment for those who oppose that they draw further and further away from the light of truth.

What Muslims do not generally consider is that this law applies to our own community just as much as to the folk outside, the laws of Allah being universal; and that intolerance of Muslims for other men's opinions and beliefs is evidence that they themselves have, at the moment, forgotten the vision of the Majesty and mercy of Allah which the Quran presents to them.

But people will object that Muslims today are very intolerant people, who call everybody who does not agree with them a Kafir, an infidel. And many Muslims even will, alas ! seek to justify such abuse by saying that in the Quran itself there are many references to the Kafirin as people with whom the Muslims ought to have no dealings, people upon whom they should wage war. At the risk of wearying my audience I shall pause to explain who and what the Kafir really is.

In the Qurân I find two meanings, which become one the moment that we try to realise the divine standpoint. The Kafir, in the first place is not the follower of any religion. He is the opponent of Allah's benevolent will and purpose for mankind - therefore the disbeliever in the truth of all religions, the disbeliever in all Scriptures as of divine revelation, the disbeliever to the point of active opposition in all the Prophets whom the Muslims are bidden to regard, without disctintion, as messengers of Allah. The First of the Kafirîn was Iblis, Satan —the angel who through pride refused to pay reverence to Man when he was ordered to do so.

و اذ قلنا للملا ئكته ا سجد و ا لا د م فسجدو الا ابليس ا بى و استكبر و كا ن من الكا فر ين

"And when We said unto the angels : Prostrate yourselves before Adam, they fell prostrate all except Iblis. He refused through pride, and so became of the disbelievers." (Kafir-în).

The Qurân repeatedly claims to be the confirmation of the truth of all religions. The former Scriptures had become obscure, corrupted ; the former Prophets appeared mythical, so extravagant were the legends which are told concerning them, so that people doubted whether there was any truth in the old Scriptures, whether such people as the Prophets had ever really existed. Here — says the Qurân —is a Scripture whereof there is no doubt ; here is a Prophet actually living among you and preaching to you. If it were not for this book and this Prophet, men might be excused for saying that Allah's guidance to mankind was all fable. This Book and this Prophet therefore, confirm the truth of all that was revealed before them, and those who disbelieve in them to the point of opposing the existence of a Prophet and a revelation are really opposed to the idea of Allah's guidance—which is the truth of all revealed religion.

قل من كان عدوا لجبريل فانه نزله على قلبك باذن الله مصدقاً لما بين يديه
وهدا وبشرى للمئومنين من كان عدوا لله وملائكته ورسله وجبريل وميكائل
فان الله عدو الكافرين

" Say : Who is an enemy to (the angel) Gabriel ? For he it is who hath revealed (this Scripture) to thy heart, confirming all that was revealed before it. and for a guidance and glad tidings to believers ?

" Who is an enemy to Allah and to His angels and His messengers and Gabriel and Michael ? Verily Allah is an enemy to disbelievers (in His guidance)."

In those passages of the Holy Qurân which refer to warfare, the term Kafir is applied to the actual fighting enemies of Islâm. It is not applicable to the non-Muslim as such, nor even to the idolator as such, as is proved by a reference to the famous proclamation of Immunity from obligations towards those faithless tribes of the idolators who, having made treaties with the Muslims had repeatedly broken treaty and attacked them :

براءة من الله ورسوله الى الذين عاهدتم من المشركين
فسيحوا في الارض اربعة اشهر واعلموا انكم غير معجزي الله وان الله مخزي الكافرين
واذان من الله ورسوله الى الناس يوم الحج الاكبر ان الله بريء من المشركين
ورسوله فان تبتم فهو خير لكم وان توليتم فاعلموا انكم غير معجزي الله وبشر الذين
كفروا بعذاب اليم
الا الذين عاهدتم من المشركين ثم لم ينقصوكم شيئاً ولم يظاهروا عليكم
احداً فاتموا اليهم عهدهم الى مدتهم ان الله يحب المتقين

" (A statement of) immunity from Allah and His messenger towards those of the idolators (Mushrikîn, not Kafirîn) with whom ye made a treaty (but they broke it).

" So travel freely in the land four months and know that ye cannot weaken Allah, and that Allah will abase the opponents (Kafirîn).

" And a proclamation to the people on the day of the greater pilgrimage that Allah and his messenger are free from obligations towards the idolators (Mushrikîn). So if ye repent it will be best for you, but if ye turn away, then know that ye cannot weaken Allah. Warn those who oppose hereafter (O Muhammad) of a painful punishment.

" Except those of the idolators (Mushrikîn) with whom you have a treaty, and who have not injured you in aught, nor aided anyone against you, (as for them) fulfil their treaty perfectly until the term thereof. Lo ! Allah loveth those who keep their duty (unto Him). "

Here it is evident that a distinction is drawn between Mushrikin (idolators—literally, those who attribute partners to Allah) in general, and Kafirîn. The idolators who kept faith with the Muslims were not Kafirîn. Our Holy Prophet himself said that the term Kafir was not to be applied to anyone who said " Salâm " (peace) to the Muslims. The Kafirs in the words of the Qurân are the conscious evil-doers of any race or creed or community.

الکافرون هم الظالمون

I have made a long digression but it seemed to me necessary for I find much confusion of ideas even among Muslims on this subject owing to defective study of the Qurân and the Prophet's life. Many Muslims seem to forget that our Prophet had allies among the idolators even after Islam had triumphed in Arabia, and that he fulfilled his treaty with them perfectly until the term thereof. The righteous conduct of the Muslims, and not the sword, must be held responsible for the conversion of those idolators, since they embraced Islâm before the expiration of their treaty.

So much for the idolators of Arabia, who had no real beliefs to oppose to the teaching of Islam, but only superstition. They invoked their local deities for help in war, and put their faith only in brute force. In this they

were, to begin with, enormously superior to the Muslims. When the Muslims nevertheless won they were dismayed, and all their arguments based on the superior power of their deities were for ever silenced. Their conversion followed naturally. It was only a question of time with the most obstinate of them.

It was otherwise with the people who had a respectable religion of their own—the People of the Scripture (اهل الكتاب).

As the Quran calls them *i.e.*, the people who had received the revelation of some former Prophet, the Jews, the Christians and the Zoroastrains were those with whom the Muslims came at once in contact. To these our Prophet's attitude was all of kindness. The Charter which he granted to the Christian monks of Sinai is extant. If you read it you will see that it breathes not only goodwill but actual love. He gave to the Jews of Medîna, so long as they were faithful to him, precisely the same treatment as to the Muslims. He never was aggressive against any man or class of men ; he never penalised any man, or made war on any people, on the ground of belief, but only on the ground of conduct. The story of his reception of Christian and Zoroastrian visitors is on record. There is not a trace of religious intolerence in all this. And it should be remembered Muslims are rather apt to forget it, and it is of great importance to our outlook—that our Prophet did not ask the people of the Scripture to become his followers. He asked them only to accept the Kingdom of Allah, to abolish Priesthood and restore their own religions to their original purity. The question which, in effect, he put to everyone was this : 'Are you for the Kingdom of God which includes all of us or are you for your own community against the rest of mankind? ' The one is obviously the way of peace and human progress, the other the way of strife, oppression and calamity. But the rulers of the world, to whom he sent his message, most of them treated it as the message of either an insolent upstart or a mad fanatic. His envoys were insulted cruelly and even slain. One cannot help wondering what reception that same embassy would meet with from the rulers of mankind today, when all the thinking portion of mankind accept the Prophet's premises, have thrown off the trammels of priestcraft and harbour some idea of human brotherhood.

قل يا اهل الكتاب تعالوا الى كلمة سواء بيننا وبينكم الا نعبد الا الله ولا نشرك به شيئاً ولا يتخذ بعضنا بعضا ارباباً من دون الله فان تولوا فقولوا اشهدوا بانا مسلمون

"Say : O people of the Scripture come to a proposal of arrangement between us and you : that we shall worship none but Allah, and that we shall ascribe no partner unto Him, and that no one of us shall take another for Lord besides Allah. And if they turn away then say : Bear witness that we are they who have surrendered (unto Him)."

If the people of the Scripture thus appealed to had agreed to this proposal they also would have been of those who have surrendered unto Allah (Muslimûn). The Messenger of Allah was not to seek his own aggrandisement ; his sole concern was to deliver his message to the nations. A Unitarian Christian community would have been for him, a Muslim community ; and a Jewish community which rejected the priestcraft and superstition of the rabbis would have been the same.

But though the Christians and Jews and Zoroastrians refused his message, and their rulers heaped most cruel insults on his envoys, our Prophet never lost his benevolent attitude towards them as religious communities ; as witness the charter to the monks of Sinai already mentioned. And though the Muslims of later days have fallen far short of the Holy Prophet's tolerance, and have sometimes shown arrogance towards men of other faith, they have always given special treatment to the Jews and Chirstians. Indeed the Laws for their special treatment form part of the Sharî'ah.

In Egypt the Copts were on terms of closest friendship with the Muslims in the first centuries of the Muslim conquest, and they are on terms of closest friendship with the Muslims at the present day. In Syria the various Christian communities lived on terms of closest friendship with the Muslims in the first centuries of the Muslim conquest, and they are on terms of closest friendship with the Mulsims at the present day, openly preferring Muslim domination to a foreign yoke.

There are always flourishing Jewish communities in the Muslim realm, notably in Spain, North Africa, Syria, Irâq, and later on in Turkey. Jews fled from Christian persecution to Muslim countries for refuge. Whole communities of them voluntarily embraced Islam following a revered rabbi whom they regarded as the promised

Messiah, but many more remained as Jews, and they were never persecuted as in Christendom. The Turkish Jews are one with the Turkish Muslims today. And it is noteworthy that the Arabic speaking Jews of Palestine—the old immigrants from Spain and Poland—are one with the Muslims and Christians in opposition to the transformation of Palestine into a national home for the Jews.

To return to the Christians the story of the triumphal entry of the Khalîfa 'Umar ibn-ul-Khattâb (رضی اللہ عنہ) into Jerusalem has been often told, but I shall tell it once again, for it illustrates the proper Muslim attitude towards the people of the Scripture. The General who had taken Jerusalem asked the Khalifa to come in person to receive the keys of the Holy City. The Khalîfa travelled from Medîna very simply with only a single camel and a single slave. Master and man used the camel alternately, ride and tie. The astonishment of the gorgeous slave-officials of the Roman Empire when they saw the ruler of so great an empire coming in such humble guise may be imagined. None the less they paid him his reverence and led him to the church of the Holy Sepulchre as the glory of their city. While 'Umar was in the Church the hour of prayer arrived. The Christian officials urged him to spread his carpet in the Church itself, but he refused, saying that some of the ignorant Muslims after him might claim the Church and convert it into a mosque because he had once prayed there. He had his carpet carried to the top of the steps outside the church, to the spot where the mosque of 'Umar now stands—the real mosque of 'Umar, for the splendid Qubbat us Sakhrah which tourists call the Mosque of 'Umar is not a mosque at all, but the temple of Jerusalem, a shrine within the precincts of the Masjid al Aksa, which is the second of the Holy places of Islâm.

From that day to this, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre has always been a Christian place of worship, the only things the Muslims did in the way of interference with the Christian's liberty of conscience in respect of it was to see that every sect of Christian had access to it, and that it was not monopolised by one sect to the exclusion of others. The same is true of the Church of the Nativity, at Bethlehem, and of other buildings of especial sanction. Under the Khulafa-ur-Rashidîn and the Ummayads, the true Islamic attitude was maintained, and it continued to a much later period under the Ummayad rule in Spain. In those days it was no uncommon thing for Muslims and

Christians to use the same place of worship. I could point to a dozen buildings in Syria which tradition says were thus conjointly used ; and I have seen at Lud (Lydda), in the plain of Sharon, a Church of St. George and a mosque under the same roof with only a partition wall between. The partition wall did not exist in early days. The words of the Khalîfa 'Umar proved true in other cases ; not only half the Church at Lydda, but the whole church in other places was claimed by ignorant Muslims of a later day on the mere ground that the early Muslims had prayed there. But there was absolute liberty of conscience for the Christians ; they kept their most important churches and built new ones ; though by a later edict their church bells were taken from them because their din annoyed the Muslims, it was said ; only the big bell of the Holy Sepulchre remaining. They used to call to prayer by beating a naqus, a wooden gong, the same instrument which the Prophet Noah is said to have used to summon the chosen few into his ark. The equality of early days was later marred by social arrogance on the part of the Muslims, but that came only after the Crusades. The Chirstians were never persecuted, save for a short period when Southern Syria was conquered by the Fatemites of Egypt for a time. Then, under the mad ascetic Khalîfa, Al-Hakem bi amr Illâh (whom the Duruz to this day worship as God incarnate) they suffered very cruel persecution. Hundreds of Christian hermits living in caves among the rocks of the Judaean wilderness were ordered to be abominably mutilated, and though they escaped through the intervention of the local Muslims, cruel persecution of the Christians did take place ; their pilgrims were interfered with, and the services of the Holy Sepulchre were interrupted for a time. It was the news of that persecution, carried to Europe by returning pilgrims which was the cause of the first Crusade. But by the time the Crusading army reached Syria, the Fatemites had been driven out and the condition of the Christians was again normal.

It was not the Christians of Syria who desired the Crusades, nor did the Crusaders care a jot for them, or their sentiments, regarding them as heretics and interlopers. The latter word sounds strange in this connection, but there is reason for its use. The great Abbaside Khalîfa Hârûn-ar-Rashîd had, God knows why, once sent the keys of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre among other presents to the Frankish Emperor Charlemagne. Historically, it was a wrong to the Chirstians of

Syria, who did not belong to the Western Church, and asked for no protection other than the Muslim Government. Politically, it was a mistake and proved the source of endless after trouble to the Muslim Empire. The keys sent, it is true, were only duplicate keys. The Church was in daily use. It was not locked up until such time as Charlemagne, Emperor of the West, chose to unlock it. The present of the keys was intended only as a compliment, and who would say : " You and your people can have free access to the Church which is the centre of your faith, your goal of pilgrimage, whenever you may come to visit it. " But the Frankish Christians took the present seriously in after times, regarding it as the title of a freehold, and looking on the Christians of the country as mere interlopers, as I said before, as well as heretics.

That compliment from King to King was the foundation of all the extravagant claims of France in later centuries. And indirectly it was the foundation of Russia's even more extortionate claims, for Russia claimed to protect the Eastern Church against the encroachments of the Roman Catholics ; and it was the cause of nearly all the ill-feeling which ever existed between the Muslims and their Christian Zimmîs. When the Crusaders took Jerusalem they massacred the Eastern Christians with the Muslims indiscriminately, and while they ruled in Palestine the Eastern Christians, such of them as did not accompany the retreating Muslim army were deprived of all the privileges which Islam secured to them and were treated as a sort of outcastes. Many of them became Roman Catholics in order to secure a higher status ; but after the re-conquest, when the emigrants returned, the followers of the Eastern church were found again to be in large majority over those who owned obedience to the Pope of Rome. The old order was re-established and all the Zimmîs once again enjoyed their privileges in accordance with the Sacred Law. But the effect of those fanatical inroads had been somewhat to embitter Muslim sentiments, and to tinge them with an intellectual contempt, for Christians generally ; which was bad for Muslims and for Christians both ; since it made the former arrogant and oppressive to the latter socially, and the intellectual contempt, surviving the intellectual superiority, blinded the Muslims to the scientific advance of the West till too late. The arrogance hardened into custom, and when Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt occupied Syria in the third decade of the nineteenth century, a deputation of

the Muslims of Damascus waited on him with a complaint that under his rule the Christians were beginning to ride on horseback. Ibrahîm Pâsha pretended to be greatly shocked at the news, and asked leave to think for a whole night on so disturbing an announcement. Next morning he informed the deputation that since it was, of course, a shame for Christians to ride as high as Muslims, he gave permission to all Muslims thenceforth to ride on camels. That was probably the first time that the Muslims of Damascus had ever been brought face to face with the absurdity of their pretentions. The Christians, had, by custom been made subject to certain social disabilities, but these were never, at the worst, so cruel or so galling as those to which the Roman Catholic nobility of France at the same period subjected their own Roman Catholic peasantry, or than those which Protestants imposed on Roman Catholics in Ireland, and they weighed only on the wealthy portion of the community—the poor Muslims and poor Christians were on an equality, and were still good friends and neighbours. The Muslims never interfered with the religion of the subject Christians. There was never anything like the inquisition or the fires of Smithfield. Nor did they interfere in the internal affairs of their communities. Thus a number of small Christian sects, called by the larger sects heretical, which would inevitably have been exterminated if left to the tender mercies of the larger sects where power prevailed in Christendom, were protected and preserved until today by the power of Islâm.

Innumerable monasteries, with a wealth of treasure of which the worth has been calculated at not less than a hundred millions sterling enjoyed the benefit of the Holy Prophet's charter to the monks of Sinai and were religiously respected by the Muslims. The various sects of Christians were represented in the council of the Empire by their patriarchs, on the provincial and district councils by their bishops, in the village councils by their priests, whose word was always taken without question on things which were the sole concern of their community. With regard to this respect of monasteries I have a curious instance of my own rememberance. In the year 1908 the Arabic congregation of the Greek Orthodox church in the Holy Sepulchre or the Chruch of the Resurrection rebelled against the tyranny of the Monks of the adjoining convent of St. George. The convent was extremely rich, and a large part of its revenues were derived from

lands which had been made over to it by the ancestors of the Arab congregation for security at a time when property was insecure ; relying on the well-known Muslim reverence for religious foundation. The income was to be paid to the depositors and their descendants after deducting something for the convent. No income had been paid to anybody by the Monks for more than a century, and the congregation now demanded that at least a part of that ill-gotten wealth should be spent on education of the community. The patriarch sided with the congregation, but was captured by the Monks who kept him prisoner. The congregation tried to storm the convent, and the amiable monks poured vitriol down upon the faces of the congregation. The congregation appealed to the Turkish Government, which secured the release of the Patriarch and some concessions for the congregation, but could not make the monks disgorge any part of their wealth because of the immunities secured to Monasteries by the sacred Law. What made the congregation the more bitter was the fact that certain Christians who, in old days, had made their property over to the Masjid-Al-Aksa—the great mosque of Jerusalem—for security, were receiving income yearly from it even then.

Here is another incident from my own memory. A superior of the Monastery of St. George purloined a handful from the enormous treasure of the Holy Sepulchre—a handful worth some forty thousand pounds and tried to get away with it to Europe. He was caught at Jaffa by the Turkish Customs Officers and brought back to Jerusalem. The poor man fell on his face before the Mutasarrif imploring him with tears to have him tried by Turkish Law : the answer was : We have no jurisdiction over monasteries, and the poor grovelling wretch was handed over to the tender mercies of his fellow monks.

But the very evidences of their toleration, the concessions given to the subject people of another faith, were used against them in the end by their political opponents just as the concessions granted in their day of strength to foreigners came to be used against them in their day of weakness—as capitulations. I can give you one curious instance of a " capitulation, " typical of several others. Three hundred years ago, the Franciscan frairs were the only Western European missionaries to be found in the Muslim Empire. There was a terrible epidemic of plague, and those Franciscans worked dovetedly, tending the

sick and helping to bury the dead of all communities. In gratitude for this great service, the Turkish Government decreed that all property of the Franciscans should be free of customs duty for ever. In the Firman the actual words used were " Frankish (*i.e.*, Western Europe) missionaries and at a later time, when there were hundreds of missionaries from the West, most of them of other sects, than the Roman Catholics, they all claimed that privilege and were allowed it by the Turkish Government because the term of the original Firmân included them. Not only that, but they claimed that concession as a right, as if it had been won for them by force of arms or international treaty instead of being, as it was, a free gift of the Sultan, and called upon their consuls and ambassadors to support them strongly if it was at all infringed. The Christians were allowed to keep their own languages and customs to start their own schools and to be visited by missionaries of their own faith from Christendom. Thus they formed patches of nationalism in a great mass of internationalism or of universal brotherhood ; for as I have already said the tolerance within the body of Islam was, and is, something without parallel in history, class and race and colour ceasing altogether to be barriers.

In countries where nationality and language were the same as in Syria, Egypt and Mesopotomia there was no clash of ideals, but in Turkey, where the Christians spoke quite different languages from the Muslims, the ideals were also different. So long as the nationalism was unaggressive—all went well ; and it remained unaggressive - that is to say, the subject Christians were content with their position—so long as the Muslim Empire remained better governed, more enlightened and more prosperous than Christian countries. And that may be said to have been the case, in all human essentials, up to the beginning of the seventeenth century. Then for a period of about eighty years the Turkish Empire was hardly governed ; and the Christians suffered not from Islamic Institutions but from the decay or neglect of Islamic Institutions. Still it took Russia more than a century of ceaseless secret work and propaganda to stir up a spirit of aggressive nationalism in the subject Christians, and then only by appealing to their religious fanaticism. After the eighty years of bad Government came the era of conscious reform, when the Muslim Government turned its attention to the improvement of the status of all the peoples under it. But then it was too late to win back the Serbs, the Greeks,

the Bulgars and the Rumans. The poison of the Russian religious political propaganda had done its work, and the prestige of Russian victories over the Turks had excited in the worst elements among the Christians of the Greek Church, the hope of an early opportunity to slaughter and despoil the Muslims, strengthening the desire to do so which had been instilled in them by Russian secret envoys, priests and monks. I do not wish to dwell upon this period of history, though it is to me the best known of all, for it is too recent and might rouse too strong a feeling in my audience. I will only remind you that in the Greek War of Independence in 1821, three hundred thousand Muslims—men and women and children the whole Muslim population of the Morea without exception, as well as many thousand in the northern parts of Greece, was wiped out in circumstances of the most atrocious cruelty ; that in European histories we seldom find the slightest mention of that massacre, though we hear much of the reprisals which the Turks took afterwards; that before every massacre of Christians by Muslims of which you read, there was a more wholesale massacre or attempted massacre of Muslims by Christians ; that those Christians were old friends and neighbours of the Muslims—the Armenians were the favourites of the Turks till fifty years ago—and that most of them were really happy under Turkish rule, as has been shown again and again by their tendency to return to it after so-called liberation. It was the Christians outside the Muslim Empire who systematically and continually roused their religious fanaticism. It was their priests who told them that to slaughter Muslims was a meritorious act. I doubt if anything so wicked can be found in history as that plot for the destruction of Turkey When I say " wicked, " I mean inimical to human progress and therefore against Allah's guidance and His purpose for mankind. For it has made religious tolerance appear a weakness in the eyes of all the world-lings, because the multitudes of Christians who lived peacefully in Turkey are made to seem the cause of Turkey's martyrdom and downfall ; while on the other hand the method of persecution and extermination which has always prevailed in Christendom is made to seem comparatively strong and wise. Thus religious tolerance is made to seem a fault, politically. But it is not really so. The victims of injustice are always less to be pitied in reality than the perpetrators of injustice. From the expulsion of the Moriscoes dated the degradation and decline of

Spain. San Fernando was really wiser and more patriotic in his tolerance to conquered Seville, Murcia and Toledo than was the later king who, under the guise of Holy warfare captured Granada and let the Inquisition work its will upon the Muslims and the Jews. And the Modern Balkan States and Greece are born under a curse. It may even prove that the degradation and decline of European civilisation will be dated from the date when so-called civilised statesmen agreed to the inhuman policy of Czarist Russia and gave their sanction to the crude fanaticism of the Russian Church. There is no doubt but that, in the eyes of history, religious toleration is the highest evidence of culture in a people. Let no Muslim, when looking on the ruin of the Muslim realm which was compassed through the agency of those very peoples whom the Muslims had tolerated and protected through the centuries when Western Europe thought it a religious duty to exterminate or forcibly convert all peoples of another faith than theirs. Let no Muslim, seeing this, imagine that toleration is a weakness in Islam. It is the greatest strength of Islam because it is the attitude of truth. Allah is not the God of the Jews or the Christians or the Muslims only, and more than the Sun shines or the rain falls for Jews or Christians or Muslims only. Still, as of old, some people say : " None enters Paradise except he be a Jew or a Christian."

لن يد خل ا لجنته ا لا من كان هود ا او نصا ر ى

Answer them in the words of the Holy Quran :

بلى من اسلم و جهه لله و هو محسن فله اجر ه عند ر به و لا خوف عليهم و لا هم يحز نو ن

" Nay but whosoever surrendereth his purpose towards God, while doing good to men, surely his reward is with his Lord, and there shall no fear come upon them, neither shall they suffer grief. "

BOOKS AND AUTHORS.

KASHSHAF-UL-HUDA*

Mr. Yaqûb Hasan spent twenty-six months as a political prisoner in Cannanore, Coimbatore, Trichinopoly and Cuddalore jails. In the solitary prison life he turned to the Holy Qurân for consolation and relief. He did not possess a scholar's knowledge of Arabic, nor had he ever benefited by a course of study in divinity. But he decided to utilise his enforced leisure in studying the Qurân critically and judging for himself of its alleged beauties, excellence and perfection. He himself tells us that he had great fear lest, as a modern, English-educated man, he might be disappointed and might find in the Qurân only a collection of incredible legends, impracticable precepts and irrational doctrines. His fear was typical of that of many a Muslim youth, whose sham reverence for the Qurân will not allow him to study it lest he should not find it all that he would fain believe it to be. This reluctance has been fostered by the incessant claim of its professional exponents that the Qurân requires professional exponents and cannot properly be understood by anyone without their aid. Mr. Yaqûb Hasan's experience is of a nature to explode this theory. As a result of the closest study he has arrived at the conclusion that the Qurân needs no *tafsir* or explanation from outside in order to be understood, that all the explanation necessary to the understanding of difficult passages is to be found in other passages of the Quran itself, and that this explanation is much clearer and more inspiring than that of its professed exponents.

In his great work in Urdu entitled كتاب الهدى (**Kitâb-ul-Hudâ**, the book of Guidance) the first volume of which

*كشاف الهدى يعنى عقد مه كتاب الهد ي مرتبه يعقوب حسن دفتر اشاعت سيد نهام روڈ مدراس

Kashshâf-ul-Hudâ, being an Introduction to **Kitab-ul-Hudâ**. **Office of publication, Sydenham Road, Madras.**

will be published shortly he will lay the proofs of his discovery, before the Muslim World, and in the present book, designed as a General Introduction to Kitâb-ul-Hudâ he has very fully and interestingly explained the methods by which he reached it. In the course of his researches he has been, in his own words, "convinced beyond all doubt that the Qurân is not only a guide spiritually perfect and radiant, but also a system of law facilitating the highest in civilisation and social achievements."

ذ لك ا لكتا ب لا ريب فيه هد ا للمتقين

"In this Scripture there is no doubt. It is a guidance unto those who keep from evil."

As the main feature of Mr. Yaqub Hasan's work is a novel arrangement of the verses and chapters of the Qurân, it is necessary for the reader to know something of the history of the compilation of the Qurân and of the reasons for the arrangement of the Sûrahs in their present sequence in order to appreciate it.

The Holy Qurân contains 114 Sûrahs, or chapters, of varying length. The revelation of these Sûrahs extended over a period of nearly twenty-three years. The revelation came bit by bit, when it was required. Mr. Yaqub Hasan devotes a whole chapter of the present work to the very good reasons why the Qurân was not revealed all at once.

As soon as the trance or abnormal bodily condition, which accompanied each revelation, passed, the Prophet dictated the words which had thus come to him to one of the companions—generally to Hazrat Zeyd. The Prophet himself did not know how to read and write. He committed the verses to memory, and they were also preserved in writing upon parchment, bone or wood. When dictating the verses the Prophet would instruct the scribe as to the chapter in which, and the previously revealed verses after which, they were to be placed. As time went on, certain chapters were closed, while others were kept open. Thus the Prophet himself attended to the arrangement of the verses, and himself gave a name to each Sûrah.

In the battle of Yamâmah, seventy of the Huffâz (*i.e.*, persons who knew the whole of the Qurân by heart) perished. The large number of Huffâz shows how scrupulously the Muslims preserved the verses before they were compiled in book form. The loss of so many Huffâz

in a single battle made Hazrat Umar fear lest the pure text might be lost in part, or corrupted, if allowed any longer to depend for its preservation upon human memory. He therefore prevailed upon Hazrat Abu Bakr, the Khalîfah, to order an authenticated copy to be made of all the verses. The work of copying and compilation from the original writings on parchment, bone and wood was done by Hazrat Zeyd. The Khalîfa Usmân put the several chapters together in the form of a book, and sent several copies of it to the various Islamic countries. The Sūrâhs were arranged according to their length, the shortest being placed last in the book.

The Torah (the Book of Moses) is the earliest written evidence of any divine revelation to a Prophet. But it cannot at all be regarded as a literal record of such revelation. For about forty years Moses lived continually among the Israelites and therefore the necessity to compile and publish the Torah did not arise. Only in the last days of his life did Moses put the Torah into writing from his memory. These writings on primitive materials were deposited in the Ark of the Covenant. The Ark changed hands from time to time, and ultimately came into the hands of Solomon. But when he opened it in Jerusalem in the presence of the elders of Israel, the Torah was not found in it*.

After a time Solomon gleaned from all over the country copies and vestiges of Torah and of the books of other Prophets who came after Moses. These writings were placed in the Temple or Masjid-ul-Aqsa (as it is called in the Qurân). According to Gerdros, the Torah was rewritten by a later Prophet who was guided by inspiration in his labours to discover the Book. Thus the present Torah cannot claim to be وحی بالفظ or Revelation *literatim et verbatim*. Several Biblical scholars admit that they have found in it allusions to a state of affairs which existed only after Moses.

Nor can the Four Gospels be considered وحی بالفظ. The Prophetic mission of Jesus (on whom be peace) extended over three years, during which he did not have a moment's rest. Nor had the Apostles leisure to compile a book of the Revelations of Jesus. He taught and preached in his mother tongue, the "Western Aramaic." The Four Gospels were written subsequently by four different persons, each writing quite independently of

* I Kings.

the others. The Gospels include the story of Christ's Nativity, his mission and crucifixion, as well as an account of his precepts and prophecies.

Thus among the Sacred Books, the Qurân alone can claim to be *exclusively* the word of God, and the Qurân alone can be proved to have been scrupulously preserved as such through all the centuries.

The present arrangement of the verses and chapters (*ayat* and *Surat*) of the Quran has been universally accepted for thirteen hundred years. Nothing better can be desired in the way of arrangement. Fourteen hundred years have given it "a form and character, which must necessarily be accepted and endure." Every Sûrah, though it may be composed of verses revealed on different occasions, is an entity by itself, differing from the other Sûrâhs in its rhythm and cadences. The sequence of verses in each particular Sûrah is natural and smooth-flowing when recited. The theme passes from one subject to another, treating some in mere allusion, others in detail, each reference being apt and fitting in its place.

Thus the Quran is not a man-made book ; it is not, perhaps, in the ordinary sense, a book at all ; certainly it is not a book like other books. It does not contain a list of contents, preface, introduction, chapters in the ordinary sense, conclusion and index. It is Revelation as it came from time to time, in all its rushing spontaneity. Man —critically minded man —sits on the banks of this tremendous stream of Revelation. He must measure everything by his own little standard ; he must test and study everyhing with his own little apparatus. So he fills his test-tubes with a little from each divine current, and makes his estimate of the force and value of the Stream by analysing, mixing, assorting the contents of his tubes. This he has to do as a condition of the welfare of his mind and soul, and this he has to do in every age, with the apparatus and the standards of that age.

Mr. Yaqûb Hasan's book, as foreshadowed for us in the present volume is an estimate of the Holy Qurân according to the tests and standards of the present day and therefore should appeal alike to Muslims and non-Muslims. A critical study of the book with the help of an index and a lexicon is a long and cumbrous task beyond the patience of the average individual. Mr. Yaqûb Hasan has divided the subject matter into various books and chapters according to a system of his own by which all

the ayât which refer to a particular subject are grouped together. He has also paid attention to the chronological sequence of the verses, and has arranged the verses in each of his subject chapters in the order in which they were revealed, according to existing evidence. By this arrangement he shows that there is a progressive and organic unity in all the Revelations on a given subject, and also, which is even more important, verses thus arranged explain themselves. The Qurân itself, he declares, is the most lucid explanation and commentary of the Qurân.

At the end of each of his chapters the author provides an exhaustive account of its subject; each chapter is annotated with the pertinent ahâdîth, with cognate passages from the Bible, with historical, georgaphical and antiquarian data, according as the subject matter demands. Thus each chapter is a complete study of the subject.

The Kashhâf-ul-Hudâ is a neatly bound volume of over 200 pages. If our review of it reads like a review of the greater work, Kitâb-ul-Hudâ, which is to follow, that is because Kashhâf-ul-Hudâ is an introduction to the larger work and a description of it. But Kashhâf-ul-Hudâ is a self contained and interesting volume, well worth reading for its own sake. Some of the chapter-headings may serve to give the reader an idea of its contents.

" Revelation—وحی as distinguished from الہام and لقاء —the language of revelations—the manner of revealing."
" Other Revealed Books."

" The Qurân—why it was revealed in Arabic and in Arabia—The Qurân is the preserver of all previously revealed Books—Reasons of the excellence of the Qurân—Method of reading and studying the Qurân—History of its compilation."

The vastness of the literary work to which Mr. Yaqub Hasan has been moved by his many months of careful study of the Qurân in solitude is sufficient proof, if proof be needed, of the sincerity and earnestness of his belief that the Qurân contains the secret of all human welfare, and of his wish to demonstrate the truth of his conviction and show the way by which he reached it to all those modern Muslims who accept belief in the Qurân as a tradition of the fathers, but never even read the Book itself.

STUDIES IN TASAWWUFF*

" In the psychology of forty years ago, only Mind and Matter found a place ; there was no corner for God. Mind was no ' no-matter ', and matter was " never-mind " ; if mind was not reduced to an effulgence of matter very much like bile, as the product of the liver, or if matter was not reduced to a mind dormant as in the case of Schelling. Mind was only a series of states of conciousness. How these fleeting states were linked together was no more known than the ' missing link' in the biology of Darwin. This theory has now given place to a field of consciousness or awareness, which cannot be brought within the four corners of a definition. There is a field of consciousness, *plus* its object as felt or thought of, *plus* its attitude towards that object, *plus* the sense of self of him to whom the attitude belongs."

Thus Khan Sahib Khawja Khan, following Professor William James, in his chapter on " The Theory of Emanation " goes on to expound the theory of the Sufîs :

" A point first appears on the unlimited disc of conciousness. This point is an imaginary limitation ; an attitude is then created between this point and conciousness ; and then again the idea of consciousness acting on that point comes into play. That point, according to Sufis, (which is neither essence nor extension as defined by the Megarian Euclid) is the limitation of Dhât (*i.e.*, the Divine Essense) in Its own knowledge. Thus the ' itibar (imaginary limitation) of ' ilm (knowledge) is realised. The Dhât, as it were descends into Its own knowledge. The limitation of the Dhât in knowledge involves the idea of existence. Its realisation of Itself is " I " (Mir). Dawning on Itself, It becomes aware of Its potentialities (Shuyûnât) : this is Shuhûd. In other words, when the Dhât dawned on Itself, It found Itself possessing attributes (and therefore names). Existence is thus a statement of possession of relationship."

From this long quotation it will be seen that Khan Sahib Khawja Khan's book is not what one would ordinarily call light reading. He has in fact set out to give the reader a general account of the science of Tasawwuf as taught and practised by the mystics of Islam, the true with the false, its simple truths with its brain-racking

*" Studies in Tasawwuf " By Khan Sahib Khawja Khan, B.A. Foreward by Nawab Hyder Nawaz Jung Bahadur. Madras. Hogarth Press, Mount Road.

subtleties, and as a general account his book is unquestionably useful in India where people talk of Sufism and even claim to be Sufîs with scarcely an idea of the real nature of Tasawwuf. In our opinion the Khan Sahib does not sufficiently clearly distinguish the true Islamic mysticism from the imported or invented elements. In one place he does declare that nothing contrary to the Qurân or an authenticated saying of the Prophet can be accepted as Islamic, yet he devotes much space to the description of beliefs and theories which must fall under that condemnation. Asceticism is forbidden in Islam, monasticism is forbidden in Islam; so is "the taking of others for our lords besides Allah." Thus nearly all the organised Sufism of today is, on the very face of it, un-Islamic. Indeed, we should say that the true Sûfi is essentially to be recognised by his love of solitude ("the food of the soul" as Arabs call it), to which he retires for meditation periodically, returning refreshed to perform more perfectly the duties of an ordinary man in the work a day world, as did our Holy Prophet. The majority of so-called Sûfîs of today appear averse from Solitude, and would feel lost without their Pir, their *halqah* and their fellow-"adepts."

With regard to the origin of the name Sûfî (from which the name of the science, "Tasawwuf" is derived) the Khan Sahib tells us:

"Abul Fida, the famous Muslim historian of ancient days, traces their origin to Ashab-i-Safa (sitters on the bench of the temple of Mecca*). They were poor strangers, without friends or place of abode, who claimed the promises of the apostle of God and implored his protection. Thus the porch of the temple became their mansion. When Muhammad (peace on him) went to meals, he used to call some of them to partake with him, and selected others to eat with his companions. These men are known in the Qurân by the terms Muqarrabîn (Friends of God) Sâbirîn (Patient men), Abrâr (Righteous men) Zuhhâd (Virtuous men) —some of them were known as Muqarrabîn, for six hundred years in the region of Turkistan and Mawara-un-Nahar (Mesopotamia)." We must pause to point out that Mawara-un-Nahar (that which is beyond the river) is not Mesopotamia but part of what we know as Turkistan, the region of Samarkand and Bokhara; also that it is improbable that "some of"

* Medinah.

the poor men who used to sit on the bench of the Masjid in our Prophet's lifetime were known as Muqarrabîn in Turkistan and Mawara-un-Nahar for six hundred years (being presumably alive all that time). This looseness of statement is characteristic ; it is almost as if the author had omitted to correct the proofs. " The author of Ghia-that-ul-Lughât says that Suffa was the name of a tribe of Arabs, who in the time of Ignorance separated themselves from the world and engaged in the service of the Meccan temple.....

" Thirdly, some say that they take their name not from Saf (bench) but from Soof (wool) as they wore woollen garments.....

" A fourth sect derives it from Suff (a row)..... ; as these men will stand in the first row of men on the day of judgment.

" A fifth derivation is from the Greek *sophia* (wisdom) ; in which case they become *sophists*—an origin and a significance which they emphatically repudiate.

" Most probably the word comes from *Safa* (purity)."

We agree with the author, but subjoin that the Greek derivation will appear most apt to readers of the descriptions of the various systems of Tasawwuf and their differences, which abound in sophistries, and to observers of the so-called Sûfîs in India today. If our author describes the sophistries he also describes the truths those sophistries obscure. He scouts the erroneous notion, prevalent in India, that Sûfism preaches Pantheism :

" It is sometimes believed that Tasawwuf inculcates Pantheism, that the world is the manifestation of God, and that there is no place for the creature ('abd) in it. If there is no *'abd*, then the whole superstructure of Islam must come down ; for the Prophet always preached and taught that ' Muhammad was His 'abd and Messenger.' Several Sûfî thinkers have no doubt given out in their moments of ecstasy : ' I am the Truth, ' like Mansûr-i-Hullâj ; ' O Praised, how great is my glory!' like Bâyâzîd. That which cannot be traced to the Prophet, before whom those thinkers licked the dust, cannot be taken as the genuine teaching of Islam. Besides there might be a special sense in these sayings other than that implied in Pantheism. Pantheism deals a direct blow to the extra-cosmic conception of God ; but Sûfî-ism is such

that while it accepts the extra-cosmic conception, it also believes in His immanence. There are such verses in the Qurân as : 'Really God surrounds you'; 'God is with you wherever you are'..... these show the extra-cosmic conception. And again there are such verses as 'He is nearer to you than your jugular vein.' 'He is in your individuality, but you do not see'; these show His immanence."

That strikes us as a perfectly true statement, not of the teaching of Sûfiism, but of the teaching of Islam, of which Tasawwuf is, or ought to be the purest interpretation. The Sûfî is the Muslim *par excellence*, or he is nothing at all in Islam.

On the subjects of belief in a personal God, Incarnation, and metempsychosis the Khan Sahib's remarks are equally just and illuminating—"The question has often been asked whether the God of the Qurân is a personal God. He is not a personal God in a material or anthropomorphic sense, that He is a big man sitting on His 'arsh (throne) surrounded by his angels and regulating the affairs of the world; for He then becomes an idol. But He is a personal God in the sense that he has attributes. But these attributes are not like our attributes. We speak with our tongues, hear with our ears and see with our eyes. The faculties manifest themselves through the organs, but the faculties are not, and are not like, the organs themselves."

"The Eastern dispensation - whose apex Islam claims to be—was free from a working hypothesis of incarnation. The idea that the paschal lamb referred to the crucifixion of Christ was not accepted as a working hypothesis till the advent of St. Paul." Moses had his talk with God on Mount Sinai, Christ underwent transfiguration on the mount; and Muhammad (صلعم) had his *Miraj* or, as it is called the night journey," when he "ascended from heaven to heaven, and saw the previous prophets till he was admitted to the audience-hall of God....the purdah still hung, the limitation still existed. The *'ain* of Muhammad was the last point reached by him. Some, like Muhiyuddin ibn-i-Arabi consider that the Haqîqate-i-Muhammadi was the name of a rank irrespective of the individual who happens to hold that rank. That stage was fully manifested in Muhammad. It had manifested itself in different degrees in preceding Prophets like Adam, Moses, David, Jesus. In that particular *'ism* each indi-

vidual had annihilated his *'ain*, and God alone was manifest for the time being."

The author quotes: "Metempsychosis must only be regarded as a supplementary doctrine, disfigured by theological sophistry with the object of getting a firmer hold on believers through a popular superstition. Esoterically it is explained in the mystery of the Kounboum, and relates to the purely spiritual peregrinations of the human soul."
and adds:

"Cannot therefore the different peregrinations merely be in the region of the lokas? After its disappearance from the world, the soul appears in the different lokas, and gradually passes on to svarga, where it has the beatific vision. These lokas are the seven heavens of the Muhammadans."

In his essay on the five pillars of Islam, the author gives an explanation of the various postures observed by the Muslim in prayer which strikes us as inferior to that given by some Turkish Sûfîs of our acquaintance. According to the latter, the prayers-mat shadows forth the grave; when we bow we own allegiance to our Lord as King of this world, and when we press our foreheads to the ground, we die a figurative death. Prayer thus becomes, like every other Muslim ordinance, a perfect symbol of Islam itself that Self-Surrender to the will of God which the Qurân declares to be the great essential act of all religion. The true Sûfîs have unquestionaly kept alive throughout the ages the ideal of the universal nature of Islam, to be found in every Sûrah of the Qurân. They have never lost sight of the fact that the truth which is the essence of Islam is to be found, if searched for, at the root of all revealed religion, and that the Holy Prophet asked those who followed revelations previous to his own not to adopt his form of worship but to bring out that essential truth in their own faith by due observance, and to help him to establish the kingdom of God on earth. It is unfortunately also a fact that the Sûfîs have had little influence on the mass of Muslims hitherto. That is because of their tendency to form groups apart and their invention of an irritating phraseology—in short, their inclination towards sophistry. There is nothing really esoteric or eclectic in the higher teaching of Islam—nothing whatever to justify men in forming separate groups to cultivate it and withhold it from the rank and file of

Muslims. The true sûfî of the future will be merged in the true Muslim, and then the eighty per cent or so of so-called sûfîs of to-day who are impostors will be seen in their true colours.

THE ORIENTS*

This little book serves the useful purpose of drawing our attention to a particular aspect of the rule of the Moors in Spain, which is not usually emphasised by writers of European History, *viz.*, the sympathy and tolerance of the Caliphs towards their non-Muslim subjects especially towards the Jews with whom they moved in terms of closest intimacy. They appreciated the patience, industry and business capacity of the Jews while the latter understood that on the strength, prowess and patriotism of the followers of Islam rested every chance of a just and stable Government which alone could ensure them safety of person and property besides freedom of conscience. The Author has compiled from various sources much useful information regarding the wonderful achievements in Science, Literature, Philosophy and Art that took place under the fostering care and active leadership of the Moorish Kings. There is abundant material to show that the Jews were most willing collaborators with the Muslims in every field of national activity, and that the latter gratefully and whole-heartedly acknowledged their services and gave them every facility for development admitting them freely to positions of power and responsibility. Despite their religious differences, the two communities managed to live together for several centuries in complete friendship and good will.

We warmly commend the book to our readers as a sincere attempt to give us definite ideas regarding the contributions of Jews and Muslims to European civilization.

* I. A. Isaac, Balugaon, (Puri).

PRINTED BY
THE SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS
HYDERABAD DECCAN

THE REVIEW OF NATIONS

A MONTHLY ORGAN OF
INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIP

EDITED BY
FELIX VALYI

CONTENTS (*March* 1927)

1. THE SOUL OF CHINA. RICHARD WILHELM.
2. PURITANISM AND PAGANISM. GEORGE PITT-RIVERS.
3. FRANCE AND CHINESE NATIONALISM. ANDRE DUBOSCQ.
4. PRAGMATISM IN INDIAN THOUGHT. HELMUTH V. GLASSENAPP.
5. THE CHINESE REVOLUTION. KIYSHI K. KAWAKAMI.
6. THE CRISIS OF EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY. WILLIAM MARTIN.
7. RUSSIA AND WORLD ECONOMICS. SIMON ZAGORSKY.
8. THE MIGRATION PROBLEM. HYPPOLITE CLIVIC.
9. THE SPIRIT OF EUROPE AND THE PROBLEM OF ASIA. FELIX VALYI.

ETC. ETC. ETC.

Annual Subscription : £ 2 *or* 10 *Dollars* (50 *Swiss Francs*).

THE REVIEW OF NATIONS PUBLISHING Co.,

117, RUE DE LUSANNE, GENEVA

(SWITZERLAND).

ARTHUR PROBSTHAIN

ORIENTAL BOOKSELLER AND PUBLISHER,

41, GREAT RUSSELL STREET,

London, W. C. I.

Islamic Culture, a first class Review published Quarterly in Hyderabad-Dn. (India), edited by Marmaduke Pickthall, contains articles of high interest by well-known authorities on Religion, History, Ethics, Literature, Arts and Social developments. (pp. 160). £ s d.
Annual Subscription .. 1 1 0

Abul Amaithal Al A'Rabi -Kitab al-Mathur. The Book of Words with the same Sound and different Meaning. Arabic Text, with Introduction in German by F. Krenkow. 8vo. p. 108, with two plates. 1925 .. 0 6 0

Driver G. R. A Grammar of the Colloquial Arabic of Syria and Palestine, Roy. 8vo. pp. XII, 257, 1925 .. .. .. 0 12 6

Elias' Modern Arabic Dictionaries, by Elias, A. A. Elias *English-Arabic Dictionary*. Large 8vo. pp. III, 693. Illustrated 1922 .. 1 0 0

Arabic English Dictionary. Large 8vo. pp. III 433. Illustrated. Second Edition Revised 1921 .. .. .. 1 8 0

The Masnavi, by Jalalu 'd-Din Rumi. Book II. translated for the first time into English Prose by Prof. C.E. Wilson, Ph. D. 2 volumes. Vol. I. Translation from the Persian : Vol. II Commentary. 8vo. 1910 .. .. 1 10 0
(Probsthain's Oriental Series Vols. II-IV.)

Nizami : the Haft Paikar, or Life of King Bahram Gur, and the Seven Stories told by his Seven Queens, translated from the Persian by Prof. C.E. Wilson, Ph. D., 2 Vol. 1924 .. 1 12 0

INCOME-TAX AND ACCOUNTS

PERSONS desirous of securing active assistance and honest advice in INCOME-TAX, SUPER-TAX, and ACCOUNTS matters are recommended to engage MR. HAMEED, who attends the Income-Tax Office on behalf of his clients and undertakes Accounts works.

ADDRESS :— *Telephone No.* 23357.

G. A. ABDUL HAMEED,

PUBLIC ACCOUNTANT & INCOME-TAX SPECIALIST,

Masjid Bundar Road, Opp. The Central Bank,

Mandvi Branch, BOMBAY, 3.

To Let

ISLAMIC CULTURE

SOME SPONTANEOUS TRIBUTES

" A periodical of this kind in the English language has long been a great want. *Islamic Culture* will be a most important addition to Indian periodical literature."
THE INDIAN DAILY MAIL.

" There is no doubt that the journal will be occupying an honourable place in the list of periodicals which save humanity from stagnation. Not merely Muslims but everyone interested in human progress will find much food for study and thought." *THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE.*

" A noteworthy feature of this production is that it is well printed and carefully " read." *THE PIONEER.*

" In general get-up and style the Magazine is on a par with its British contemporaries, but the choice of subjects and the co-operation of brilliant Muslim and non-Muslim contributors, makes it the most interesting periodicals published in India."
THE MUSLIM OUTLOOK.

" Is excellently got up and well printed on high class paper. The organ presents the cultural and the enlightened side of Islam and as such it should be welcomed not only by Muslims but also by men of other religions who wish to see a united India by allowing followers of each religion to study the best of other religions."
THE INDIAN DAILY TELEGRAPH.

" This journal will do a great deal in bringing Islam into line with modern thought. It is tastefully got up."
THE HINDU.

" There is great need for such journals in order to dispel ignorance and misunderstanding and uphold the real significance and truth of every religion and culture. The magazine is very well printed on good paper."
THE RANGOON MAIL.

" Represents the best Islamic thought of the day. To the Muslims it will certainly be invaluable and even to the non-Muslims it may be useful in removing certain misconceptions about Islam."

UNITED INDIA AND INDIAN STATES.

" Its printing, paper and get-up is excellent and leaves nothing to be desired." *THE ALIGARH MAIL.*

" The periodical bids fair to be a model one in the English language." *JAM-E-JAMSHED.*

" An invaluable guide to the acquisition of a true knowledge of Islamic Culture and civilization."

KHILAFAT DAILY.

" A first noble effort to serve Islam."

RAHBER-I-DECCAN.

" Contains most interesting articles on Islam."

SAHIFA.

ISLAMIC CULTURE

THE HYDERABAD QUARTERLY REVIEW

PUBLISHED JANUARY, APRIL, JULY, AND OCTOBER

Scale of Advertisement Charges

Single Insertion.

		Rs.
Per ordinary page	..	20
Per half page	..	11
Per quarter page	..	6
Second page of cover	..	50
Third page of cover	..	50
Fourth page of cover	..	80

Annual insertions ..... 10 % Discount.

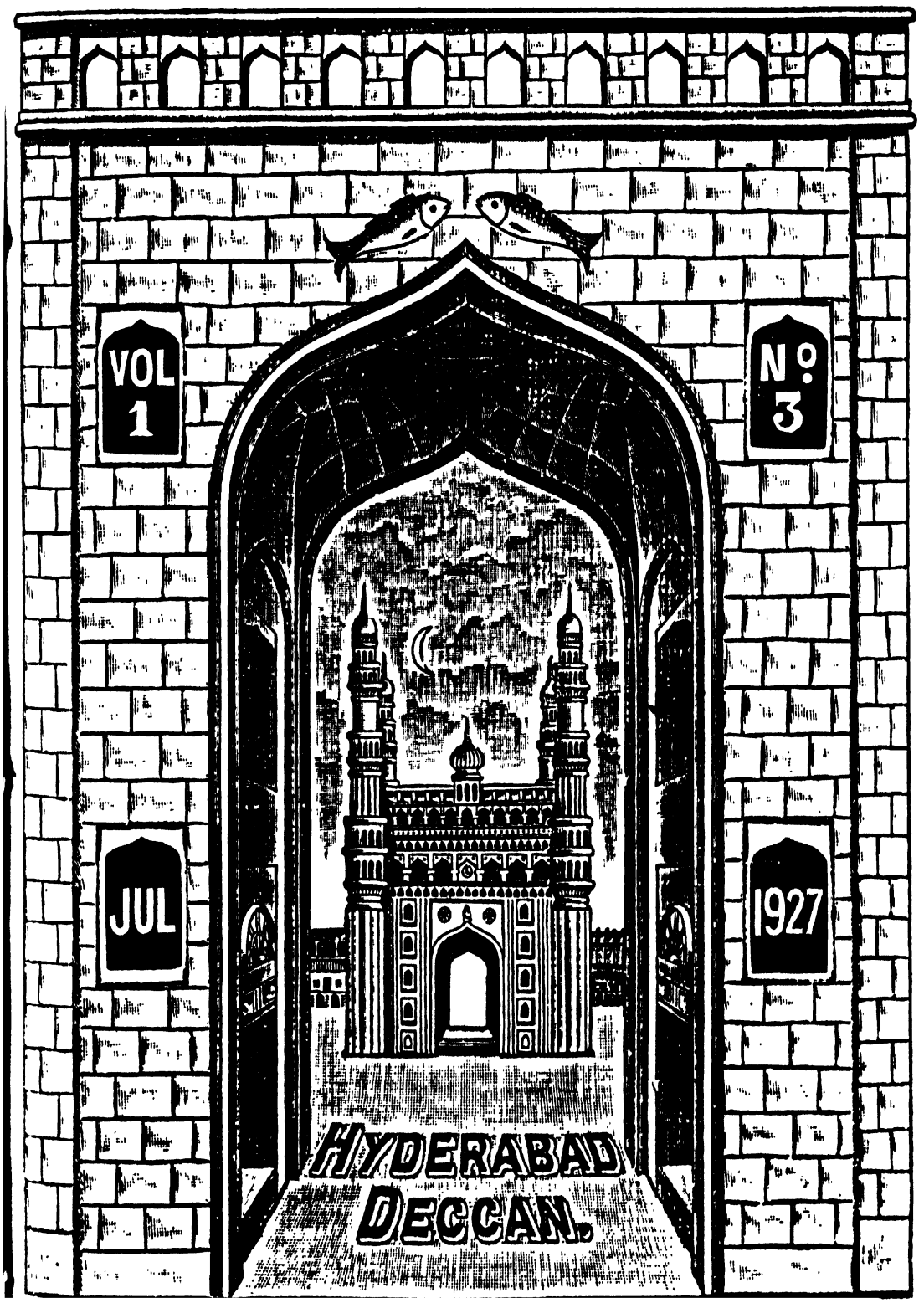
Annual Subscription: Inland Rs. 10, foreign £1-1s including registered postage. The price of Single or Specimen Copy is Rs. 2-12-0.

Purchasers of specimen copies for the current year can become annual subscribers by paying Rs. 7-4-0 additional.

Subscribers are not registered for less than one year and the subscription in all cases must be paid in advance. Notices of change of address, should be sent before the date of issue.

Subscribers when communicating with this office will please mention their respective Roll Numbers. Intending subscribers are requested to send their subscription by M. O. as the V. P. P. causes delay and extra expense. All business communications to be addressed to the Manager.

Islamic Culture

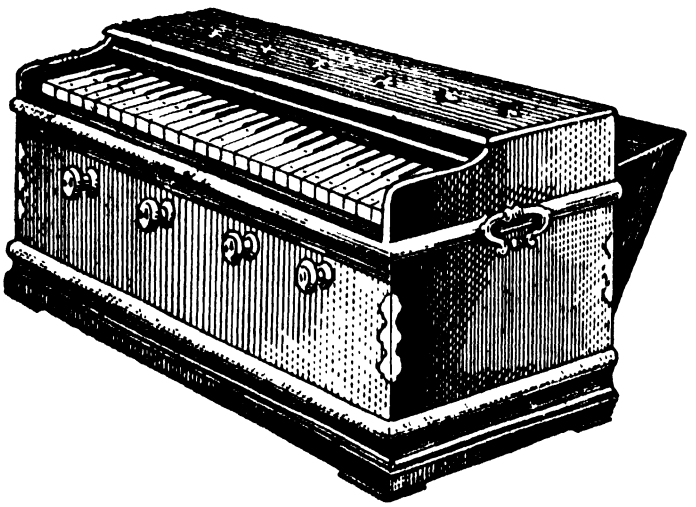


Box Harmoniums of Quality and Merit

Rich and brilliant in tone—Perfect in every way—
Our own specially imported Reeds only used.

The "GROSVENOR"

The tone is loud and the Reed well Voiced and well suited for Indian Music and Singing.



Here is an instrument which has been specially made by us to meet the growing demand for Box Harmoniums with a better tone than usual.

The prices have been so regulated so as to meet the demand of all purses, at the same time the construction throughout is of the highest order rendering it superior to the higher priced instruments usually offered to the public.

		Rs.	A.
Style A.	3 Octaves, C to C, 1 Row Reeds, 8½" High, 4 stops	30	0
Style B.	Same as style A but superior quality	40	0
Style C.	3 Octaves, C to C, 2 Rows Reeds, 9½" High, 5 stops	40	0
Style D.	Same as style C but of a much superior quality ..	55	0
Style E.	3 Octaves, C to C, 2 Rows of Reeds, 9½" High, One Row being Bass or Khad	50	0
Style F.	Same as above but Extra superior quality, with stick and pallet keyboard	85	0
Style G.	3½ Octaves C to F, 1 Row Reeds, 9½" High, 5 stops	47	8
Style H.	Same as above but superior quality	60	0
Style I.	3½ Octaves C to F, 2 Rows Reeds, 9½" High, One set Bass or Khad	75	0
Style J.	Same as above but superior quality, with stick and pallet keyboard	105	0

T. E. BEVAN & Co., Ld.

THE LONDON MUSICAL DEPOT.

GROSVENOR HOUSE,
21, Old Court House Street, *CALCUTTA.*

***Branch*: Mall View House, MUSSOORIE.**

ISLAMIC CULTURE

THE

HYDERABAD QUARTERLY REVIEW

Edited by

MARMADUKE PICKTHALL.

CONTENTS FOR JULY

		PAGES
I.	ISLAMIC CULTURE IN INDIA BY THE RT. HON'BLE SYED AMEER ALI, P.C., C.I.E.	331
II.	THREE TRANSLATIONS FROM THE MATHNAWI OF JALALUD-DIN RUMI BY PROFESSOR R. A. NICHOLSON OF CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY.	358
III.	THE GREAT CALIPHS OF ISLAM: A POEM BY NAWAB NIZAMAT JUNG, C.I.E., O.B.E.	362
IV.	A NEW ACCOUNT OF MUGHAL INDIA BY DR. SHAFAAT AHMAD KHAN OF ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY	363
V.	PHYSIOLOGY AND MEDICINE UNDER THE KHALIFS BY HARUN MUSTAFA LEON, M.A., LL.D., D.Sc., M.D.	388
VI.	AL-GHAZZALI BY S. M. RAHMAN, B.A., LL.B.	406
VII.	THE PERSONALITY OF AKBAR BY K. P. MENON.	412
VIII.	MUNKIR AND NAKIR: A POEM BY REGINA MIRIAM BLOCH.	425
IX.	TRACES OF A *Ka*-BELIEF IN MODERN EGYPT AND OLD ARABIA BY G. D. HORNBLOWER, O.B.E.	426
X.	RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN ISLAM BY A. A. A. FYZEE, B.A., (Cantab), Bar.-at-Law.	431
XI.	THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF THE MUSLIMS IN THE MIDDLE AGES BY S. KHUDA BUKHSH, M.A., B.C.L., Bar.-at-Law.	442
XII.	AL-BIRUNI'S INDIA BY ABDULLAH YUSUF ALI, C.B.E.	473
	BOOKS AND AUTHORS.	
XIII.	"SPIRITUALISM" AND ISLAM BY M. MARMADUKE PICKTHALL.	488

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

MSS. sent to the Editor will receive careful consideration. Business communications should be addressed to the Manager, ISLAMIC CULTURE, Civil Service House, Hyderabad, Deccan.

ISLAMIC CULTURE IN INDIA.

I BELIEVE it is impossible to have more than the haziest idea of the culture of any nation at any particular period of their history without knowing something of their past work, of the forces that have helped their progress and of those that have retarded their development.

The history of Islamic Culture in India is spread over a period of ten centuries. When we speak of Islamic Culture in India we must not forget that it became by force of circumstances superimposed upon another Culture that had existed in the country for thousands of years. Behind the veil which in ancient times hid India from the outside world she had evolved her own extraordinary civilisation. We have no history; we have legends, fictions, religious songs, some works on astronomy and dissertations on philosophy. We have also a remarkable system of jurisprudence which received its development in Mahommedan times. This, however, hardly makes up for the lack of real history which records from day to day and year to year a people's inner life.

Nothing marks so vividly the divergence between the mental attitude of the Hindu and Mahommadan nations or the diversity of their different cultures as the contemptuous disregard in pre-Mahommedan India for historical records. As I have already observed, most other kinds of knowledge were cultivated by the Hindus excepting keeping a note of the events that concern national existence; and we cannot help feeling regret that until the veil was forcibly lifted by outsiders the Indian world was involved in a mist through which it is impossible to peer and form a coherent idea of the occurrences of at least thirty centuries.

When we come to the Mahommedan period we find historical records teeming with information regarding the vast area over which Islam had spread. Respecting India alone we have so many works that it taxes the strength of the most industrious student of the present

day to make even a satisfactory list of them. From the days of Mahmud of Ghazni until our own times works on history have been unceasing. Baihaki speaks from personal knowledge of Mahmûd and his successor Mas'ûd; Minhâjus Sirâj writes similarly of Rizia Begum and her brothers who succeeded her on the throne of Delhi; Shams-i-Sirâj Afîf is a chronicler of events that passed under his own eyes. The Pathan king Firoze has left a record of his own work, so simple and ingenuous that it makes a deeper impression on the mind regarding the virtues of the author than any contemporaneous record. Tamerlane's Institutes read like the edicts of the great Assyrian king, Hamarabi. Baber's Memoirs are replete with the most interesting events of his own life, and his translator speaks of his merits as a writer, a sovereign and a friend in terms of the highest praise. His successors have left personal records of their own lives.

Now about the close of the tenth century of the Christian era, when the Musulmans first set foot in Northern India, an Arab Philosopher was studying in the midst of the Hindus the science and philosophy of the Brahmins. Mâmûn the greatest and most cultivated of the Abbaside Caliphs had gathered in his court at Bagdad a number of learned Brahmins who were employed in translating into Arabic Hindu treatises on astronomy and mathematics; but Abû Raihâ-al-Beiruni was the first foreigner who studied Hindu religion, philosophy and jurisprudence in the midst of Brahmins and in their own homes. His work on India forms a remarkable product of the synthetic and eclectic genius of the Arabs. Al-Beiruni's *Indika* has been translated into English by a distinguished scholar to whose knowledge and industry it is necessary to accord the due meed of praise they deserve.

Al-Beiruni speaks in sympathetic terms of the religion and philosophy of the Brahmins; he attributes the evolution of the caste-system in India to colour differences and deplores the damage that was done to Hindu civilisation by the invasions of Mahmûd of Ghazni.

The scope and variety of Indo-Islamic Culture can hardly be realised without some knowledge of Saracenic culture—of the culture Islâm attained in the West. The jurisprudence of a nation is usually considered to form the best index to a nation's development. The administrative machinery, the cultivation of arts and literature, the position of women in the social economy of the people

constitute perhaps a far more valuable test of national growth.

Western Asia under the Saracens, like Spain under the Moors, enjoyed a system of administration which in its effective distribution of work and control of details ranks with the best in the modern world and in fact forms the model for most of the advanced European countries.

Under the Abbasides the following were the principal departments of State :—the Central Office of Taxes, the Accounts Office, the War Office, the Post-Office, the Board of Correspondence, the Board of Requests, the Board of the Inspection of Grievances, the Board of Government Grants, the Board of Agriculture, besides several minor departments. The heads of all these boards formed the Council for the Supreme Diwân of the Empire under the Presidency of the Prime Minister or Grand Vizier. The military administration was in charge of a Board called the Diwân-ul-Arz, a name which frequently occurs in the history of Musulman India. Each city had its own special police ; and the corporation of merchants composed of representatives selected from their body and presided over by one of their own members formed a responsible syndicate, supervised commercial transactions and repressed frauds.

Most cities of importance had their Town Councils composed of the notables of the place and sometimes of nominees of the Government or Sovereign, and presided over by an elected chairman or *Sadr*.

The administration of justice was a subject of extreme importance. All questions relating to civil rights among non-Moslems were left to the decision of their own communal heads or judges. Each city had its own Kâzi ; and in large towns there were several deputy Kâzis. The Chief Kâzi of Bagdad was called the *Kazi-ul-Kuzzat* and was the chief judiciary of the empire. In order to assist the Kâzis in the administration of justice, another class of officers was established who were called *adls*.

Criminal justice was apparently in the hands of magistrates called *Sahib ul-Mazalim*. But the highest tribunal was "the Board for the Inspection of Grievances" presided over by the Sovereign himself, or in his absence by one of his chief officers. The other members of this Board were the chief Kâzi, the Hâjib or Grand Chamberlain, the principal Secretaries of State, and some of the

Muftis or jurisconsults especially invited to attend. The establishment of this Court was rendered necessary by the difficulty of executing the decrees of the Kâzi when the defendant was of high rank or employed in the service of Government. None dared disobey a citation before this Court and none were powerful enough to escape its severity.

The peasantry were an object of great solicitude to the Abbaside sovereigns, and every effort was made to lighten their burdens. Mansûr the second Abbaside Caliph, though considered parsimonious abolished the payment of the wheat and oat tax in money, and introduced the system of paying the taxes in kind according to a certain percentage of the crop. Upon the less important cultivations and for date-palms and fruit-trees, the old system of levying the tax in money was continued. As this led to extortion on the part of the revenue collectors, his son and successor Mahdi extended the application of the rule introduced by his father, and directed that in every case the tax should be levied in proportion to the actual out-turn. If the lands were peculiarly fertile and required no labour, the cultivator gave to the government half the crops ; if the watering of the ground was difficult and expensive, one-third ; where it was still harder only one-fourth and sometimes even one-fifth. In taxing vineyards, date-groves, orchards, and such like, the crops were valued in money and the rates calculated at half or one-third the sum. These rules re-appear in Akbar's administrative reforms.

In Spain the administration was conducted on similar lines. Whilst the Sultan was the supreme head of government the practical work of government was conducted by ministers who, as in the East, bore the title of vizier. Each department of State was in the charge of a separate minister. There seem to have been four prinicipal offices, *viz.*, finance, foreign affairs, the administration of justice or " redress of grievances " and the management, pay and supervision of the army. The title of vizier was also conferred on the Privy Councillors. The President of the Council, called in Asia Grand Vizier was the Hâjib or Chamberlain, a title which occurs also in India. He held direct communication with the sovereign, received the royal mandates, and acted generally as the chief of the ministers. They all sat in one hall, but the seat of the President was more elevated than those of the others.

The Privy Councillors, like ministers, had the privilege of sitting with the Caliph in the Council chamber. There were several Secretaries of State among whom the chief of the Correspondence Office occupied the most prominent position. The security and protection of non-Moslems were in the hands of a special officer, whilst the Finance Minister had the supervision of the public accounts. In Spain the position of Kâzi was one of great dignity and the chief Kâzi was often designated the "Kâzi of the People." I mention these two systems of administration which were in existence in Western Asia, and Spain in order to explain the conditions in India under the Musulman domination.

The Arab women in their own homes went free of the trammels under which they labour in most oriental countries. The daughter of Mohammed lectured in public and delivered sermons. The cousins of Mansûr, princesses by birth went to war clad in mail to inspire the soldiers by their presence and to tend the wounded. The great grand-daughter of the Prophet, Sakîna, had her own salon. Perrons speaks of her as the most beautiful, the most learned and the most virtuous woman of her times; Sheikha Shuhda lectured in the Cathedral Mosque of Bagdad on rhetoric and literature. That was the condition of culture among the western Musulmans for several centuries. In ancient Athens and in Byzantium, women lived in seclusion and we know that in Russia until the time of Peter I from whom St. Petersburg or Petrograd, as it is called now, derives its name, women were more closely confined than is the case even perhaps in Corea. In Persia the story of Esther and Ahasuerus tells us how women were kept in seclusion. We hear much about the freedom of women in ancient India but the fate of Draupadi tells us a different tale. We read in the Mahabharata how she formed the stake at a gambling match, how she was lost by her husband at the last throw of the dice and how she was dragged by the hair from her inner apartments. And Manu's rules as to their confinement seem to show that the lot of women in the olden times was not so happy as we fondly imagine.

Although contact with these various races had its natural effect and the chivalry of the desert gradually declined, the high consideration the Arab maiden and wife enjoyed was not altogether lost and the Musulman women continued to exercise an influence on the develop-

ment and the social economy of the country of which we have little conception.

Women occupied a high position both among the Spanish Arabs until to use Lecky's words " the cross supplanted the crescent on the towers of Granada. " They lectured, they cultivated literature and arts. In Andalusia they were present at the tournaments when the knight entered the lists wearing some token of his lady-love on his shoulder and helmet. The Saracen lady was an undisguised spectator at the frequent jousts and tournaments which enlivened Cordova and Granada and her presence at the public festivals lent a charm and fascination to the scenes. The dignified association of the sexes gave rise to a delicacy of sentiment and refinement of manners, of which we have little idea in the present day ; nor of its influence in moulding the European conception. The polished courtesy and exalted sentiment of honour which distinguished the Arab cavaliers to the very end of their empire in Spain, in Prescott's language, " might have graced a Bayard or a Sidney. "

Among the Pathan and Turki Kings in India the principal Queen received the title of Malkhai-Jehân " Queen of world " with regal honours. The Queen-mother was frequntly styled the *Makhduma-i-Jehan* the " Mistress of the World. " Rizia Sultan Begum the daughter of Sultan Altamsh was the first Empress of Musulman India in her own right and unfortunately the last. Her father had specially chosen her to succeed to the throne in supersession of her incompetent brothers. Minhâj-us-Sirâj, who held a high office under this accomplished Queen speaks of her as " a great monarch, wise, just and generous, a benefactor of her kingdom, a dispenser of justice, the protector of her subjects and the leader of her armies. " She ruled the kingdom for some years with tact and wisdom ; but they were troublous times and required a man to deal with the forces of disorder. Sultan Rizia Begum was killed in the year 1240. A grand mausoleum was built over her grave which became a shrine; and Ibn Batûta, the Moorish traveller, found it a century and a half later as an object of pilgrimage to both Hindus and Mohammedans. We hear in her time of a Chief Justice, of a *Mushri* or inspector general of the State, of Kâzis in every town, of a Chief Kâzi, of the Vizier's Assistant who bore the title of Sadr-ul-Mulk. The mother of Akbar, Hamida Banu was virtually canonized after her death.

She is known in later history as *Mariam-Makani*. The Consort of Akbar, Salima Sultan Begum, who was a scholar and a poetess of no mean order received the title of *Khadija-uz-Zamani* " the Khadija of the age* ." She was held in the highest respect by the people as well as the royal family. Jegangir was not her son, but her influence over him was so great that whenever he proved refractory Akbar deputed his noble consort to bring him to reason. Salima Sultan Begum wrote poetry under the *nom-de-plume* of Makhfi, the *nom-de-plume* also of Aurangzeb's daughter, the accomplished and unhappy Zeb-unnissa.

In later times in the Kingdom of Oude the princesses and ladies of rank enjoyed remarkable consideration and respect and often exercised no ordinary influence. The titles usually bestowed on them on their marriage form some index of their position in the home of their husbands. *Malkai-do-Alam Nawab Tajdar Bahu* " Queen of the World crown-bearing bride " *Malkai Afakara Jahan Nawab Arjumand Bahu* " World adorning Queen fortunate bride " words which sound to Europeans either grotesque or Oriental hyperbole. But they appealed to the heart of the people and furnished them with an ideal. The Musulman bride, certainly in Northern India among the upper classes, occupied and still occupies a very high position.

Although the Arabs were settled in Sindh from the middle of the eighth century of the Christian era we have but little record of their worth. The rule of the Ghaznavides at first in their own mountain home and afterwards at Lahore gave birth to Indo-Islamic Culture the character of which it is difficult to understand from the meagre records we possess of this particular period before the Musulmans had seated themselves in the heart of India.

We now come to the history of Indo-Islamic culture in the true sense. The subject may be conveniently divided into three periods :

(1) the Pathan, (2) the Mogul and (3) the later period since the downfall of the Mogul empire. We have a fair record of the state of civilisation and of the condition of the Arts and Literature under Mahmûd and his

* Mary the mother of Jesus, Khadija the wife and Fātima the daughter of the Prophet are the three great examples of womanhood in Islam. The mother of Akbar is therefore called "the Lady whose place is with Mariam."

immediate successors in the writings of Al-Beiruni, Utbi, Baihaki and other contemporary chroniclers. Mahmûd with all his faults was lavish in his patronage of learning; scholars, poets and artists flocked to his court and found in him a generous patron. His parsimony towards the author of the *Shahnama* brought on him a satire which is an undying record of a poet's revenge. Mahmûd embellished Ghazni and most of the principal cities of his great empire with exquisite monuments of Saracenic architecture. But his name has been made famous by the work of his Vizier, Khwaja Ahmed Hasan Maimendi who introduced into the Ghaznavide Conqueror's possessions the revenue system which had been so beneficent in Persia and Western Asia that the great traveller Nasir-i-Khusru in his travels described Mesopotamia and the Western Provinces of Persia as a veritable garden. Hasan Maimendi was in fact the prototype of the revenue ministers of later times. Even under the Musulman sovereigns of the Pathan dynasties when the throne was often the prize of the strong and unscrupulous mind, the revenue system on which the prosperity of the country was founded was never upset and whenever fresh improvements were made or the system was desired to be re-cast the model of Ahmed Hasan Maimendi was invariably adopted. Towards the end of Mahmûd's reign Hasan fell into disfavour and remained in disgrace until the death of that hasty-tempered monarch. Mahmûd's son and successor Masûd to whom Al-Beiruni dedicated his work the *Kanum-i-Masudi* was a ruler of a different type less overbearing, less hasty and probably less proud than his father. He was more generous and more amenable to the advice and guidance of experienced servants. We possess some graphic accounts of his court and life; and obtain from them some insight into the inner life of the people. Mas'ûd recalled Ahmed Hasan Maimendi from his retirement and persuaded him again to assume the office of the *Vizarat*. In this king's time there seems to have existed in Ghazni a learned society of which apparently Mas'ûd himself was president and to which belonged all the learned men in his capital. Al-Beiruni appears to have been a member of this society and often took part in its discussions.

The investiture of Maimendi a second time as Vizier of the Empire is extremely interesting. It would appear that the Viziers made their own conditions regarding the terms on which they would hold office; a document was drawn up embodying these conditions to which the king

attached his signature with an oath at the bottom that he would observe faithfully his promise; on the receipt of this paper the Vizier would attach his signature conveying his acceptance with an oath that he would faithfully discharge the duties imposed on him. In the case of Maimendi the rule connected with this is set out at length in a history written by a contemporary of Mas'ûd which is of extreme interest.

"The rule has been" says Baihaki "that when the post of Vizier is conferred on a person of distinction he writes his terms and enquiries about the responsibilities of his position. The Sovereign then writes with his own hand an answer and attests it with his seal. After this, God is called to witness it. The Vizier then examines it, and it becomes a solemn compact with stringent provisions, which the minister must repeat with his tongue and attest with his signature, adding thereto witnesses to his promise of acting in conformity therewith."

The investiture of the Vizier with the robe of office is fully described by the historian who was an eye-witness of the function. He writes as follows:—

"The following day which was Sunday, the 9th of the month of Safar, the Khwâja entered the Court. The great men and the elders, the generals and the other military officers, all waited upon him and observed the ceremonials of respect. The Ameer (the King) turned his face towards the Khwâja, and said, 'You must now put on the robe of office, because we have many important things to attend to.' He then said, 'Let it be known that the Khwâja is my representative (Khalîfa) in all matters requiring consideration. His orders and directions must be executed and observed in all things. Whatever he deems proper, no one must oppose.' The Ameer made a sign to the Chamberlain who was chief of the guards, to take the Khwâja to the state-wardrobe. He came forward and took the Khwâja by the arm. The Khwâja stood up and went to the place, where he was invested with his official robes. I stood up and saw what passed. What I say is from ocular observation and according to the list I possess. There was a garment of scarlet cloth of Baghdad, embroidered with small flowers; a long turban of the finest muslin, with a delicate lace border; a large chain, and a girdle of one thousand miskals studded with turquoises. When he returned to the throne room the other guards came to receive him. The Ameer offered

his congratulations to the Khwâja, who approached the throne and presented a bunch of pearls to the king whilst the Ameer gave to the Khwâja a ring set with a turquoise on which his majesty's name was engraved and said ' This is the seal of state and I give it to you that people may know that the Khwâja's authority is next to mine.' The Khwâja took the ring, kissed the Ameer's hand and returned to his house. "

In Mas'ûd's time we hear of a Vizier's office at which the ministers attended every day excepting Fridays. The successors of Mas'ûd, although unable to maintain the glory of their house, did not fail to support learning and even with their dominions confined to the province of Ghazni and Lahore showed themselves in many cases lavish patrons of scholars and savants. One of them Sultan Ibrâhîm who died in 1098 after a reign of nearly 42 years was not only himself a distinguished poet and philosopher but a friend and protector of learned men who flocked to his court from every part of Central Asia. The great mystic poet Sânai lived in his time and was often a visitor at the Sultan's court. He died in the reign of Bihram, Ibrahim's successor.

The permanent conquest of India was undertaken by the Afghan sovereigns of Ghor. The Ghaznavide dynasty had been ousted from the Punjab and about the time when Herny of Anjou was King in England Shahabuddin Mohammed ruled in Afghanistan.

After a severe defeat he suffered from the Rajput King of Ajmere, Shahâbuddin in 1191 A.C. absolutely crushed the Hindus on the field of Panipat and established Moslem sovereiginty in northern India. This was exactly synchronous with the time the Anjevin was moulding Norman England into a homogeneous country under the Plantagenet rule.

William the Conqueror introduced into England after the battle of Hastings a cruel system of government. He established the Forest Areas and Forest Laws for the prevention of killing the wild beasts that roamed in the depopulated tracts. Anyone killing a wild boar, wolf or any other animal had his hands amputated ; and his successor made the offence capital.

The Saxon freemen were reduced to serfdom ; these serfs gradually rose to be villeins. In the days of the Plantagenets the villeins were sold along with the manors

of the knights and barons. Their daughters could not be married without the sanction of the lord. This harsh and barbaric custom appears to have existed throughout the Tudor times.

In India on the other hand the conquered people retained all their rights, privileges and customs intact. The village communities were not interfered with and their laws relating to the payment of revenue remained untouched. They paid no more than the customary rent (*ma'mul*).

Part of the country was parcelled among the chiefs who served under the sovereign, but they received only from the people what was due to the sovereign. The alienation only affected the kings' rights. Hindu law was not interfered with ; as a matter of fact the *Mitakshara*, the learned work of Vijnaneswara was written in the twelfth century under the patronage of a Mohammedan sovereign. And the learned commentary by Balambhata was compiled a century and a half after Vijnaneswara when a Mohammedan sovereign ruled over Northern India.

The language of the conquered was different from that of the conquerors ; but apparently Persian was cultivated in the Hindu courts, as the ambassador of Shahâbuddin carried on a conversation with the Rajput King with whom he discussed the terms of peace. Sanscrit undoubtedly was the sacred language of the Hindus, but about this time a *lingua franca* was springing up and formed the bond between the native population and the foreign element.

Hindu customs were so little interfered with by the Mohammedans that even the deplorable practice of *sutiism* was not stopped by the Pathan kings. It was only in the days of Akbar the Great that a serious attempt was made to prevent the immolation of widows on the occasion of their husbands' cremation.

When the Musulman power seated itself in Delhi a new culture arose in India which has left its mark on every institution existing nowadays in the country. It is usual for English writers to suppose that the Pathan rule was one long period of agony in which the people suffered and the rulers killed each other for power. There is no doubt that the history of that period, like that of Europe, is stained with bloodshed in the pursuit of ambition or desire for gain, but whilst many of the kings were rude

soldiers, half-educated, reckless of the peoples' welfare, there were others whose names stand forth prominently as fathers to their people, wise administrators, patrons of learning and promoters of industry and culture. One of the first of these wise kings was Sultan Shams Uddîn Altamsh who ascended the throne about 1210 of the Christian era. The Mongol avalanche had overwhelmed the Islamic nations in Central Asia and made a clean sweep of their culture. The learned and religious men who escaped the Mongol swords took refuge in the Court of Altamsh where they were received as welcome guests. Amir Khusru has left a description of the Mongols, among whom he was a prisoner for two years. His account of these barbarisms is interesting. Twelve years later Minhâj-us-Sirâj joined the Court of Altamsh and from that day forth the chronicles of Delhi were noted from day to day by an observant man of learning whose record was keen and discriminate. He tells us not merely of the conquests of the king but also of how the work was done, of the appointments of the chief justice, of the commander-in-chief, of the chancellor of the exchequer and various other officers for the management of the State. The author speaks of his own appointment as law officer entrusted with the supervision of all religious, moral and judicial affairs; how he was ordered to read the Khutba and the prayers at the 'Id-ul-Uzha "the feast of the sacrifice." The College and Cathedral Mosque built by Altamsh were in existence for several centuries and were renovated from time to time. The famous reservoir, Hauz-i-Shamsi which was a special feature of Delhi, existed even in the time of Akbar. I have already spoken of his daughter Rizia Begum who succeeded Altamsh on the throne after a short reign of a brother who was killed by the populace for his cruelties. On her death two unworthy sons rapidly followed each other. The third Nâsir-ud-Dîn proved himself a wise and moderate ruler. Minhâj-us-Sirâj completed his history in Nâsir-ud-Dîn's reign; his chronicles are, therefore, called after this king's name, *Tabakat Nasiri.*

In this reign we hear more about internal affairs and the progress of the country than even in former times. The nobles of the state bore the title of Malik. The Queen Mother bore the title of *Malika-i-Jahan Jalal-ud-dunya wa'd-din* "Glory of the world and the religion." When any of the nobles was raised to a higher station he received the title of Khan. The commander-in-chief bore the

designation of Aziz and the chief ecclesiastic was called the Sheikh-ul-Islam. The Lord Chamberlain was the Hâjib, whilst the war office was called *Diwan-i-Ariz-ul-Mamalik*. The title, Nawab, does not seem to have been in use in these days but in the year 1259 we hear of the deputy of the king under this title Malik-an-Nawwâb Aibak.

In Nasir-ud-din's reign flourished two accomplished scholars and able administrators of whom Badâuni speaks in the highest terms. Of Shams-ud-deen whose literary designation appears to have been Dabîr, he says his learning and accomplishments are beyond description and praise; and Ameer Khusru has extolled his merits in his poem called the *Haft Bihisht*. The other was Ameer (Syed) Fakhr-ud-Deen *Umaid Nounaki* surnamed "master of scholastic philosophy," *Ibn-ul-Kalam*, who was the chancellor of the exchequer, *Mustaufi-ul-Mamalik*.

The three names which stand forth best in later times are those of Bulban, Toghlak and Feroze and form the chief landmarks in the development of Musulman India during the period when the Pathans dominated in Hindustan.

Ziâ-ud-dîn Barni describes the state of the country under Bulban who had ascended the throne in 1265. His account is, by far, the most lucid and is written without exaggeration. The weakness of the sovereigns who succeeded Rizia Begum had thrown the country into great disorder; predatory bands issued from the jungles and forests which covered the country in those days and harried the land. Bulban addressed himself to the restoration of peace and order with unprecedented energy combined with a severity which amounted at times to cruelty but which was demanded by the conditions of the times and the people. The administration of justice was confided to experienced officers and Ziâ-ud-Dîn Barni says that "in meting out justice Bulban was inflexible, showed no favour to his brothers, to his associates or attendants, and if any of them committed an act of injustice he never failed to give redress and comfort to the injured person." The chronicler adds

"During the whole time that he was Khan and Sultan extending over nearly forty years, he never conversed with persons of low origin or occupation, and never indulged in any familiarity, either with friends or strangers, by which the dignity of the Sovereign could be lowered.

He never joked with any one, nor did he allow any one to joke in his presence; he never laughed aloud, nor did he permit any one in his court to laugh."

In order to make the administration of justice more efficient he employed an agency which, though not unknown in modern times, always causes enormous mischief. He stationed reporters called *Barids* at every town and city to send him confidential information regarding the conduct of affairs. These "reporters" degenerated into spies and often made their office a means of extortion; but whenever Bulban found this to be the case he visited the offence with extreme and cruel severity. India owes a debt to him because in his time most of the jungles in Northern Hindustan were cleared, robbers who infested the forests were rooted out and the country was delivered from their terrible depredations. In other directions he made roads to enable merchants and troops to traverse the country in safety and placed guard-houses at regular distances. Ziâ-ud-Dîn Barni says "Sixty years have passed since these events but the roads have ever since been free." Bulban's eldest son Mohammed Fathe Khan whom he had designated as his heir was a brave and expert soldier and an accomplished scholar whose virtues are extolled by every writer of that age. The historian's description of the young Prince gives an interesting picture of the times.

"The Darbar of the young Prince was frequented by the most learned, excellent and accomplished men of the time. His attendants were accustomed to read to him the Shâh-nâmah the poetical works of Sânai, Khakâni and Shaik Nizâmi and learned men discussed the merits of these poets in his presence. Amir Khusrû and Amîr Hasan who were in his service and attended upon him for five years at Multan receiving from him allowances and grants of land. The Prince esteemed their merits and delighted to honour them." Ziâ-ud-Dîn Barni says he often heard from Amîr Khusrû and Amîr Hasan that they had very rarely seen a prince so excellent and virtuous as the "Martyr Prince" the title by which he came to be known after his death.

This promising young prince, who would have given new life to India, fell in a battle with the Mongols and according to all accounts the whole country sorrowed with the old King for his irreparable loss. We are told that Fathe Khan was in frequent communication with the

famous author of the Gulistan, Sheikh Sa'di of Shiraz, who flourished in his time, and invited him several times to visit his court at Multan but the Persian poet, owing to the feebleness of old age, was unable to accept the invitation.

Amîr Khusrû, the poet whom Ziâ Barni mentions as one of his informants regarding the character and virtues of Bulban's eldest son, was born in 1253 of the Christian era. Amîr Khusrû was his title, his full name being Mohammed Hassan Yemîn-ud-dîn. He was a precocious and prolific writer. At the age of seventeen we find him attached to the Court of Bulban's son, Fathe Khan. He lived to see the rise and fall of two dynasties, for he died at the age of 72 in the year 1325, after the accession to power of Ghyâs-ud-dîn Toghlak.

Amîr Khusrû is justly regarded as the greatest of the early Musulman poets of India. He, like his contemporaries and successors until quite recent times, wrote in Persian. His language is mostly simple, free from exaggeration or turgidity; and the beauty of his poetry obtained for him the title of *Tuti-i-Hind.* " The Indian Songster, " parrots being trained to sing in those days. To this title of Amîr Khusrû there is a charming allusion in the Ode of the poet Hâfiz which he sent declining the invitation of the Musulman King of Bengal, Sultan Ghyâs-ud-dîn to visit his court. In one of his most beautiful poems named the 'Ashika or L'Inamorata, Ameer Khusru has immortalised the loves of two charming personalities in early Musulman history— Khizr Khan and Dewal Devi. Khizr Khan was the son of the tyrant 'Alâ-ud-din Khilji who had seized the throne after murdering a too-trustful uncle. The historian describes Khizr Khan as a noble-minded youth utterly different in character to his father who was cold-blooded and calculating in his cruelties. Dewal Devi was a Hindu princess, the daughter of the Rani of Gujarat. This lady became the wife of 'Alâ-ud-din after her capture on the defeat of the Raja, her husband. The two lovers' devotion appears to have been the theme of the age and moved even the heart of the tyrant who sat on the throne of Delhi. Khizr Khan and Dewal Devi were married when he was twenty years of age and she barely sixteen ; and they both died together with her arms clasped round his neck when he was hacked to death.

Although the Indian nation was still in the womb of

futurity, Amîr Khusrû was a truly national poet. He seems to have loved the country of his birth, and his works, for he was a prolific writer, abound in praise of Hindustan. "Call it a black country" he exclaims in wrath to her Western detractors; "She is as beautiful as a bride, rich in her products, and vast as a continent." Delhi in his time must have been a grand city with its three large forts and thirteen gates, the magnificent reservoir built by Altamsh, its cathedral Mosque, its huge Minaret and above all its learned doctors, its poets, singers and its maliks, khans and princes. The use of betel-leaf so common in India especially among women, a habit abhorred by Bâber, appears to have been adopted by the Musulmans not long after the conquest, for it was undoubtedly in vogue in the time of Amîr Khusrû. A piece of betel leaf, one aromatic kind, is especially reserved for rich families,—is folded up with a piece of arecanut and one or two aromatic ingredients inside and made into neat small cachets which can easily be put into the mouth. Often these little cachets are covered over with silver or gold leaf and are handed round on festive occasions to the guests. They are tokens of amity, friendship and hospitality but have been known to be used also for purposes of removing by quieter means enemies or inconvenient rivals, just as other means were employed in Europe. A story is told of Feroze, whose name I have mentioned already, which throws into relief not only the use of the betel leaf but also the part ladies played in mediæval India. It was the practice of this good king to call on the sister of his predecessor every Friday after the service in the Cathedral Mosque when he received the cachet from the Princess' own hands. But this lady was anxious to get rid of Feroze in order to place her son on the throne. One day the cachet with the poison inside was ready, when the unsuspecting king came into the inner apartments, kissed the Princess' hands and sat down opposite to her. The youth for whom the murder was designed, was standing behind his mother, and he made a quick sign to Feroze to depart at once. The king took the hint, left the clever lady's room with a hurried excuse, and gained safety outside. An enquiry was made and the whole conspiracy was revealed. Feroze exiled the Princess and her husband to another city and raised the young prince to a high position in his Court.

This, however, is a mere digression from the main theme.

Nowadays every lady of means or position has a box called pândân made of gold or silver for keeping her betel-leaf cachets— the poorer classes have copper ones— and the pin-money which a Musulman lady almost always receives after marriage is called *Kharch-i-pandan* or the allowance for the pândân, an euphemism for private allowance.

Ameer Khusru was born at Paithan, on the Ganges and lies buried at Delhi which he loved, at the feet of his spiritual instructor the noted Saint, Nizamuddin Aulia whose tomb still attracts not merely Moslem pilgrims.

The rich composite language called Urdu must have been in the process of formation ever since the different races of middle and Western Asia began to settle in India. In Amîr Khusrû's time it was still archaic in character and few of the Musulman writers used it either in correspondence or for literary purposes. It was, as its Turki name implies, the language of the camp, a *lingua franca* for communicating with the people of the country, and was the language of the women-folk who were introduced into the household from the indigenous stocks. Amîr Khusrû's little poem called the "*Khalikbari Surjanhar*" was evidently intended to show the fundamental identity of all religions. From him we learn of the principal languages then in use in India, all of which more or less are still in vogue. The Prakrit which in later times became corrupted into Hindi is probably what he calls Hindawi. The poet thus describes these various tongues :

"As I was born in Hind I may be allowed to say a word respecting its languages. There is at this time in every Province a language peculiar to itself and not borrowed from any other- Sindi, Lahori, Kashmiri, the language of Dugar, Dhur Samundar, Tilang, Gujarat, Ma'bar, Gaur, Bengal, Oudh, Delhi and its environs. These are all languages of Hind, which from ancient times have been applied in every way to the common purposes of life.

But there is another language more select than the others, which all the Brahmans use. Its name from of old is Sanskrit, and the common people know nothing of it. A Brahman knows it, but Brahmani women do not understand a word of it. It bears a resemblance to Arabic in some respects in its permutations of letters, its grammar, its conjugations and polish. They have four books in that language which they are constantly in the habit of

* Badauni vol. II.

repeating. Their name is Bed. They contain stories of their gods but little advantage can be derived from their perusal. Whatever other stories and fables they have is contained in Kabits, puranas and namahs. The language possesses rules for composition and eloquence. The language is very precious, inferior to Arabic, but superior to Dari, (Persian) and though the latter is certainly sweet and melodious, yet even in that respect this language does not yield to it. "

The elegy composed by Mîr Hasan, the friend and contemporary of Amîr Khusrû, on the death of Bulban's eldest son " The Martyr Prince " is one of the finest pieces of Indo-Persian composition and its imageries give some idea of the national development. Mîr Hasan lies buried in Dowlatabad.

The Hindu rising which engulfed in indiscriminate destruction the family of 'Alâ-ud-dîn Khilji is regarded by Oriental historians as a divine punishment for the murder of his patron. With the exception of a few females every member of the ill-fated family, old and young, was slaughtered by the Hindus. In this massacre Dewal Rani and her lover-husband, Khizr Khan, lost their lives. The usurper, however, did not enjoy long the fruits of his crime and before five months were over he and his followers met with their just reward.

The Tughlak dynasty came into power in 1320 A.C. Ziâ-ud-dîn Barni who wrote their history in the time of Firoze Shah (who gives the name to the work) speaks in the highest terms of the first sovereign of this dynasty, Ghyâs-uddîn-Tughlak. Describing his administration, he says as follows :—

" Under his orders if any poor traveller, by the visitation of God, fell on the road and died, the feudal Chiefs, the Officers and the heads of the Villages were to be summoned together with the Kâzis and the residents of the locality and in their presence the body was to be examined, a report was drawn up under the seal of the Magistrate certifying that no mark of a wound was discernible on the corpse after which alone it could be buried."

The Historian adds " thus by the enquiries of the Kâzis all the injunctions of the law were fulfilled and it was in no way possible that during the reign of this sovereign any strong man could tyrannise over the weak. "

The procedure introduced in England by Henry of Anjou was somewhat similar.

Ghyâs-uddîn died after a short reign of barely five years. His son and successor, Mohammed Juna Khan, laid the Cyclopean foundations of the unfinished city of Tughlakabad, two hours drive from modern Delhi, which now remains a mournful monument of the vanity of human wishes. An accomplished scholar, devoted to learning and arts, anxious to do justice, desirous of earning the title which the old Persian King Anushirvan enjoyed– " the Just, " his name is execrated as one of the cruellest tyrants in the history of Musulman India. His character is summed up in a sentence by Sheikh Abdul Kadir Badauni, author of " The Compendious History of the World "– the *Muntakhib-ut-Tawarikh*– who compiled his work in the reign of Akbar. He says, " The kingdom was ruined by the cuelty and repression of the king, whose belief it was that what he was doing was real justice ."

از افراط ظلم و تعدي سلطان كرد و اعتقاد او عين عدل بود ملك بر باد شد

Juna Khan is regarded by most historians as half mad. Ziâ Barni gives an account of an interesting conversation he had with this extraordinary tyrant. " One day," the author writes, " while the King was thus distressed (by the success of the rebels) " he summoned me, the compiler (of this history), to the throne and addressed me as follows, ' My kingdom is diseased and no treatment cures it ; like the physician who tries to cure a headache and fever grows, and if he attempts to cure fever delirium follows. "

" So in my kingdom disorders have broken out ; if I suppress them in one place they appear in another ; if I allay them in one district another becomes disturbed. What have former kings said about these disorders ? " I replied " Histories record many remedies which kings have employed in these disorders. Some kings, when they have perceived that they do not retain the confidence of their people, and have become the objects of general dislike, have abdicated their thrones and have given over the government to the most worthy of their sons. Retiring into privacy, and occupying themselves in innocent pursuits they have passed their time in the society of sympathising friends, without troubling themselves about matters of government. Other kings, when they have found themselves the objects of general aversion, have taken to

hunting, pleasure and wine, leaving all the business of the State to their viziers and officers and throwing off all concern in them. If this course seems good to the people, and the king is not given to revenge, the disorders of the State may be cured. Of all political ills, the greatest and most dire is a general feeling of aversion and a want of confidence among all ranks of the people." The Sultan replied, "If I can settle the affairs of my kingdom according to my wish, I will consign my realm of Delhi to three persons, Firoz Shah, Malik Kabir and Ahmad Ayyaz and I will then proceed on the pilgrimage to the holy Kaaba. At present I am angry with my subjects and they are aggrieved with me. The people are acquainted with my feelings, and I am aware of their misery and wretchedness. No treatment that I employ is of any benefit. My remedy for rebels, insurgents, opponents and disaffected people is the sword. I employ punishment and use the sword, so that a cure may be effected by suffering. The more the people resist the more I inflict chastisement."

Among the fantastic measures Juna Khan adopted for improving the condition of the people and restoring the prosperity of the country, was his attempt to introduce a paper currency, which added to the bankruptcy of the State. The misguided populace lampooned the Sultan, which was surreptitiously carried into the palace and added to the fury of the King, and led to cruel repressions. Juna Khan died in 1350 A.C. in an expedition into Sind, and as Abdul Kâdir says, "At last the people were delivered from the Sultan and the Sultan from the people."

It is remarkable that the court of this tyrant, who in moments of frenzy was hardly in his senses, in spite of his cruelties, should have been the resort of scholars, poets and artists. Ziâ-Barni, the historian, was a friend whom he consulted,the famous Badr-ud-dîn Chach* whose *Divan* is still studied by students of Persian, was the poet-laureate, Zahîr-ud-din Jaiûsh the architect, Shahâbuddîn Abu'l Abbâs Ahmed the rhetorician, Sirâju'ddîn Abul Fathe 'Umar, the jurist, enjoyed Juna Khans' patronage. But the most noted among these learned men was the traveller, historian, and savant from Tangiers, Ibni-Batûta, who visited Delhi in 1333 A.C. and has left a most interesting account of Delhi and its extraordinary and abnormally-minded ruler. He speaks of Delhi as a city of

* Baber says it is another name for the city of Tashkend in Turkestan also called Shash.

great extent with a large population, composed of four large suburbs, or as he calls them " cities," *viz.*, (1) Delhi "properly so called," meaning the old Delhi of the Hindus (2) Siri where the Pathan Kings usually dwelt (3) Tughlakabad, probably the unfinished city, the gigantic remains of which still astonish the foreign visitor, and (4) the *Jahan-panah*, a suburb begun by Juna Khan. Ibni-Batûta then describes the city thus :-

" The wall which surrounds Delhi has no equal. It is eleven cubits thick. Chambers are constructed in it which are occupied by the night watch and the person charged with the care of the gates. In these chambers also there are stores of provisions called ambâr, magazines of the munitions of war, and others in which are kept mangonels and ra'adas (" thunderer " a machine employed in sieges). Grain keeps in these chambers without change or the least deterioration. I saw some rice taken out of one of these magazines ; it was black in colour but good to the taste. I saw also some millet taken out. All these provisions had been stored by Sultan Balban ninety years before. Horse and foot can pass inside this wall from one end of the city to the other. Windows to give light have been opened in it on the inside towards the city. The lower part of the wall is built of stone, the upper part of brick. The bastions are numerous and closely placed. The city of Delhi has twenty eight gates. First, that of Badaun which is the principal. "

The postman in those days carried the bag exactly in the same way as he does to-day in out-of-the-way districts, on a long stick with an iron ring at one end on which the bag is swung, and he thus covered often twenty or thirty miles a day, jingling his stick as he went along.

Learned and religious men and the judicial officers, even under 'Alâ-ud-dîn and Juna Khan enjoyed an immunity and freedom of speech which, from the nature of the rulers they had to deal with, is simply astounding. One incident which, however, occurred at a later period under Behlol Lodi (1451 A.C.) will serve as an illustration of the liberty of speech that a man of learning enjoyed. Behlol's son Nâzim Khan, who afterwards became Sikandar Lodi, was at the time of the occurrence to which I am referring, Governor of the district east of Delhi. News was brought to him that a band of riotous Hindus had collected at Kurkhet not far from Thaneswar to bathe in their sacred tank and worship at the temple situated there,

and he decided upon putting them summarily to death. But before taking that course he was advised to consult the doctors of law. They were accordingly assembled and Nâzim Khan propounded the question to the chief among them who bore the title of *Malik-ul-'Ulama* ("The King of the Learned") whether he would be justified in putting the Hindu worshippers to death. "The *Malik-ul'-Ulama*" says the chronicler, "assured the prince," that it would be very improper for him to destroy an ancient idol-temple and that he ought not to forbid the accustomed rite of performing their ablutions in the tank. When this conversation had lasted a short time the Sultan placed his hand on his dagger, and exclaimed, "You side with the infidels. I will first put an end to you and then massacre the infidels at Kurkhet." Mian 'Abdulla said, "Every one's life is in the hand of God—no one can die without His command: whoever enters the presence of a tyrant must beforehand prepare himself for death, let what may happen. When you asked me, I gave you an answer in conformity with the precepts of the Prophet; if you have no reverence for them what is the use of inquiring?"

This courageous stand seems to have cooled the ardour of the fierce Afghan.

Such instances are common throughout this period whether in India or in Europe, when human life and human rights were held so cheap.

In Juna Khan's time[1] the Chief Justice, usually called the Sadr-us-Sudûr or Sadr-i-Jahân, was Khwâja Kamâl-uddin Ahmed, a man of great erudition. The word *Sadr* existed in India under the British rule up to the 'seventies. The East India Company established three grades of judges for the Moffussil Courts, under the old Mussulman names of Munsiff (an officer who still exercises a limited jurisdiction under that old designation), then came the Sadr Amîn and above him the Sadr Amîn â'la.—These two officers are now called Subordinate Judges.

On the death of Juna Khan the nobles and grandees elected to the throne his cousin[2] Firoze the son of Malik Rajab, who held the office of Lord Chamberlain, as the most fitted by his virtues and abilities to cope with the disorders to which the ill-balanced mind of the last King had given birth in the Empire. The description of his election

(1) * Juna Khan 1325—1351

(2) * Firoze born in 1309, 1351—1388.

is interesting and shows the respect which was paid to the ruler whenever he was placed on the throne and was invested with the crown of the Empire. Ziâ-Barni has left us an account of the first five years of Firoze's reign: but the account by Shams-i-Sirâj 'Afîf, who also wrote his work in Firoze's time, is the most complete. From these two contemporaneous records and his own memoirs we form a clear conception of him as a man and as a ruler. By far he is the most lovable personality in Mediæval India. Juna Khan had left the Imperial Treasury absolutely denuded: immediately on his arrival the merchants and bankers of their own free will advanced him a large sum of money to carry on the administration. Towards the close of Juna Khan's reign Delhi bore the appearance of a deserted city. Firoze's first efforts were directed to bring back the people and to inspire them with confidence in the Government. "I, Ziâ-Barni, the author of this work *Tarikh-i-Firoze Shahi*, writing in my seventy-fourth year affirm that (soon after the accession of Firoze Shah) to whichever place of public resort I go, whether mosque or a place for the performance of 'Id prayers, or a Serai or a market I am astonished at the sight of the immense concourse gathered there, at their appearance of prosperity and their sense of security, and I wonder where they have come from."

The historians say Firoze devoted his attention, after providing for the prosperity and security of the people, to three principal objects, (1) the liberation of prisoners, (2) redressing the wrongs of the oppressed, and (3) restoration and construction of religious and educational buildings.

His treatment of the provinces which he brought under his rule was merciful; he never permitted a place to be taken by assault out of regard for the enemy's women, for fear that they might be subjected to insult by his soldiers. He built canals, one of which is still in existence, for the reclamation of lands which had either become waste from neglect or were lying uncultivated for want of irrigation*.

* In the month of Sha'ban 756h (the Sultan) went towards Dipalpur hunting, and having dug a large canal from the river Sutlej, he conducted it to Jhajhar, forty-eight kos distant. In 757 he cut a canal from the river Humna, in the hills of Mandewi and Sirmor, and having turned seven other streams into it, he brought it to Hansi and from thence to Abasin, where he built a strong fort which he called Hisar Firozah. Below that fort and near the palace he dug a tank

The people made a small contribution towards the maintenance of these canals. He appointed officers to watch and guard against inundation by the rivers. He built the city of Firozabad four miles from Delhi and endowed it with mosques, colleges and hospitals. Shams-i-Sirâj says that the eight public mosques for which Firozabad was indebted to the king were each capable of accommodating a congregation of 10,000 people. An account of the modes of public conveyance for the ease of passengers between Delhi and Firozabad gives some idea of the advance in the amenities of civilised life. Saddled horses and mules were available at all times ; but carriages drawn by horses or mules were equally at the disposal of people who did not wish to ride ; the charges for these vehicles were extremely moderate. Palanquins with bearers could be hired at any moment ; whilst camel carts were used for longer journeys.

The hospitals and colleges were supported by the State. Firoze's fondness for gardens was so great that at his own expense he either made or helped in making 1,200 gardens in Delhi and its vicinity. Besides hospitals he established " a house of charity " where poor people received regularly doles of food. He had a regular system for preventing unemployment.

In his *Futuhat-i-Feroze Shahi* (" The conquests of Firoze Shah ") he does not speak of his conquests by force of arms, but of his pious deeds. After describing the monuments of his great predecessors which he had either renovated or repaired and brought back to life, and the endowments he created for their up-keep, he describes with the simplicity of a soldier his own works of mercy. To show the character of this good king, the following two passages from the *Futuhat* are of extreme interest :— "I was enabled, " says the royal author, " by God's help to build a Daru-sh Shifâ (Hospital) for the benefit of everyone of high or low degree, who was suddenly attacked by illness and overcome by suffering. Physicians attend there to ascertain the diease, to look after the cure, to regulate the diet, and to administer medicine. The cost of the medicines and the food is defrayed from my endowments. All sick

which he filled with the waters of that canal. He formed another canal from the river Khagar, and conducting it by the fort of Sarsuti he brought it to the river Sar-khatrah where he founded the city of Firozabad. He also brought another canal from the Jumna and threw it into the tank of that city.

persons, residents and travellers, gentle and simple, bond and free, resort thither ; their maladies are treated and, under God's blessing, they are cured ."

" Under the Guidance of the Almighty I arranged that the heirs of those persons who had been executed (*kushta*) in the reign of my late lord and patron Sultan Muhammad Shah and those who had been deprived of a limb, nose, eye, hand or foot should be reconciled to the late Sultan and be appeased with gifts, so that they executed deeds declaring their satisfaction, duly attested by witnesses. These deeds were put into a chest, which was placed in the Daru-l-amam at the head of the tomb of the last Sultan, in the hope that God in his great clemency, would show mercy to my late friend and patron, and make those persons feel reconciled to him."

" Another instance of Divine Guidance was this. Villages, lands and ancient patrimonies of every kind had been wrested from the hands of their owners in former reigns, and had been brought under the Exchequer. I directed that every one who had a claim to property should bring it forward in the law-court, and upon establishing his title, the village, the land or whatever other property it was should be restored to him. By God's grace I was impelled to this good action and men obtained their just rights. "

Hindus were largely employed in the public services before the time of Feroze, and Hindu nobles are frequently mentioned in the court entourage. But in his reign they appear more prominently, occupying positions alongside the Musulman high officers of State.

The study of Sanscrit commenced early, but it seems to have received an extraordinary impetus under this monarch. 'Izz-ud-Dîn Khâlid Khâfi whom Sheikh Abdul Kâdir describes as one of the poets and literary men of Feroze's time translated under the orders of the king many Sanscrit works in astronomy, music, medicine and astrology. These were collectively called *dalail-i-Firozi.* Moulâna Dâūd rendered into Persian the famous Sanscrit poem *Chandaban.* Kâzi Zâhir Dehlawi and Malik Ahmed were the best known poets of this time. Two of the holy men whose *Khankahs* formed religious centres in Feroze's reign were Sheikh Makhdoon Nâsir-ud-dîn Chirâg-i-Delhi, " The Lamp of Delhi " and Sheikh Jamâl ud-dîn of Hansi, some miles to the west of Delhi. These *Khankahs* were spread all over India from the earliest period of

Musulman settlement and still exist in various parts of the country. They were the resorts of people in search of religious instruction or those who wished to escape from the afflictions of those troublous times. The same motive which impelled earnest Christians in the Western world to take refuge in monasteries led these Moslems to a *Khan Kah.*

In Feroze's time we hear of two principal departments of State, one the *Diwan-ul-Wizarat* invested with the duty of civil administration; and the other the *Diwan-ul-Arz*, the War office. His regular army consisted of 90,000 cavalry, more than 200,000 infantry, 470 war elephants, numbers of "barrier-breaking" boats. His personal equipage on the march consisted of two outer tents (*dahliz*) two reception tents, two sleeping tents for cooking and domestics. He established a system of registration for horses and men which was afterwards so carefully developed in Akbar's reign. 'Alâ-ud-din had abolished the custom of paying soldiers and state funtionaries by grants of land as he considered it impolitic. Feroze restored the system as he considered it gave them a stake in the country.

We first hear of a clock (*Tas-i-Gharial*) in his time for marking time and announcing the hours of prayer.

India is indebted to Feroze for at least three cities, Hissar, Janpur and Firozabad. But few people know that the restoration and repeopling of Agra was due to this noble-hearted mediæval monarch.

Feroze died after a reign of nearly thirty-eight years on the 26th of September, 1388, at the age of ninety, and with him ended the glory of Pathan rule.

Firoze was one of the three sovereigns of India who received regular investitures from the Caliph, Altamsh and Juna Khan being the two others. Nothing shows so clearly the veneration in which the Sunni world holds the Caliphate as the respect that was paid to the envoys of the Caliph on their arrival on the soil of India and the ceremonies with which they were received. The Caliphate, they held, had develoved on the Abbasides who possessed the right of legitimatising the title of Musulman

Feroze Shah constructed 5 Canals (band-i-jui) 4 Mosques (Firishta says 40); 30 Colleges; 20 Monasteries (Khānkah); 100 Palaces (Kushk); 200 Caravanserais (rabat); 300 Towns; 5 Tanks (hauz); 5 Hospitals; 100 Mausoleums; 10 Baths; 10 Monumental Pillars minarets; 150 Wells; 100 Bridges and gardens beyond number.

sovereigns to rulership. That right devolved on the Osman Sultan Selim I when the Caliphate was transferred to him by the last Abbaside Caliph of Cairo.

The successors of Firoze were ignoble princes : new dynasties arose and fell. But in spite of internecine strife and the calamities of foreign invasion, the remains of Firoze's good works continued to inspire a certain amount of emulation and to ensure the continuance of progress.

Among the later Pathan kings, the two under whom Northern India prospered and progressed were Behlol Lodi and his successor Sikandar Lodi (to whom reference has already been made under the name of Nizâm Khan). Behlol had ascended the throne in 1451 A.C[1]. He appears to have been genuinely solicitous of the welfare of the people and tried to imitate Firoze in his benefactions. Sikandar also appears to have been a munificent patron of learning and Sheikh Abdul Kadir Badauni mentions the names of many prominent learned men of his time. Among the principal *'Ulama* of the time of Sultan Sikandar were Sheikh Abdullah Talabni of Delhi and Sheikh 'Azîzullah in Sambat who after the sack of Multan (by Tamerlane) came to Hindustan and introduced there the exact sciences (علم معقول in contradiction to traditions). Before this, excepting the *Sharh-i-Shamsia* and *Sharh-i-Ajaif*, two works on logic, and some works on *'Ibn-i-Kalam* (theological philosophy) few other branches of learning were in vogue. "I have heard from my masters" says the chronicler, "that forty learned men (whose names are set forth) derived instruction from Sheikh Abdullah..... It was the custom of Sultan Sikandar to assemble the learned men of his country in his palace and to seat Sheikh Abdullah and Sheikh 'Azîzullah on one side of him, and Sheikh ul-Hadya and his son, Bahkari on the other side and have disputations ; and it used to appear that the first two worthies excelled in ratiocination and argument, and the latter two esteemed men in recorded knowledge (*tahrir*) excelled each other[2]."

He appears to have been devoted to music and every night *Shahnais* (performers) played in the royal durbar on the *surna*, the *chang*, the *kanun*, the *tambur* and the *bin*.

Sikandar died in 1517 A.C. and was succeeded by his son Ibrahim Lodi.

(1) He died in 1488 A. C.
(2) Tarikh-i-Daudi.

AMEER ALI.

THREE TRANSLATIONS FROM THE MATHNAWI OF JALALU'DDIN RUMI.

I

THE SONG OF THE REED.

Hark, how the Reed with shrill sad strain,
Of lovers' parting doth complain.
" From the reed-bed since I was torn,
My song makes men and women mourn.
Love's pain and passion to impart,
I want a sympathising heart.
He pines, the wretch also far must roam,
For his old happiness and home.

I sobbed and wailed in every throng,
With sad and gay I sorted long.
Each deemed himself my friend ; none sought
The secrets of my inmost thought.
My secret dwells not far behind
My voice ; but ears are deaf, eyes blind,
Though body from soul no veils divide,
Sight of the soul is still denied."

Fire is the Reed's shrill noise, not breath :
Who lacks this fire, to him be death !
In the Reed 'tis flaming Love that breathes,
In the Wine 'tis boiling Love that seethes.
The Reed's our friend when hope departs,
Its music thrills our lonely hearts.

Who such a bare and balm saw e'er ?
Who such a fond and eager fare ?
The blood-stained Way it telleth of
And how Majnun was crazed by love.
This sense only the senseless win,
This tongue must find an ear within.

Our days turn late, and no relief;
Our days go hand in hand with grief.
Then let them go, nor care what 'tide;
Thou, Holy past compare, abide!
None but His fish His water fed,
Long is the day without His bread
No spirit raw can apprehend
Ripeness: farewell, and here I end.

II

THE MEN WHO FLEW TO HINDUSTAN.

One morn, to Solomon in his hall of justice
A noble suitor came, running in haste,
His countenance pale with anguish, his lips blue.
"What ails thee, Khoja?" asked the King. Then he:
"'Twas Azrael—ah, such a look he cast
On me of rage and vengeance." "Come now, ask
What boon thou wilt." "Protector of our lives,
I pray thee, bid the Wind convey me straight
To Hindustan: thy servant, there arrived,
Shall peradventure save his soul from Death."

How folk do ever flee from dervishhood
Into the jaws of greed and idle hope!
Your fear of dervishhood is that doomed man's terror,
Greed and ambition are your Hindustan.

Solomon bade the Wind convey him swiftly
Over the sea to farthest Hindustan.
On the morrow, when the King in audience sate,
He said to Azrael, "Why didst thou look
So wrathfully upon that Musulman,
His home knew him no more?" "Nay, not in wrath,"
Replied the Angel, "did I look at him;
But seeing him pass by, I stared in wonder,
For God had bidden me take his soul that day
In Hindustan. I stood there marvelling.
Methought, even if he had a hundred wings
'Twere far for him to fly to Hindustan."

Judge all things of the world by this same scale
And ope your eyes and see! Away from above
Shall we run headlong? From ourselves? Absurd!
Whom take ourselves away from? God? Oh crime!

III.

THE PALADIN OF KAZWIN

Now hear a pleasant tale—and mark the scene—
About the way and custom of Kazwìn,
Where barbers ply their needles to tattoo
Folk's arms and shoulders with designs in blue.

Once a Kazwìnì spoke the barber fair :
" Tattoo me, please ; make something choice and rare."
" What figure shall I paint, O paladin ? "
" A furious lion : punch him boldly in.
Leo is my ascendant : come, tattoo
A lion, and let him have his fill of blue."
" On what place must I prick the deft design ? "
" Trace it upon my shoulder, line by line."
He took the needle and dabbed and dabbed it in ;
Feeling his shoulder smart, the paladin
Began to yell— " You have killed me quite, I vow :
What is this pattern you are doing now ? "
" Why, sir, a lion, as you ordered me."
" Commencing with what limb ? " demanded he.
" His tail, " was the reply. " O best of men,
Leave out the tail, I beg, and start again.
The lion's tail and rump chokes me to death ;
It's stuck fast in my windpipe, stops my breath.
O lion-maker, let him have no tail,
Or under these sharp stabs my heart will fail."
Another spot the barber 'gan tattoo,
Without fear, without favour, without rue.
" Oh, oh ! which part of him is this ? Oh dear ! "
" This," said the barber, " is your lion's ear."
" Pray, doctor, not an ear of any sort !
Leave out his ears and cut the business short."
The artist quickly set to work once more :
Again our hero raised a doleful roar.
" On which third limb now is the needle employed ? "
" His belly, my dear sir." " Hold, hold ! " he cried ;
" Perish the lion's belly, root and branch !
How should the glutted lion want a paunch ? "
Long stood the barber there in mute dismay,
His finger 'twixt his teeth ; then flung away
The needle, crying, " All the wide world o'er,
Has such a thing e'er happened heretofore ?
Why, God himself did never make, I tell ye,
A lion without tail or ears or belly ! "

MORAL

Brother, endure the pain with patience fresh,
To gain deliverance from the miscreant flesh.
Whoso is freed from selfhood's vain conceit,
Sky, sun and moon fall down to worship at his feet.

R. A. NICHOLSON.

THE GREAT CALIPHS OF ISLAM.

Immortal Faith, immortal Love
Raised high on rapture's wings
Their souls that learned to soar above
The pomp and pride of kings.

Love claimed, by right of heavenly birth,
Its heritage divine ;
Faith saw from far, though chained on earth,
The heavenly glories shine.

Mortals, and in Life's prison pent,
They nobly dared to rise
Into a vaster firmament
Of grander earths and skies,

And ranging God's Creation, free
From self's ignoble strife,
They gathered Truth's infinity
Into the core of life.

Their prayers that winged the passing hour
Eternal life did claim ;
Such faith was theirs, it shared the power
That feeds the suns with flame !

'Twas theirs the hallowed path to find,
Erst by their Leader trod,
And in the guidance of mankind
The way that leads to God.

NIZAMAT JUNG

*A NEW ACCOUNT OF MUGHAL INDIA**

As explained in the following paper, John Marshall left a large collection of most valuable material in the form of travels, observations and translations of Indian classics, etc., at a critical period of Indian history. These writings remained mysteriously hidden in the recesses of British libraries, and only perfunctory references were made to them by Temple Wilson and Marshman. I unearthed this priceless collection in the British Museum, collated numerous copies, translated them and have just sent them to the Press for publication. They are a mine of information on every topic connected with India. They deal with religion, history, astrology, customs, manners, topography and numerous other matters, and throw a flood of light on the early period of the reign of Aurangzeb. This is undoubtedly the most valuable source of the history of India which has been discovered during the last half century. The Clarendon Press of Oxford is publishing the text with notes and the book will be out next September. I am sending the introduction to the book for the benefit of readers of Islamic Culture.

John Marshall, the author of the *Notes and Observations on East India*, does not figure prominently in the early history of the East India Company. Unlike his contemporaries, John March, Walter Clavell, Matthias Vincent and Job Charnock, he had no direct intercourse with the ruling authorities of his day, nor did he take any part in obtaining grants for trade, redress of grievances or extension of territory in the early days of the East India Company. His fame rests on different grounds. For eight years after his arrival in India he pursued the

* " A new Account of Mughal India, being notes and observations of East India. " Memorandums concerning India from September 11th 1688 to January 1st 1671-2 by John Marshall, the English East India Company's factor in Patna by Shafaat Ahmed Khan, Litt. D., M.L.C., University Professor of History, Allahabad. [A paper read at the Ninth Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Lucknow in December 1926.]

even tenor of his way in Bengal ; but, as the first Englishman who really studied Indian antiquities, he left behind him a store of knowledge that will keep his memory for ever green in the hearts of all students of Anglo-Indian history.

Born in the troublous days of King Charles I, John, third son of Ralph Marshall of Theddlethorpe, Lincolnshire, and Abigail, daughter of Robert Rogers of Netherthorpe, Yorkshire, was baptised at East Theddlethorpe Church on 1st March 1641-2. From Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (III. 147) and Peile's *Biog. Reg. of Christ's College* (I. 592) we learn that he passed his school days at Louth under Mr. Skelton and that on 25th June 1660, at the age of 18, he was " admitted sizar " to Mr. Covel at Christ's College, Cambridge, matriculating on 17th December of that year and taking his B. A. in 1663-4.

While at Cambridge, John Marshall's father appears to have died and the family moved from Lincolnshire to Essex, settling at Broomwood, now a suburb of Chelmsford, but then a village at some little distance from the town.

Of Marshall's college days nothing has come down to us except the fact that he formed a firm attachment for two notable scholars of his day, Dr. John Covel and Dr. John More. The former, three years his senior, was later to become famous both as a traveller and writer, while the latter, the well-known Cambridge Platonist, who hailed from Marshall's native county, had been a fellow of the College since 1639, and was probably a friend of the family who stood *in loco parentis* to the young student. At the same time, it was the presence of More at Cambridge which made Marshall determine to relinquish an academic career since, according to the " Statutes of Christ's College 2 men of one county could not at the same time be fellows of that Colledge."

At the age of 25, Marshall sought a means of livelihood, and since his eldest brother Ralph was steward to Lord Craven, whose town house had been leased to the East India Company since 1648 (Foster, *East India House*, p. 24), there was little difficulty in obtaining an introduction and recommendation to the Court of Committees. At the instance of his steward, Lord Craven personally interviewed Sir Andrew Riccard and Sir William Rider Governor and Deputy Governor of the Company, and also Earl Berkeley, an influential member of the Court of

Committees. With such support young Marshall's admittance to the service was assured and he was summoned to London and duly elected a factor on 8th January 1667-8.

A fortnight later, after having taken leave of his friends in Exsex, Marshall was escorted to Gravesend by three of his brothers who all outlived him. Ralph, Lord Craven's steward, died in the parish of St. Clement Danes, London, in 1700, being still possessed of property in Theddlethorpe and elsewhere in Lincolnshire (*P. C. C. Wills*, 10 Noel). He left a son Thomas, who, like his father, was connected with Craven House. Robert Marshall followed the example of John and entered the Company's service, also through the influence of Lord Craven; he was in the factory at Bantam in Java up to 1678 when, "having served his full five years," he requested permission to return to England (*Factory Records*, Java, Vol. 6). Thomas Marshall died in Somerset in 1688. A fourth brother, William, probably a child in 1668, is mentioned in his will (*P. C. C. Wills*, 49 Exton). No other details of interest regarding the family have come to light.

At Gravesend John Marshall went on board the *Unicorn*, commanded by Thomas Harman, a vessel of 330 tons, carrying 30 guns and forming part of a fleet of ten ships then making ready for India and the East. The *Log* of the *Unicorn* has been preserved (*Harl. MS.* 4252) and from it and Marshall's own notes the story of the voyage can be gathered. After having deposited his belongings on board, he went back with his brothers to London, finally taking leave of them on 27th January, although it was not till the 1st February that the ship reached the Downs. Marshall went ashore at Deal and "having agreed with the Captain to be of his Mess," bought "wine and strong waters" and sent them on board. The fleet was delayed by bad weather and it was not until the 14th March that the travellers "lost sight of England."

On board the *Unicorn* with Marshall were Valentine Nurse, afterwards associated with him at Patna and John Billingsley at whose wedding in Hūglī he was present in 1671, but there is no mention of any of his companions in his own account of the voyage. In fact, Marshall is singularly reticent regarding his associates both on the way to India and after his arrival there.

The fleet had orders that as many ships as possible should arrive together at Fort St. George, then " in rebellion to the Company " since Sir Edward Winter, the late Agent, had deposed George Foxcroft, elected as his successor by the Court of Committees, and had usurped his office. Captain John Price of the *Blackamore* carried the " King's Commission " and each ship, as we learn from the *Log* of the *Unicorn* (*Harl. MS.* 4252), was provided with " 12 Souldiers and other ammunition for retaking it (Fort St. George) by force and establishing of George Foxcroft, Esq., as Agent again for the Company."

On 26th March 1668 the *Unicorn* reached Madeira, where several English merchants were then residing, among them " Albinus Willoughby, a Roman Catholique," whose namesake (possibly a son) was later associated with Marshall's brother Robert in Bantam. Early in April the ships reached the Cape Verd Islands and provisioned at Santiago, or St. Jago as it was commonly called. It was probably while off this island, or on 13th May when he dined aboard the *Unicorn* that Marshall became acquainted with Captain Richard Goodlad of the *Rainbow*, whose story of a greyhound is narrated in the Miscellaneous Notes (Chapter XIII, No. 33).

No doubt Marshall took part in the excitement of catching " severall Shirkes " on 21st May, after which date the *Log* records no incident of moment until July 1668 when the *Unicorn* anchored at Mauritius. Here, while supplies of wood and water were taken aboard, the traveller had time to explore the island and to note its natural productions, especially the ebony tree and a now extinct species of rail which he mistook for the dodo. He found the place " very pleasant for wood " with " delicate River running swiftly and birds singing pleasantly."

It was on the 3rd September 1668, nearly six months after the *Unicorn* set sail from England, that Marshall had his first glimpse of India and his first whiff of the " spicy breezes " of " Ceylon's Isle. " A week later the Coromandel Coast was sighted and on the 11th the ship anchored in Madras Road. On the following day Marshall was taken ashore in a " Mussoola " and he has a graphic description of the boat and his experiences in her. He also remarks on a curious method by which native servants concluded agreements for service with European masters. He and his companions were " civilly treated " by George Foxcroft, who had been reinstated as Agent

before the arrival of the fleet, and Marshall lost no time in taking stock of his surroundings. He thought the Fort "a very strong place" and the houses of the natives "very mean, being only dirt and thatch." The sight of "houses of entertainment" where English liquor was to be procured at reasonable rates was evidently welcome to him. He only stayed five days at Fort St. George, but he found time to explore Mailapur with its alleged connection with St. Thomas. He also tasted the water of "St. Thomas's well," but expresses no opinion about the "very strange stories reported concerning this (St. Thomas's) mount."

On the 17th September 1668, those factors and writers designed for other factories on the Coromandel Coast, or for Bengal, set sail for Masulipatam, where they arrived eight days later. Here Marshall stayed for the next nine months, but beyond brief, though useful and informing remarks, on the place itself and on the smaller factories dependent on it—Madapollam, the health resort, Verasheroon (*Viravasaram*) with its mango gardens and Pettipole (Peddapalle) a depôt for cotton cloths—he has little to say of his early experience of life in India. It is probable that he was initiated into his duties as a servant of the Company and that, pending his transference to Bengal, he filled some post under the fiery William Jearsey, head of the factory at Masulipatam at that date, and it is also probable that his visits to the outlying places he describes were made for the purchase of cloth and other commodities. No details, however, are to be found in his Diary nor is there any mention of him in the Company's Records at this period.

While at Masulipatam, Marshall came in contact with Christopher Hatton, later to be Chief of the Factory, but then trading on his own account between Pegu and the Coromandel Coast and from him he learnt the facts concerning Pegu recorded in the Notes. Here also he made the acquaintance of two other free-traders, Robert Freeman, on whom he did not make a favourable impression and George White who conceived a strong liking for him.

By June 1669 Marshall had had enough of Madras and had obtained permission to go "to the Bay whither he was designed." With others who had left England with him in the previous year, he sailed from Masulipatam on the 5th July 1669 and reached Balasore Road four days later. This time he was taken over the bar at the river's mouth

and up to Balasore in a " Purgo," a very different craft from the " Mussoola " in which he had landed at Madras. In Balasore he remained for seven months, during which he had ample opportunity to explore the " very great stragling towne " of Balasore and the adjacent ancient city of Ramunā, but he says nothing of his official occupation or of the Company's servants with whom he was associated. It was eventually decided to employ him elsewhere, and accordingly on the 14th February 1669-70 Marshall set out for Hūglī, then the Company's chief settlement in Bengal. He travelled with Shem Bridges, head of affairs in " the Bay," Edward Reade and Gabriel Townsend, factors of several years' standing. Two ladies were also of the party. The journey occupied three weeks and was made by land, along the river banks wherever possible. Marshall does not chronicle the events of each day's travel, but only those which specially impressed him such as the hunt, at Rāmchandrapur, of a tiger reported to appear every Thursday and salaam to a " Fuckeer's Tomb," some graves at Garhpadā which he supposed to be " inchantments," the immense following of the Nawāb of Orissa encountered on the way, a troop of religious mendicants " daubed all over with turmerick and white stuff," and the fortifications of Narāyangarh strengthened with " Green Bamboes which make the place impregnable."

Hūglī was reached on 5th March, but though he stayed in the place for over three weeks, Marshall only devotes one short paragraph to its description. Foxcraft and the Council at Fort St. George had recommended him for employment at Dacca, the seat of the Mughal Court, but Shem Bridges and his colleagues opposed the recommendation. The ywrote: "Wee take notice of your recommending Mr. Marshall to the employment of Decca, but wee much needs say that his naturall modesty, calme disposition and soft though quick utterance of speech, render him not so proper for Durbars (such as that is, which requires audacity to encounter the insolence of the Chubdars [mace-bearers], as well as Villany of the other officers) as others who may in the interiour endowments of judgement and discretion come short of him ; therefore, after the departure of the shipps, wee shall according as the state of our business stands, consider whether Decca or some other place where we shall have occasion to make investments at the best hand may most require his residence, and accordingly dispose him to an employment."

Failing a vacancy at Dacca, it appears that the Council at Fort St. George had indicated another post for Marshall for, on the 16th March 1670, Robert Freeman wrote from Masulipatam to Richard Edwards, one of Marshall's fellow voyagers to India in 1668 (*O. C.* 3413), who was settled at Kāsimbāzār: "The Agent hath sent a strict order to your Chiefe in the Bay to settle all the Bay Factoryes and hath ordered Mr. Vincent Second of Cassumbazar and Mr. Marshall third, whom I believe you will find a Person proud and surly enough." George White, however, was of a different opinion. He told Edwards (*O. C.* 3422): "If Mr. John Marshall be settled at your Factory (which was in agitation when I left your parts), let me advise you to entertaine an intimate correspondence with him, whome can assure you upon my owne tryall is a right honest and ingenious person."

In the end Patna, then under the charge of Job Charnock who was later to immortalise himself as the founder of Calcutta, was selected as Marshall's destination, and he was allotted to the post which another factor, Joseph Hall, had obstinately refused to fill. He set out from Hūghlī on the 28th March 1670, in a "Budgeroe" (*bajra*) manned by 14 oarsmen and 2 steersmen. Beyond the crew and necessary servants, his only campanion seems to have been Gabriel Townsend with whom he appears to have been antagonistic from the beginning.

In this voyage Marshall in his Diary gives the distance "sayled and rowed and pulled" in each stage and narrates each day's occurrences. No striking event marked the journey, but all objects of interest are faithfully noted. Marshall had a fit of tertian ague from the 28th March to 7th April and cured it by means of pills brought from England for the purpose. In spite of his indisposition, he appears to have purchased piece-goods at Nadiā on the 31st March and to have done some bargaining to obtain them at a reasonable price.

On the 8th April the party reached Rājmahal where they stayed three days, and Marshall made careful examination of the deserted palace of Shāh Shūjā', Nawāb of Bengal, of which he gives an excellent description. The English had no factory at Rājmahal, and the house used by the Company's servants who transacted business with the officials in charge of the Mughal mint at that place was of insignificant size, consisting of only "3 little small roomes and 1 little upper room." Marshall, however,

did not personally inspect it, since the river was then too shallow to allow of boats approaching it. From Rājmahal to Monghyr the journey occupied a week. Near "Caushdee," not now identifiable, the Colgong rocks attracted his attention and the hills in the distance elicited frequent remarks. He was also astonished at the "innumberable company of green parrots" so thickly congregated at night that, shooting promiscuously, he brought down five without seeing one. At Monghyr he noted Shāh Shūjā's Palace (which he inspected more closely during a second visit in the following year), the position of the town and its fortified condition. He was now nearing the end of his journey and the going was slow, for on the 19th April the boat became so leaky that it was necessary to take her into a "Cola" (creek) and unload and repair her. Progress was further hindered by the strength of the current and "severall whirle winds" which sometimes "were ready to overset the boat."

It was at this time, when nearing Patna, that relations between Townsend and Marshall became strained to breaking point and the former "fell from words to blows."

On the 21st April the outskirts of Patna were reached and the still existing "Jaffercawn's Garden," which then had a "Turrett" at each end a "little white house with a Balcony" in the middle, was passed. A halt was made at the Company's warehouse, used for the storage of their goods, and then the party pressed on to their destination, the Factory House of Singhiya, on the north bank of the Ganges some dozen miles beyond Patna. Marshall is tantalisingly silent as to his reception by his Chief, Job Charnock, who had already spent twelve years in the Company's service at Patna, and he is equally reticent with regard to his employment, his companions and his impressions generally. There is no doubt, however, that he quickly settled down to work and obtained a grasp of his duties, for, after less than five months' experience, Charnock was able to trust him to undertake a journey to Hūglī in an official capacity.

Of the interim between April and September 1670 Marshall has little to say. Beyond remarks on the weather and on an eclipse, his Diary contains little except an account of an expedition to the Lion Pillar of Bakhra, which he calls "Brins (Bhima's) Club" and about which he repeats the local traditions.

But though Marshall himself is silent as to his doings, certain details regarding him can be gleaned from the Company's Records which happily include a large collection of letters forming the private correspondence of Richard Edwards who, as previously mentioned, was one of Marshall's fellow-voyagers in 1668. Some 200 of these letters have already been printed in *Notes and Queries and Bengal Past and Present*, and Marshall is found among the earliest of the correspondents. On the 13th June 1670 he is mentioned (*O C.* 3433) by John Vickers, who had sailed from England in the *Blackamore*. Vickers asks Edwards to "send forward" a bill of exchange to Marshall by the first opportunity. Edwards acknowledged the receipt of the letter and the enclosure (*O. C.* 3433), a bill for Rs. 600 "payable four days after sight to Mr. John Marshall in Shah Jehaun (Shāh Jāhānī) Rupees." He added that not being able to hear of any messenger going to Patna "shortly," he had engaged one expressly "who promises to reach thither in 8 days." At the same time Edwards wrote a personal letter to Patna to the same effect on the 20th June (*O. C.* 3435) suggesting that should the "Cossid" (*qasid*, messenger) fail to carry out his agreement to deliver the packet by the time stated, Marshall should "give him So good a payment as may Serve for an example to others." Marshall duly received the letter, but no copy of his reply exists. On the 13th July Edwards wrote again from Kāsimbāzār (*O. C.* 3445) requesting Marshall to invest the produce of some sword blades sold at Patna for him in "Baroch (Broach) Stuffes for breeches, and the rest (if any remaine) in 1 bottle of the best flower oyle and some Otter (attar of roses) and Chau (*chawwa*)." He adds: "I had not assumed the boldnesse to have given you this trouble, but that I am, by my good friend Mr. White (from [whom] you will now receive a letter) encouraged and engaged to endeavour the Procury of a Correspondency with you, which I must confesse I seeke very preposterously, in that it Should rather be my aime by." Here the copy ends abruptly. White's letter has not been preserved, but it is evident that it reached Marshall's hands, for on 27th July 1670 (*O. C.* 3453) he wrote from "Johnabad" (Jahānābād or Singhiyā) to Edwards acknowledging both his letters, informing him of the sale of his sword blades, and adding: "I have received a Letter from my brother White and shall be very glad to embrace a strict correspondency with you as I have with

him, and to that end (as occasion offers) shall desire to trouble you with what concernes or business I May have at Cassumbuzar, as I shall be ready and glad to serve you." The term " brother " applied to George White the " interloper " shows that he and Marshall had struck up a firm friendship while at Masulipatam no trace, however, of their correspondence has been found, nor have any letters between Vickers and Marshall been preserved, though there is evidence that such existed (*O. C.* 3461). From notes of his outgoing letters in 1671, we find that Edwards was still in communication with Marshall (*O. C.* 3560), but no details have survived.

Marshall's leisure time at Patna to undertake commissions for his friends was not of long continuance, for on the 13th September 1670 he superintended the lading of a fleet of the Company's " Patelloes " or flat-bottomed boats for the transport of saltpetre to Hūglī, saw that his own " goods " were safely placed on board a *bajra*, and four days later started on his mission. For an account of the journey the pages of his Diary must be drawn upon, as no reference to it is found elsewhere. Marshall was again associated with Gabriel Townsend and again the differences between them were of constant occurrence. Robert Elwes, who ranked next below Charnock at Patna, gave the party a send-off, and they then proceeded to Monghyr " which is reckoned halfe way betwixt Pattana and Rojamaul," but no halt was made here on the outward journey. At Bhagalpur, on the 19th September, Townsend lost his dog which leapt out of the boat and could not be induced to return. The next day the fleet arrived at Rājmahal, where passes were procured from the Mughal authorities for the remainder of the journey. After leaving Rājmahal, Marshall and Townsend had a passage of arms. The boats were to take a different route between Rājmahal and Hūglī from that followed in the spring of the year, and to touch at Mūrshidābād and Kāsimbāzār. Marshall had given orders to the " Patello " men to follow the main channel of the Ganges so as to avoid grounding, but Townsend was in favour of the narrower channel of " Sutee " river in order to gratify the boatmen, who wanted to sell goods at Kāsimbāzār where they could avoid customs duties. Eventually, Townsend overrode Marshall's orders and allowed the " Chiefe Patello man " to go by the narrow river, with the result that, half an hour later, " one of the Patelloes was runn upon a Sand " and was got off with " great difficulty."

The cause of the friction between Townsend and Marshall was probably due to their position. Townsend had come to India in 1662 and had therefore been six years in the Company's service before Marshall's arrival. Yet they both ranked alike and apparently had equal authority, and this no doubt was resented by the senior factor.

On the 24th September the boats were at Murshidābād and the next day Marshall had his first sight of Kāsimbāzār, where he was later to be employed, and where he found Edwards and others of his fellow travellers from Europe. His stay was brief and his departure "unexpectedly sudden" (*O. C.* 3499), for "at Sunrise" on the following morning the boats were under way, and on the evening of the 27th September they anchored in Hūglī river under the English Factory House.

While at Kāsimbāzār Marshall had delivered goods brought from Patna to Edwards and had received a further commission to execute in Hūglī. This time it was two "small" bamboos and a "pallampore" (*palangposh*) that were despatched by messenger, through Vickers (*O. C* 3492) on the 5th October. A few days later he was hurriedly sent off to Balasore in the *Madras Pinnace* and at last he seems to have been released from the unwelcome companionship of Gabriel Townsend. His duty was to superintend the lading of the Company's ship, the *Happy Entrance*. Arriving at Balasore on the 16th October, he left the vessel on her way to Madras and England on the 5th November, and had much trouble in getting back to the Factory "being driven to leeward of Balasore river about 3 Course, or 6 miles." Of his doings during the next two months there is no mention in his Diary. He probably received a letter from Richard Edwards dated at Kāsimbāzār 14th October 1670 (*O. C.* 3499), thanking him for executing his commissions and asking how accounts stood between them, and he also probably, like his colleagues, employed his leisure in trading on his own account. On the 30th December he set out to return to Hūglī, by boat and arrived there on the 5th January 1670-1.

While at Hūglī for the third time, Marshall was present, as previously stated, at the wedding of John Billingsley, and there, on the 29th March, he was a witness of a Hook-swinging Festival, about which he gives graphic details in his Diary. He remained at Hūglī until May 1671 and on the 3rd of that month he started on his return journey to

Patna, this time by land, and again we are indebted to his careful note-taking for the account of his journey. His cavalcade consisted of eight palanquin-bearers, six other servants and six " Peons " for protection. He was escorted out of the town by Matthias Vincent, who at that date ranked third among the Company's servants in Bengal, and John Bagnold who had sailed from England with him in the *Unicorn*. On the 5th May he passed " Pollossec, " the famous Plassey of the following century, and on the next day " travelled thorow aboundance of fields of mulberry trees " cultivated in the interests of the silk industry of Kāsimbāzār and neighbourhood. Arriving at the English Factory, Marshall accompanied John March, then Chief, to the Dutch Factory, where they supped with the principal officials for the Netherlands East India Company, and Marshall and March made a provisional agreement to return to England overland after three years' service. This pact was not carried out, since March died at Kāsimbāzār three months later.

On the following day, 9th May 1671, Marshall continued his journey to Patna, halting at " Muxidavad " (later known as Murshidābād), where he found " handsome shops " containing " brass ware, girdles and sashes " (turbans), etc. The next considerable place met with was Aurangābād, " a very great towne of thatcht houses," and thence the way lay past many a " dry ditch " and stream " which suppose is filled in the raine times by the water which comes from the Hills."

Rājmahal was reached, without incident on the 13th May. On this, his third visit to the city, Marshall made another close examination of Shāh Shūjā's Palace and Garden, wandered up the " much broken " paved streets, and watched the coining of rupees at the Mughal Mint. Leaving Rājmahal after one day's halt, the party spent the night in a huge *sarai* at Barajangal, a place estimated to accommodate 800 persons. At this place Marshall had some difficulty with the customs officer who demanded *bakhshish*, but was no match for the Englishman, who promptly appealed direct to the Governor of the town, and produced his passes ; whereupon an apology was at once forthcoming and the cavalcade proceeded on its way.

The Colgong rocks again attracted Marshall's attention on the 16th May and he has further remarks concerning them. On the same day he appears to have bought a young monkey, but records nothing further about the

animal. Monghyr was reached on the 18th May and Marshall had much to hear of the happenings since he last passed through that town. It appeared that two Dutchmen, Nikolaas de Graaf, a surgeon, and Cornelille van Costerhoff, his companion, on their way from Hūglī to Patna, stopped at Monghyr, just after Marshall and his saltpetre boats had left the place in September 1670. They were admitted to see the Palace, and immediately began to make a plan of the building and to note details regarding fortifications. This aroused the suspicion of the Mughal authorities and led to the imprisonment of the Dutchmen, who were placed in irons and were only released after much correspondence and the payment of a heavy fine. In consequence of this incident, all Europeans were suspected of spying and Marshall was "denied sight of the Fort" and, as he passed through the the town, his name was demanded by "a great Moor."

On the 20th May evidence of the famine from which Patna and the neighbourhood were suffering was afforded the travellers in the sight of "very great number of dead corps" in the Ganges and on its shores, and on the following day Marshall was begged to purchase a twelve year old Muhammadan lad for half a rupee. At night he heard "a sad noise of poor starved people" and had much ado to save his palanquin from being rifled. On the following day more "dead corps" were encountered and the price of rice was ascertained to be beyond the means of the starving multitude. Patna was reached on the 23rd May and here it was learned that the death rate for the past four or five months had been 100 per day.

Marshall's return was apparently unexpected, and no preparations had been made to meet him. After awaiting in vain the arrival of the Company's *bajra*, he set out from Patna for Singhiyā early on the 25th May, and encountered a storm when halfway across the river, in which his boat nearly capsized and he was fain to stand "in water to the ancles and in all the raine" for two hours.

After he was once more settled in the Company's factory at Singhiyā Marshall seems to have discontinued keeping a regular Diary and only a few disconnected dated entries from May 1671 to March 1672 are found in his MSS. He has several remarks on the abnormal rains of that year and of the overflowing of the river Gandak in consequence. He notes a bathing festival in August, an

eclipse of the moon in September, and the occurrence of the " Hotty " storms at the end of the rainy season, but he is silent regarding his personal affairs. His subsequent history is drawn from the Company's Records.

With the capable and experienced Job Charnock at the head of affairs at Patna, there was little scope for the exercise of the powers of those under him, and Marshall seems to have recognised this, for in a letter from Charnock to Walter Clavell, then Chief at Hūglī, dated 31st March 1672 (*Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. 7), occurs the following passage : " Mr. Marshall understanding of Mr. Bullivant being to be sent up here hath desired leave of us to go downe to you, and hoped he may be capable of doing our Hon'ble Employers any service at Hugly or any other Factory. So find [ing] his intentions, could do no less then correspond with his desires, so that he is gone towards you to wait in what employment you would please to put him in."

Marshall probably left Patna at the same time as the letter, for on the 25th April Charnock wrote again to Clavell (*Ibid.*) : " Mr. Marshall is long ere this arrived in Cassambuzar (being he went hence the beginning of this month), wee hope." As a matter of fact, Marshall had reached Kāsimbāzār by the 20th April 1672, where his signature occurs, under that of Matthias Vincent, in an official letter to Walter Clavell. Vincent had succeeded March as Chief at Kāsimbāzār and Marshall acted as assistant. In October he was sent to Rājmahal, now a familiar journey to him, in charge of the Company's treasure to be coined at the Mughal Mint (*Ibid*).

For the next four years Marshall remained at Kāsimbāzār as " Second " of that Factory, occasionally, but rarely, visiting Hūglī and Balasore on the Company's business. His signature appears below that of Matthias Vincent in all official letters, but no special references to him or his proceedings are recorded in the Letter and and Consultation books extant. In the private correspondence of Richard Edwards his name occurs, but only in respectful messages from junior servants, except in two instances, November 1673 and June 1674 (*O. C.* 3895 and 3976) when he executed commissions for Edwards, who ranked next below him in the Factory. In 1674, too, George White came to Bengal and wrote to Edwards (11 November 1674 *O. C.* 4035) saying he was " in expectation suddenly to Meet my Brother Marshall at

Nuddeah ' but there is no evidence whether the projected meeting of the two friends actually took place From the end of 1673, when he had concluded five years service under the Company, Marshall ranked as a senior merchant and his salary was increased from £30 to £40 per annum, a pittance, which he, like other servants of the Company, augmented by private trade.

On the 23rd August 1676 Streynsham Master arrived in Bengal with a Commission to regulate the Company's Factories in that province. A month later he reached Kasimbâzâr, where he held an enquiry into the death, in 1673, of Raghu the *poddar*, (or cashkeeper) for which Vincent had been deemed responsible. He also scrutinized the accounts, looked into the methods of investment and examined statements regarding the quarrels between certain of the Company's servants. In none of these was Marshall directly implicated, but he was required to give his " opinion " and evidence in the various cases (*Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple, I, 333, 347 ,390 488). His statements are clear and concise and contain no trace of rancour or ill will towards the litigants.

On the 17th October 1676 Marshall, with Edward Littleton, was appointed to take an inventory of the papers of William Puckle, a supervisor who had preceded Master, but with limited powers, and who had succumbed to a fever the previous day. In a list of " Sundry Mixed Papers " of the deceased, is mentioned one entitled " Mr. John Marshall, his reason against dealing with one merchant (Copy taken since at the Fort)." This paper, which has unfortunately not survived, was evidently drawn up at Puckle's request to enable him to inform the Company whether it was to their " interest to deal with one, or two, or many merchants." (*Ibid.* p. 407).

Among the many reforms and changes introduced by Streynsham Master in Bengal was the separation of affairs in Hūglī and Balasore, hitherto worked conjointly, and constituting the latter a separate factory. In consequence, on the 1st November 1676 a consultation was held at Kâsimbâzâr, over which Master presided (*Ibid.* p. 502) and " The Councell proceeded to make choice of a person to take charge of the Factory at Ballasore as Cheife, and having respect to the late settlement made in Ballasore the 11 April last, and to make as little alterations therein as possible might bee, with regard to the Honourable Companyes Interest, Mr. Edward Reade and Mr.

John Marshall were in nomination, and they being withdrawne, upon the question, it was voted for Mr. John Marshall, still reserveing to Mr. Reade his right of precedency, as appointed in the Honourable Companyes letter of 23rd December, 1672." To this decision Edward Reade took exception on the score of seniority in the service, but his objection was disregarded.

Before leaving Kāsimbāzār, Marshall wrote, on the 14th November, to Edwards, who was then at Rājmahal superintending the coining of the Company's treasure (*O. C.* 4237), requesting him to hasten the sending of money which was badly needed. He also gave directions as to the selling of a consignment of tin on his own account, which, if not disposed of at Rājmahal, was to be sent to Patna or Dacca, " but if you cannot do so, then pray send it back again hither to Mr. Vincent, for about 10 dayes hence I shall go hence towards Ballasore where am settled." On the 9th December Marshall arrived and took over the duties of his new post. He now ranked " Sixth in the Bay," in point of service, but third in position, and might reasonably hope to become Chief in course of time.

Streynsham Master, who had preceded Marshall to Balasore, remained there until the 21st December in order to enforce the new regulations for the conduct of the Factory. During his stay, at his request, Marshall produced " a relation of the manner of the trade of Pattana," drawn up from his personal experience (*Diaries*, II, 77, 88-90). The " Accompt " is a good example of Marshall's style and is consequently reproduced entire.

Accompt of Pattana.

Ballasore, the 16: *December*, 1676.—Worshipfull Sir, According to your Commands I have here given you an accompt of some perticulers relateing to Pattana (Patna and Singe (Singhiyā) Factoryes.

Pattana lyes in the Latitude of 25 : degrees and (blank) minutes inter Gangem, and in Pleasant place. The Honourable Company have noe Factory here, but what hire, nor doth the Cheife usually reside there, by reason the Nabobs Pallace is in the Citty, and his servants and officers are constantly craveing one thing or another, which if not given, though they have not what they desire (*sic*), yett they are not satisfied therewith but creat[e] trouble, and if give[n] what they desire will be very charge-

able. Which inconveniency is prevented by Liveing at Singee, which lyes North of Pattana, about ten or twelve miles Extra Gangem, and is Scittuated in a pleasant but not whole [some] place, by reason of it's being most Saltpeter ground, but is convenient by reason thereof, for Saltpeter men live not far from it. Besides, the Honourable Company have a Factory at Nanagur (Nānagarh or Naunagar), which lyes to the east of Pattana (extra Gangem) about four or five miles. There remaynes generally a banian (*Baniya*), or sometimes only Peons, to receive the Peter from the Peter men, which lyes there abouts, to avoid carrying it to Singee, which would be chargeable. And when what there is received in, it's weighed and put aboard the Peter boates there. There is alsoe another place about 15 : or 16 : miles to the westward of Singee, whither is brought all the Saltpeter neare that place and put aboard the boates there.

The manner of giveing money to the Peter men and the number of them, being thirty or fourty, is not necessary to aquaint you with, being it is mentioned in the Pattana Bookes ; but those Petermen have others subordinate to them, and the Honourable Companyes Peons are kept with the Petermen to see that when the Peter is made they sell it not to the Dutch, which, notwithstanding the greatest care to prevent it, they sometimes doe. But I think Mr. Charnock is even with them, being they have binn falce and broaken their ingagement first, which was not to buy Peter of our Peter men, as wee were not to buy of theirs. But if the Dutch would be as reall (honest) as the English it would be of great advantage to both, for by the ones Peter men selling Peter to the other party, remaynes are thereby made ; alsoe there are great remaynes made by the Nabobs forceing from the Peter men what he pleaseth, whereby they are disinabled to comply with their ingagements, and when they cannot meet with it readyly, or the quantityes desired, he breaketh our store house at Nanagur and forceth it thence. English cloth will but little vend there, and Lead would sell well, but that it is farmed out by the Nabob to one person to buy it and none elce, and he is not responsible for any considerable quantity, being lately much indebted to the Honourable Company. Tincall (borax) is procured from the Rajayes Country (probably Bihār) from the hills, about six days journey N. W. from Pattana, and when brought to Pattana, Oyle is putt to it to preserve it.

English Cloth would vend well towards Casmeer (Kashmīr) and in Cabbull (Kābul), but that there is a sort of Cloth very course and thick made at Lahore and sold at Pattana for about 5 : rupees per peice of 11 covids 18 inches long and $1\frac{1}{4}$ covids broad, and Suppose is sould neare Lahore much cheaper.

This is what at present remembred by Your most humble Servant, John Marshall.

Marshall now anticipated a time of leisure to pursue his Oriental studies and to arrange and amplify the notes collected during the previous seven years. But he was not long to enjoy his promotion. In August 1677, after only eight months of office, an epidemic proving fatal to several of the Company's servants, ravaged Balasore. Clavell, who had accompanied Streynsham Master from Hūglī and had remained to assist Marshall in the reconstitution of Balasore Factory and in the dispatch and unlading of the ships from Europe, was among the first victims. He and his wife, with an infant child, died on 3 and 4 August 1677 (*Factory Records*, Hugli, vol. 7). Marshall at once wrote to apprise Matthias Vincent, who automatically succeeded to the Chiefship. At the same time he informed him of the urgent need of assistants, since the sickness was widespread and several of the Company's servants were incapacitated. Again, on 9, 10 and 23 August he forwarded important papers and details of his proceedings to the new head of affairs. Vincent replied by instructing Marshall how to act until he could assume the reins of office, but by the time his letter reached Balasore, the " raging dietemper " there had claimed another victim, and on the 12th September the " much lamented newes " of the death of Marshall, " about midnight " on the 31st August 1677, after only five days' illness, was received at Kāsimbāzār. (*Ibid.*)

Beyond a statement by Edmund Bugden, the only responsible official left at Balasore, that Marshall's effects had been sealed up, pending Vincent's arrival at Balasore, the records in India contain nothing further regarding him, and the few entries in the *Court Minutes* are concerned only with the balance of his salary and other payments due to him. The one personal document that remains to be considered is his will (*P. C. C.* 119 King). This had been drawn up while he was serving in Patna, at " Johnabad " (Jāhānābād), in March 1671-2, just before he left to take up his post at Kāsimbāzār, where it was signed in June

1673, being witnessed by Matthias Vincent, Richard Edwards and John Naylor the Company's silk-dyer. There are bequests to his brothers (Ralph Marshall being named as executor and residuary legatee), to his married sister Abigail Hamers and to Eliza Atwood of Broomfield, Essex; also to "Good-wife Willowes of Maplethorp, Co. Lincoln, in token of gratitude for her setting my thigh which was broken when eight years old." The testator further directed that a tomb should be erected to his memory at the "mouth of Ballasore River" for "a landmark for vessels coming into the Road." There is no evidence of the fulfilment of this bequest. At any rate, two years after Marshall's death no steps had been taken to erect a monument or tomb, for when Streynsham Master paid his second visit of inspection to Bengal in September 1679, he noted the absence of a "mark for the Barr at Ballasore river mouth" (*Diaries* II. 237) remarked that "the moneys given some years since by Mr. March and Mr. Marshall to build Tombs over their bodys there buryed, that they might be markes for the Barr, were not like to be soe expended."

To Anglo-Indian scholars the most important clauses in Marshall's will are those bequeathing to "Matthias Vincent Merchant and chief for the Hon: English East India Company in Cassumbuzar in Bengala East Indies all my Arabian and Persian printed Books, and history of China in folio," and to "Dr. Henry Moore and Mr. John Covel" fellows of Christs College, Cambridge, his "Manuscript concerning India" for "their perusall," after which it was to be returned to his brother Ralph.

The first clause shows Marshall to have been a student of Arabic and Persian. Now, as to the "Manuscript" or manuscripts. Probate of the will was duly granted to Ralph Marshall on 15 September 1679, and, as previously stated, he died in London in 1700. Dr. Henry More died in 1687 and Dr. John Covel in 1722. There is no mention in their wills of any writings by John Marshall. Yet, eventually, Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford became possessed of four MSS. in Marshall's own hand, which now form part of the Harleian collection, housed in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum. Of their history from the time of Marshall's death until they reached the National Library, nothing certain has been ascertained. Sir William Foster, Archivist at the India office, however, drew my attention to an entry in the *Twelfth*

Report of the *Historical MSS. Commission* (Sessional Vol. 46 of 1890-91, Appendix IX, p. 163), dealing with the Gurney MSS. (No. XXXIV. miscellanea), which runs as follows : " 1676, July 24.—" Moodoo Soodun's translation of the Saun-Bead (the epitome or sum of the Four Beads) into Hindustana language out of the Sinscreet, and translated from him into English by John Marshall." Twenty-six leaves. A letter from W. Salmon to Dr. Covel is attached, with which he returns the MS. which had been kept " for my lord Duke's inspection." This shows that one at least of Marshall's writings was submitted to Dr. Covel, who returned to England from Constantinople about the time that Marshall's will was proved, and if one, why not the rest ? Also from the fact that Covel's MSS. and books were sold to the Earl of Oxford and eventually found their way to the British Museum, there is reason to surmise that Marshall's writings were not returned to his brother Ralph and were included with Covel's remains. A prolonged examination of the reverend Doctor's journals and correspondence (Add. MSS. 22910-14) may yet throw further light on his association with our author and his works.

It has not been found possible to examine the translation by Marshall which, so far, unaccountably, found its way among the Gurney MSS. but those of his writings in the Harlejan collection are accessible and will now be described.

First in order of date come Harl. MSS. 4254 and 4255 reproduced *in extenso* in this volume, but with alterations in form for the convenience of students, as stated in the Preface. The Diaries of journeys between Balasore and Hūgli and Hūglī and Patna occupy the major portion of the folios. The remainder consists of notes of information on all sorts of subjects, gathered from hearsay or from observation, and now grouped under their several headings and separated into chapters. Since each of these has its own introductory note, there is no need to dilate further on their contents.

The other two MSS. in Marshall's hand preserved in the British Museum, like that among the Gurney MSS., treat of Hindu religion.

Harl. MS. 4253 has as its first title : " A familiar and free Dialogue betwixt John Marshall and Muddoosoodun Rauree Brahmin (Madhusūdana Rādha, Brāhman) at Cassumbuzar in Bengal [l] in East India begun the 18th

March 1674-5." It consists of 40 folios. The " familiar and free Dialogue " occupies seven folios and deals, in a series of questions and answers, with the creation of the world and mankind from the standpoint of Hinduism. On fol. 9 is a fresh title : " Account of the Hindoo book called Srebaugbutporam." It is dated 25 June 1675 and consists of a rough translation of a portion of the *Bhagavata-purana*, from the version supplied by the Brāhman named above.

The translation is resumed in *Harleian MS.* 4256, which consists of 230 folios, the first 16 being a copy of folios 9 to 40 of *Harleian MS.* 4253. Folios 17 to 48 continue the translation and were ended 14 July 1674, so it appears that Marshall began his translation while in Kāsimbāzār in 1674 and revised it the following year, as all the dates, except the last in this MS., are earlier than 25 June 1675, which appears at the beginning of the work in Harleian MS. 4253. Folios 49 to 51 have an index of names. After that the translation is carried on in sections headed " Bramins Poran," Liber B (22 March 1674-5), Liber C (30 April 1675), Liber D, " ending (fol. 190) with the words, Hither writ 160 pages and left 63 to writ of that book called Screbaugabut Poran. Here ended le 18th June 1675." Then follows the final section (fol. 191 to 230), " Bramins Poran Liber E." The last date that is given, some distance from the end, is 29 May 1677, showing that Marshall continued his study of Hindu religion and Oriental languages after his transference from Kāsimbāzār to Balasore. There is also a late copy (originally *Additional MS.* 7038, but now in the Oriental MSS. Department of the British Museum, catalogued 17 A.K.) of part of *Harleian MS.* 4256, beginning with the portion dated 30 April 1675, and entitled " The Sri Bhagavat Puran —Translated into English by John Marshall from a Persian Version of the Sanskrit original."

The fact that, after only five years' residence in India, with little leisure from his commercial duties, Marshall should have attempted such a task as a translation of the Bhagavad-purāna, entitles him to a place among Oriental students, even though at the present time his work has little scientific value. His efforts may or may not have met with the recognition they deserved, for no contemporary criticisms have come down to us. The earliest mention, so far unearthed, is in 1872, when Professor E. B. Cowell in a paper read before the Cambridge Philologi ca

Society on 17 April of that year, remarked (Transactions I. 8); "If Marshall had published his researches in 1680 they would have inaugurated an era in European knowledge of India, being in advance of anything which appeared before 1800" (*Christ's College Biographical Register*, I. 592).

The only other allusion to Marshall's writings discoverable, prior to the end of the last century, is in J. C. Marsham's *History of Bengal*, published in 1887, where Marshall is described (p. 50) as "probably the first Englishman who ever made himself master of the classical language (Persian) of the country (India)."

Before the end of another decade Marshall's MSS. had attracted the attention of C. R. Wilson, as stated in the Preface, and since his time his "Notes and Observations" have been of the greatest assistance to students of seventeenth century Anglo-Indian history.

In addition to his MSS. two letters in Marshall's own hand have been preserved. They are included in the private correspondence of Richard Edwards (*O. C.* 3453 and 4237, *India Office* Records), are dated 27th July 1670 and 14th July 1676 have already been mentioned in their due place in the biographical sketch given above.

On the two MSS. reproduced in this volume a few additional remarks may not be out of place. In the Diaries the task of tracing Marshall's routes has been greatly hampered owing to the lack of contemporary maps of the district traversed and to the very great changes in the waterways since his day. Rennell, the "father of Indian geography," did not begin his surveys until a century after Marshall's time when many alterations in the beds of the rivers had already taken place. Dr. Buchanan, travelling over part of Marshall's route some forty years after Rennell, found it, in many cases, impossible to locate places marked by the great surveyor, and Col. W. M. Coldstream, lecturing before the Royal Society of Arts in January 1926, remarked: "It is interesting to see how greatly the waterways of Bengal have changed during the last 120 years. So much is this the case that I found it difficult to locate this extract (from Rennell's *Bengal Atlas*). A few of the village sites and names have remained and one can trace the beds of some of the rivers as they existed when Rennell surveyed them but there is hardly a water-course that now runs even approximately in its old channel." In view of the

above statement, it will be easily understood that no great degree of accuracy can be claimed for the position of the places in the accompanying map of Marshall's routes. In fact, without the ungrudging assistance of one familiar with the district, the identification of many of the names would have been impossible. As it is, although the utmost care has been taken with the locations, a certain amount of guess work has been unavoidable.

Like his contemporary, Thomas Bowrey, and his predecessor, Peter Mundy (whose MSS. have been printed by the Hakluyt Society), Marshall was a keen observer, ever on the alert to acquire information. Like them too, he considered no subject too trivial for remark, and while specialising on religion and astrology, he was equally interested in the habits and customs of the people among whom his lot was cast, the strange birds and beasts and fishes that he encountered, the natural productions such as " he " and " she " bamboos, and the stories told him of the countries beyond the high mountains visible from the neighbourhood of Patna. Thus, his " Notes," when arranged in some kind of order, afford valuable details on all kinds of subjects, as will be seen from the grouping of the chapters.

In some cases, Marshall's information, jotted down in haphazard fashion, is specially important. For instance in Chapter II, under date 1 March 1669-70, he gives us the actual boundary between Orissa and Bengal at that date. In 1671, on his return journey to Patna (Chapter IV), he tells the true story of the imprisonment of the two Dutchmen at Monghyr in the previous year and how they only succeeded in regaining their freedom by the payment of a heavy fine, a fact suppressed by De Graaf when narrating the occurrence for Dutch readers. Then there are Marshall's interesting remarks on the varying extent of the *kos* in the different districts through which he journeyed, on the varieties of pice current in Patna and its neighbourhood (Note 64), and on coins, weights and measures in general.

Since we know that Marshall began his study of Hindu religion and philosophy as soon as he reached Patna, if not before, it is not surprising that his remarks on this head (Chapter VII) are very full. At the same time they are often vague, owing to his naturally imperfect grasp of the meaning of his informants. On astrological matters he was an enthusiastic enquirer and his zeal in

recording all he heard on the subject is truly amazing. Mr. Kaye has given his considered opinion on the worth of the " Notes " and his exhaustive criticisms leave nothing further to be said on this section (Chapter IX).

In medicine as practised in the East in his day, Marshall also showed himself keenly interested, and he personally tasted of some of the strange remedies which were passed on to him. His remarks on this science (Chapter X) show his usual acuteness, though in some cases it has proved difficult, if not impossible, to identify the disease he describes or the ingredients of the prescription for its cure.

The folklore of the country would naturally prove attractive to one who was bestowing much thought on its philosophy, and here again (Chapter XI) Marshall's " Notes " are very full and entertaining. Besides descriptions of the notable " magic squares," on which much has been written, there are remarks on many less known charms and tricks, as well as various beliefs that have not found their way into the ordinary text-books on the subject. The remarks on Muhammadan laws and religion were obtained from a Musalmān at Patna when Marshall's own knowledge of the vernacular must have been very slight and in consequence contain many misconceptions but, as elsewhere, his errors are counterbalanced by statements of value regarding customs prevalent in his day.

Of our author's temperament and character much can be learned from his Diaries. He was fearless, stern and uncompromising in the discharge of his duties and refused to be either intimidated or blackmailed. When threatened by a customs officer (12 May 1671) with the stoppage of the Company's goods unless a bribe was forthcoming, " Therefore I would give him nothing because I would breake that custome of extortion." Again, three days later, when an underling tried the same game on him, he promptly appealed to the chief official in charge of the place and received an immediate apology. He was as jealous of his own position as of that of his masters, and the acrimony which marked his relations with Gabriel Townsend was probably, as previously remarked, due to the fact that Townsend, as a factor of longer standing, treated the newcomer with a lack of respect. A stickler for etiquette, Marshall's vexation must have been great when, on his return to Patna in May 1671, he found that no arrangements had been made for his reception. The

non-appearance of the Company's "Budgera" to take him to Singhiya, "having writ for it," would further have increased his anger and it was little wonder that his wrath descended on the incompetent boatmen who manned the uncomfortable craft in which he was eventually compelled to make the journey to the English factory house.

On the other hand, Marshall's remarks on the victims of the famine of which he was an eyewitness show him to have been tender-hearted and really troubled by the sufferings he was unable to mitigate. That in the ordinary way he was of a quiet and peaceable disposition is evinced by the way in which he escaped embroiling himself in the various disputes raging in Kāsimbāzār when he was transferred thither from Patna in 1673. At the same time he incurred no odium from the belligerents. Neither the venomous-tongued Joseph Hall nor the quarrelsome John Smith has a word in his disfavour. Freeman alone found him "surly," such "Surliness" being probably only the awkwardness of a shy man as a newcomer on foreign soil. Had Marshall really been of a morose, overbearing disposition, he would not so easily have obtained material for his "Notes." Among his informants were folk of different position and nationality, chiefs of factories (Charnock, Vincent and the Dutch "Directores"), independent free-traders (Hatton and White), Hindu doctors and teachers, Muhammadan "vakeels" (agents) and Armenian traders. No intolerant churlish individual could have commanded so wide a circle of acquaintances, if not friends, for there is no doubt that the warm affection felt for him by George White was also shared by others. Marshall's "Naturall modesty," which Shem Bridges found unsuitable for maintaining his position in Oriental Courts, also precluded him from thrusting himself before the notice of his employers. He seems to have been content to fulfil his duties conscientiously and to await what promotion was justly due to him. In fact, the impression gathered from his writings and from that of the remarks of his friends and acquaintances is that of a perfect English gentleman.

SHAFAAT AHMED KHAN.

PHYSIOLOGY AND MEDICINE UNDER THE KHALIFS.

I

THE COLLABORATION OF THE JEWS.

PREYER (1841-97), a German physiologist and psychologist[a] divides the history of physiology into five periods : 1. The speculative period ; 2. that associated with the name of Aristotle ; 3. that headed by Galen ; 4. that of Harvey and Haller, and 5. that of Müller. The first period opens with the beginning of medical science in India, China, and Egypt. The ancient Hebrews were acquainted with many laws of practical hygiene and dietics. Then came the philosophers of Greece, by whom matter was supposed to consist of four elements, fire, water, air, and earth. The essence of life was referred first to one and then to another of these elements by various philosophers ; by Thales, the earliest of the Greek philosophers, to water, by Anaximenes who died about 500 B.C., to air, by Xenophon (circa 434 to 355, B.C.) to the earth, and by Pythagoras, who died about 500, B. C., to fire and heat. Hippocrates, as we have already seen was the first of these ancient philosophers to proceed in a purely rational spirit, and by carefully observing the facts of disease strove to found the art of medicine upon the results of experience.

It may not be out of place here to offer a few remarks upon

Anatomy as known among the Hebrews.

The information given in the Bible concerning the various portions of the human body is merely of a popular

(*a*) Preyer was born at Moss Side, near Manchester, England. He was educated at Bonn and other Continental Universities and subsequently became a professor of physiology at Jena. He conducted researches in connection with the blood, respiration, the colour sense and other subjects and propounded a theory of sleep. His writings, which are numerous, are in German.

and general character. Thus in the narrative given in the thirty-second chapter of Genesis, vv. 25-33, of Jacob wrestling with the angel, it is stated that the angel touched Jacob's "hollow of the thigh," and put it out of joint .... "Therefore the children eat not of the sinew that shrunk." The Hebrew word *gid*, which is translated in the Authorised Version, "sinew" means also nerve. The circumstances clearly indicate the sinew of the *nervus ischiadicus*, the nerve extending through the thigh and leg to the ankle.[b]

Several members of the human body and of animals are mentioned in Exodus, xxviii-xxix, such as the heart, brow, shoulder, breast, lobe of the ear, (*yod*) hand, finger, thumb. In Exodus xxix 17 the Hebrew term for dissecting is mentioned for the first time:—"And thou shalt cut the ram into sections." The word is נתח *Kattat*, from which is derived the modern Hebrew word for the science of Anatomy. Some of the visceral portions of the sacrifices are also given, such as the "inwards," caul, liver, fat, and kidneys. Shoulder and skin are also mentioned.

In the first chapter of Leviticus, a considerable number of parts of beasts and of birds are mentioned. The priests are commanded to cut up the sacrifices; to "flay the burnt offering and cut it into pieces.... the head and the fat." [The Hebrew word here translated "fat" strictly means the fat that covers the intestines under the omentum.[c] But if the sacrifice is a bird the priest is to pinch off the neck, and remove its crop with its feathers (Leviticus, 1. 14-16. v. 8.). These anatomical parts, however, are only the main organs, or those portions which the priest in conducting the sacrifice would naturally notice. There is no allusion to arteries, veins or nerves.

In Deuteronomy, xxxii. 19, we find mention of "The apple of the eye," by which is doubtless meant the Iris (Turkish *zanbak*), so called from resembling the rainbow in its variety of colours. The iris is that membrane stretched vertically at the anterior part of the eye, in the midst of the aqueous humor, in which it forms a circular, flat partition, separating the anterior from the posterior

(*b*) *Nervus ischiadicus.* The sciatic nerve.

(*c*) Omentum [pl. omenta]. One layer of the peritoneum passing over the liver, and another behind. These two layers meet at the under surface, pass to the stomach, and form the lesser, omentum; then, surrounding the stomach, passing down in front of the intestines and returning to the transverse colon they form the greater omentun.

chamber. It is perforated by a circular opening called the pupil, which is constantly varying its dimensions, owing to the various contractions of the fibres of the iris. Its posterior surface has been called uvea, from the thick black varnish, resembling the bloom of the grape, which covers it. The pigmentary stratum on its free surface appears to be bounded by a delicate but well defined line, which has been described as a special membrane—*Membrana pigmenti* or *Limitans*, or *Limitans Pacini*, or *Jacobi Arnold* or *Zinnii*. The greater circumference of the iris is adherent to the ciliary processes and circle. It has an external plane of radiated fibres, *dilator iridis*, and an internal one of circular fibres, *sphincter pupillæ* or *iridis*, which serve the one to dilate, the other to contract, the aperture of the pupil. The iris receives the ciliary nerves. Its arteries are furnished by the long ciliary arteries, which form two circles by their anastomoses,[d] the one very broad, near the great circumference, the other smaller and seated around the circumference of the pupil. The veins of the iris empty themselves into the vasa vorticosa[e] and into the long ciliary veins. The iris regulates by its dilation or contraction the quantity of luminous rays which are necessary for distinct vision. The different colours of the iris occasion the variety in the colours of the human eye.

The allegorical picturing of the human body in decrepit old age as given in Ecclesiastes (xii. 2-6) alludes only to the outward members of man. However, the Hebrew allegorical name (signifying as it does grinders=molars) for teeth seems to indicate that the writer possessed some knowledge of the classification and functions of the various teeth. After the time of Ezra the Hebrew sages appear to have taken a step forward in the field of anatomical science. The Greco-Egyptian school at Alexandria, to which we have previously referred, greatly influenced the Hebrew academies and the medical knowledge of the Greeks gradually became known to the Jewish phy-

(*d*) *Anastomosis* (Greek, *anastomoo*=to furnish with a mouth, *anastomosis*=an opening, an outlet, a discharge). A uniting by the mouths of vessels distinct during the greater part of their course. Used especially of the veins and arteries in the human or animal body and of the veins in plants.

(*e*) *Vasa vorticosa* [*vas*, plural *vasa*, from Latin, *vas*, a vessel and *vortex*=a whirlpool]. The veins of the outer part of the choroid coat of the eye, which converge from all directions to form four or five principal trunks. The contorted vessels which creep on the choroid coat of the eye ; ciliary veins.

sicians, and, judging from the discussions in the various treatises, they became well acquainted with most parts of the human body and even dissected the same.

The rabbis declared that there were 248 members (bones) in the human body; namely, 40 in the tarsal region and the foot (30+10=40); 2 in the leg (the tibia and fibula); 6 in the knee (including the head of the femur, and the epiphyses[f] of the tibia and fibula); 3 in the pelvis (ilium, ischium and pubes; 11 ribs (the 12th rib, owing to its diminutive size, was not counted); 30 in the hand (the carpal bones and the phalanges); 2 in the forearm (radius and ulna); 2 at the elbow (the olecranon and the head of the radius); 1 in the arm (humerus); 4 in the shoulder (clavicle, scapula, coracoid process, and acromion)—which makes 101 for each side of the body, or 202 for both—18 vertebræ; 9 in the head (cranium and face), 8 in the neck (7 vertebral and the os hyoides), 3 around "the openings of the body" (cartilaginous bones), and 6 in "the key of the heart" (the sternum).

We now know that these ancient Jewish sages were astray in their calculations as to the number of bones in the human frame. The adult skeleton consists of 214 bones, united together by cartilages and ligaments. These may be conveniently arranged in two series:—

1. Bones of the Axial Skeleton.

A. Of Head	
(*a*) Cranial	8
(*b*) Facial	15
(*c*) Amicular	6
Total	29

B. Of Trunk.	
(*d*) Vertebræ	26
(*e*) Ribs	24
(*f*) Sternum	1
Total	51
Full Total	80

Bones of the Appendicular Skeleton.

C. Upper Limbs	
(*g*) Shoulder girdles	4
(*h*) Arms and forearms	6
(*i*) Hands	58
Total	68

D. Lower Limbs.	
(*j*) Pelvic girdle	2
(*k*) Thighs and legs	8
(*l*) Feet	56
Total	66
Full Total	134

These separate bones are not morphologically equivalent. Some of which are single in man represent groups of separate elements in other animals; thus the sphenoid of the human skull is composed of ten, the occipital of four

(*f*) *Epiphyses.* (pl. of epiphysis from *epi*=upon; *phyo*=to grow). Portion of bone separated from the body of the bone by a cartilage, which later becomes converted into bone.

elements, and as these two bones unite into one at twenty-one years of age, so this unit of the mature skull really represents fourteen bones which are separate in the skulls of many lower vertebrates.

The fact that the rabbis had advanced sufficiently far to enumerate the bones proves that they possessed a certain acquaintance with osteology.

An incident is related in the Talmud which shows that the disciples of Rabbi Ishmael engaged in practical anatomy: "The disciples of Rabbi Ishmael once dissected the corpse of a harlot who had been condemned by the king to be burned. On close examination they discovered that the body possessed 252 members instead of 248. Rabbi Ishmael explained the discrepancy and supported his reasonings with citations from Scripture. In addition to the ordinary number of 248 members found in the male body, that of the female has "two hinges and two doors," making 4 more parts." Bekorot, (Talmud) 45*a*.

According to the Talmud, if a woman at the beginning of her period passes between two men, she thereby causes one of them to die; if she passes between them towards the end of her period, she only causes them to quarrel violently. (1) D. Chwolsohn in his work *Die Szabier und der Sezabismus* (Pub. St. Petersburg, 1856), ii. 483, quotes Maimonides as stating that down to his time it was a common custom in the East (India and eastern countries generally) to keep women at their periods in a separate house and to burn everything on which they had trodden; a man who spoke with such a woman or who was merely exposed to the same wind that blew over her, became thereby unclean.

However near the truth the Jewish sages were in their specifications of the human bones, they were woefully in the dark in matters concerning lymphangelology[g], splanchnology[h], etc. For instance, under one term they frequently included sinews, nerves, and even blood-vessels. Furthermore, their knowledge of the construc-

(1) J. Mergal, *Die Medezin der Talmudsten* (Leipsic and Berlin, 1885), pp. 15 *et. seq.*

(*g*) Lymphangelology—that portion of science dealing specially with the vessels conveying lymph.

(*h*) Splanchnology. (From Greek, *splangchnon*=the bowel, the inward parts) (1) The doctrine of the Viscera; a treatise or description of the viscera. (2) The doctrine of the diseases of the internal parts of the body

tion of the urinary and generative organs was exceedingly faulty. They were, however, acquainted with the science of anatomy as it was taught in those days. Many treatises—especially Hullin, Bekorot, Oholot and Niddah—contain discussions upon the anatomy and physiology of man and beast. The theories of these Hebrew physiologists in matters of gynecology are interesting ; even facts concerning the placenta and matrix are discussed. The trachea, and œsophagus are often mentioned, as well as the lungs, bronchi, gall, covering of the brain ; meninges, spinal cord, spleen, and many other internal parts.

The numerous discussions in connection with sacrificial precepts, uncleanliness, and purification, recorded in several treatises, show that the Talmudical writers were not behind the Gentile physicians in the field of medical science.

From the time when the Talmud was completed until after the death of the Prophet Muhammad, little or no progress was made by the Jews in the various sciences. But with the advent of the Caliphate, art and science revived and new seats of learning were opened. The students of the Jewish academies joined the Arabian and Moorish schools. The works of Hippocrates, Galen, Aristotle, and others were translated into Arabic, and not a few into Hebrew.

From these Islamic colleges proceeded a large number of learned Hebrew scholars who became distinguished in letters, philosophy and science ; but very little is known of their labours in anatomy. That there were some Jewish experts in that branch of medical science is undoubtedly the case, for the names of several skilled Hebrew surgeons have been recorded, as, for example, Samuel-ibn-Wakkar.

The foremost of all the Judæo-Arabian surgeons of that period was the African philosopher and physician, Isaac Ben Solomon Israeli, who in Arabic works figures under the name of Abu Ya'qūb Ishāq Ibn Sulaimān Al-Isra'īlī, and who is generally known as Isaac Israeli and sometimes as Isaac Israeli the Elder. This learned man was born in Egypt prior to 832 (Christian era) and died at Kairwan in Tunis, in either 932, 942, or 950. Historians differing as to the exact year of his death but all agreeing that he was over 100 years old at the time of his decease. He studied natural history, medicine, mathematics, astronomy, etc., and was reputed to be one who

was acquainted with all the seven sciences. Israeli appears in his early years to have paid particular attention to ophthalmic disorders, particularly to those complaints now popularly styled "Egyptian Opthalmia," a term embracing a number of contagious eye diseases and which is applied particularly to the granular form or trachoma[1] and he first gained a reputation in Egypt as a skilful oculist. Having left Cairo he took up his abode in Kairwan where he studied general medicine under Ishāq-ibn-Amrān al-Baghdādī, with whom he is sometimes confounded. His fame became widely extended throughout Tunis, the works he penned being considered by the Islamic physicians as being "more valuable than gems, more precious than gold." His lectures on medicine attracted a large number of students, the two most prominent thereof being Abu-Ja'far-ibn-al-Yazar (a Musulman), and Dunash-ibn-Tamim (a Jew).

About 904 Israeli was appointed *Hakim Humayun* (Court Physician) to Ziyādat-Allāh, the last prince of the Aghlabide dynasty[2]. When five years later, the Fatimite Khalif, Ubaidullah al Mahdi, became master of Northern Africa whereof Kairwan was the capital, Israeli was taken into his service. The Khalif enjoyed the company of his Jewish physician on account of the latter's wit and of the brilliant repartee in which he completely confounded the Greek Al Hubaish when pitted against him. At the request of the Khalif, Israeli composed in Arabic several medical works, which in 1087 were translated into Latin by the monk Constantine of Carthage, who claimed their authorship as his own. It was only after four more centuries had elapsed, namely, at Lyons, in 1515, that the editor of an edition of these works discovered the plagiarism and published them under the

(1) *Trachoma.* [Greek, *trachoma*=a roughness]. A roughness of the eyelids, especially on their inner parts, from scabs, arising from an obstruction of the sebaceous glands. There is a heaviness in the eye, a swelling of the eyelids, with a pain and itching in their corners and in the conjunctive, and the flow of a viscid humour, which sometimes agglutinates the eyelids.

(2) The Agh'labids were a Muslim dynasty in Kairawan, founded by Ibrahim-ibn-al-Aghlab in 800 (common era), and overthrown by the Fatamids in 909. The eleven rulers of this dynasty were styled Emir, and nominally recognised the Abbaside Caliphate, but practically were independent. The hereditary rights were granted by Haroun al-Raschid. Their territory included that of Ifrikija, or the ancient *Provincia Africa.* In 827 the Emir Ziyadat-Ullah commenced the conquest of Sicily which was continued by his successors.

title of " Opera Omnia Isaaci, " though in that collection works of other physicians were erroneously attributed to Israeli. His works were also translated into Hebrew, and a part of his medical works into Spanish.

On medicine Israeli wrote the following :—

" Kitab al-Hummayāt," in Hebrew, " Sefer ha-Kadabot," a complete treatise, in five books, on the kinds of fever (*humma*), according to the ancient physicians, especially Hippocrates. " Kitab al-Adwiyah al-Mufradah wa'l Aghdhiyah," a work in four sections on remedies and ailments. The first section, consisting of 20 chapters, was translated into Latin by Constantine under the title " Diaetae Universales," and into Hebrew by an anonymous translator under the title " Tib'e ha-Mezonot." The other 3 parts of the work are entitled in the Latin translation, " Diaetae Particulares ; " and it seems that a Hebrew translation, entitled " Sefer ha-Mis'adim, " or " Sefer ha-Ma'ak alim, " was made from the Latin.

" Kitab al-Baul," or in Hebrew, " Sefer ha-shetan," a treatise on urine, whereof the author himself made an abridgment.

" Kitab al-Istikhtas," in Hebrew, " Sefer ha-Yesodot," a medical and philosophical work on the elements, which the author treats according to the ideas of Aristotle, Hippocrates, and Galen. The Hebrew translation was made by Abraham-bin-Hasdal at the request of the grammarian David Kimhi.

" Manhig ha-Rofe'im " or " Musar ha Rofe'im," a treatise, in 50 paragraphs, for physicians, translated into Hebrew (the Arabic original is not extant), and into German by David Kaufmann under the title " Propädentik für Aerzte " (Berliner's Magazine, xi. 97-112).

" Kitābu't-Tiryāq," a work on antidotes (Arabic, tiryaq =an antidote).

Some writers attribute to Isaac Israeli two other works which figure among Constantine's translations, namely, the " Liber Pantegni " and the " Viaticum, " of which there are three Hebrew translations. But the former belongs to Abu-Bekr Mahomed Ibn Zakariya Ar-Razi (Rhazes), the most important of the mediæval Muslim physicians, with whom we shall deal at greater length in a subsequent article, and the latter work to 'Alî ibn-'Abbâs, or, according to other authorities, to Israeli's pupil Abn Ja'far ibn-Al-Jazzār. Strange to say among

all the works of Isaac Israeli which have been translated from the Arabic into Latin (published in Leyden, 1515), there is not a single treatise on either anatomy or physiology, and only a few references thereto.

The most eminent of all Jewish philosophers and physicians was Moses Ben-Maimon, usually called Maimonides who was born at Cordova, March 30th, 1135 (common era) and died at Cairo, December 13, 1204, and who is known in Arabic literature as Abu'Imrān Mūsa-bin-Maimūn-ibn-'Ahd Allāh. His father, Maimon, was himself a scholar of high merit, and placed his son at an early age under the guidance of the most distinguished Arabic masters, who initiated him in all the branches of the learning of that time. About the year 1148 of the common era, the father of Maimon professed Islam, his son then being about thirteen years of age ; for the next twelve years the family appear to have led a somewhat nomadic life, wandering hither and thither in Spain. In 1160 they settled at Fez, where they were recognized as Muslims, and where Maimonides had for his greatest friend, the poet and Islamic theologian Abu-al-Arab al Mu'ishah. Five years later, namely, in 1165, the family left Morocco and went to Acre, then to Jerusalem and finally settled in Cairo. Here Maimonides adopted the medical profession. After several years of professional practice his authority in medical matters was firmly established, and he was appointed private physician to the Grand Vizier of Sultan Salâhud-din (Saladdin), who recommended him to the royal family and bestowed many distinctions upon him. According to the Arabian historian Al-Kitti, Maimonides declined a similar position offered to him by " the King of the Franks in Ascalon " (Richard I, " Cœur de Lion," of England).

The method adopted by Maimonides in his professional practice was to begin with a simple treatment, endeavouring to cure by a prescribed diet before administering drugs. Speaking of his medical career in a letter addressed to his pupil Joseph-ibn 'Aknim, Maimonides said : " You know how difficult this profession is for one who is conscientious and exact, and who states only that which he can support by argument or authority." In another letter, addressed to Samuel ibn-Tibbon, he describes his arduous professional duties, which occupy him the whole day and very often a great part of the night.

Maimonides' powerful genius and indefatigable industry, notwithstanding his strenuous professional life, enabled him, amid his numerous occupations, to produce monumental works, reply to hundreds of questions on various subjects addressed to him from various parts of the world, and administer the affairs of the Jewish community of Cairo, in which, soon after his arrival, he took a leading and prominent part, apparently becoming its recognized official head by 1177.

Notwithstanding his many works—philosophical, theological, scientific, astronomical and medical—Maimonides only touched on anatomy and physiology, merely translating a few extracts from Galen, whom he considers his greatest authority. In one of his works he writes thus :—

" These chapters which I have composed I do not attribute to myself, but I have selected and collected them from the works of Galen, and from his sayings concerning the writings of Hippocrates. I have not quoted him *verbatim*, as I have done in my previous opusucula, having taken special care to elucidate those obscure passages in Galen, where, in his attempts to explain the theories of Hippocrates, the latter's words seem to be confounded with his own.

That Maimonides studied anatomy and was an expert therein, is manifested by his own words. In speaking of the nerves, etc., he says :—

" Those that are not acquainted with anatomy think that nerves, arteries, etc., are the same ; and were it not for the study of anatomy in which we were busily engaged, we also should not know the difference."

Maimonides enriched medical literature with some valuable works, of which the following are well worthy of enumeration :—

" Fī'l-Jama'ah ," on sexual intercourse, in three parts, dedicated to Malik al Mustafir, Sultan of Hamā and nephew of Salāhu'd-din. It was twice translated into Hebrew : under the title " Ma'amar 'al Ribbni ha-Tashmish," by Nerahiah-ben-Isaac, and under the title " Ma'amar hamashgel " (anonymous). Both original and translations, as well as a Latin version, are extant in various manuscripts.

" As-Sumūm wal-Mutaharriz min al-adwiyyah al-Kitālah " (also called " Al-Makālah al-Fadilìyyah," on

various poisons and their antidotes, in two volumes. Translated into Hebrew, under the title of "Ha Ma'amar be Teri'ak," or " Ha Ma'amar ha Nikhad ," by Moses ibn-Tabbon ; extant in various manuscripts. A Latin translation of this work was made by Armengaud Blasius of Montpelier. A French translation from the Hebrew version was made by M. Rabbinowitz under the title " Traité des Poisons " (Paris, 1865) and a German translation by M. Steinschneider entitled " Gifte unde Ihre Heilungen " (Berlin, 1873).

" Fi al-Bu'āsīr, concerning hemorrhoids, " in seven chapters, translated into Hebrew under the title of " Ha Ma'amar bi Refn' at ha Tehorim " (" Discourse upon the Curing of hemorrhoids ") and into Spanish under the title of " Sobre los Milagros." Original and translations are found in manuscripts.

" Makalâh fīr'-Rabw," on asthma. Translated into Hebrew by Samuel ben-Benveniste and Joseph Shatihi.

" Fusul Musa, " translated into Hebrew by Zerahiah ben-Isaac and by Nathan ha Me'ati (" Pirke Mosheh, " Lemburg, 1804 ; Wilna, 1888). A Latin translation was published in 1489. A Commentary on Hippocrates' aphorisms. Extracted from the commentary of Galen ; translated into Hebrew by Moses ibn-Tibbon, and anonymously.

Essays on hygiene, or consultations with Malik al-Fadl, son of Saladin. Translated into Hebrew by Moses ibn Tibbon and published first in " Kerem Hemed " (iii. 9-31), and later by Jacob Safar ha Levi (Jerusalem 1885). A Latin translation was published at Venice (1514, 1518, 1521) and Leyden (1531). Another Latin translation was made from the Hebrew by John of Capua ; a German translation was published by D. Winternitz (Venice, 1843).

" Makālah fī Biyān al A'rād," on the case of the Prince of Rikka. Translated into Hebrew anonymously under the title " Teshnbot' al She'elot Paratiyyot. " A Latin translation was published in 1519 under the title " De causis Accidentium Apparentium."

Not only did Maimonides write these and other learned works but he enlightened his admirers and disciples upon a multitude of questions. Among these was an enquiry concerning astrology, addressed to him from Marseilles. In his reply Maimonides states that, in his opinion, man

should believe only what can be supported either by rational proof, by the evidence of his senses, or by trustworthy authority. He affirms that he has studied astrology and that it does not deserve to be called a science. The supposition that the fate of man could be dependent upon the constellations is ridiculed by him ; he argues that such a theory would rob life of purpose and would make every human being the slave of destiny. This dictum of Maimonides is in direct contradiction to the declaration of Hippocrates in his treatise " De crisi et hora decumbentium ," wherein he says : " Of what nature can he be, that doctor who is not familiar with astrology ? Let no man trust himself into the hands of such, for he is not a thorough physician: he is like unto a blind man who searcheth his way with a staff, nor the adornment of the physician's name doth he deserve. Nor can any man be skilled in medicine who knoweth not the times and ways of the heavenly bodies and of the influence which the moon exerciseth upon the human frame." Galen was equally emphatic on this point and says : " He who plyeth the healing art unversed in natural magic or practical astrology, his soul wandering perpetually in darkness will wax old ; not only doth he fail in rectitude, but in verity may be called a deceiver[1]."

Maimonides had the satisfaction of seeing some of his works translated into Hebrew and received with great admiration by learned Jews, and his genius was admired by Jews, Christians and Muslims alike. The renowned Arabian physician and theologian Abdul-Latīf of Baghdad confessed that his desire to visit Cairo was prompted by the wish to make the acquaintance of three men, one of whom was Musa-ibn-Maimun. The latter's eminence as a physician was no less recognized, and the Arabic poet and cadi As-Sa'īd ibn-Sūrat al-Mulk sang it in ecstatic verse, which, rendered into English verse, runs thus :—

" The art of Galen only doth the body heal,
But Ibn Imran's art body and soul do feel.
His wisdom great, sickness of ignorance so dire,
Sure could he heal and cause it to expire.
If moon submits itself unto his art,
Her blots and spots he will cause to depart,
Her periodic defects, I am sure,
His art and skill would very quickly cure.
Her full moon face would shine perfectly clear,

(1) Phillips—*Medicine and Astrology.* (Philadelphia, 1867).

And thus remain throughout the changing year,
And in her time of conjunction, paining,
Abn Imran's skill, would save her waning."

In the above quoted poem, the name Abu 'Imran is the Arabic name whereby Maimonides was known.

It is worthy of observation that in his theological works Maimonides did not surrender his originality or his independent judgment even when his views were in conflict with all the Jewish authorities he quoted, for it was impossible, in his opinion to renounce one's own reasons or to reject recognized truths because of some conflicting statements in the Talmud or the Midrash. Thus he made a ruling on his own authority and based upon his medical knowledge, without being able to establish it by any statement of the older authorities. He likewise omitted many regulations contained in the Talmud and Mishnah because they did not coincide with his views, particularly those precepts which depended on superstitious views or on the belief in demons, and in a similar spirit he passed over much that was forbidden in the Talmud as injurious to health, since his medical knowledge caused him to consider these things as harmless.

The last years of the life of Maimonides were marked by increasing physical ailments ; he died in his seventieth year. In Cairo both Jews and Muslims observed public mourning for three days. His body was taken to Tiberas and his tomb became a place of pilgrimage.

The question as to whether Maimonides was at the time of his decease a Jew or a Muslim has led to much discussion and there is yet a considerable difference of opinion upon the point. That Maimonides professed Islam and was recognised as a Muslim is universally admitted. When he was resident at Fez in the 500th year of the Hegira, corresponding with 1164 of the common era, he was accused of having relapsed from Islam to Judaism. He then firmly denied the allegation and solemnly affirmed that he was a True Believer and was supported in this assertion by his friend, the poet and Islamic theologian Abn al'Arab al-Mu'ishah, and he was declared to be acquitted of the charge.

It is asserted that, while he was resident in Egypt, Maimonides wrote an essay on forced conversions in reply to a certain rabbi who asserted that compulsory converts to Islam, although they may secretly observe all the Jew-

ish precepts, cannot be considered as Israelities. The treatise sets forth (1) the extent to which a Jew may yield and the extent to which he must resist when under compulsion to embrace another religion, and (2) maintains that Islam is not a heathenish religion, but on the contrary the purest monotheism ; that instead of being opposed to Judaism it is rather an enlargement of it. It is generally held among Jews that in this essay Maimonides preached " pro domo sou, " and that he and his family had themselves been compelled to embrace Islam. This, however, is contested by some scholars, who, on what apparently are good grounds, even doubt the authorship of Maimonides to this essay.

On the other hand Mūsa ibn-'Abdul-Qādir, a Muslim historian, who flourished about 675 (Hegira) (1276 A.D.), says " Abu 'Imran Mūsa ben-Maimūn ibn-'Abdullah (Maimonides), al-tabīb wa hakīm,(the physician and philosopher), was a Jew by race, but a Muslim in faith. He believed that Muhammad-rasūl-allah (o. w. b. p.) was the prophet like unto Mūsa (Moses). He died in the Faith Most Excellent and was buried as a True Believer'—May Allah rest his soul in eternal peace ! "

Ibn Ali Usaibiah in his " Biographies of the Arabian Physicians, " confirms the above statement.

Whatever differences in opinion there may be as to the religion of Maimonides, there can be none as to that of his successor to the position of Court-physician. This was Abu Al-Ma'Ali Ibn Hibat-Allah (or Habīb-Ullah), who was born a Jew and is believed to have married the sister of Maimonides. Undoubtedly he (Hibat-Allah) and his wife and almost all their children embraced Islam. He lived at Cairo (" Fustāt ") at the end of the 12th century of the common era. He was the physician of Salāh-ud-Din (Saladin) and after the death of the latter, of his brother Al-Malik al-'aādil. Ibn-Ali-Usaibiah, in his biographies of the Arabian physicians, speaks highly of Abu al-Ma'ali's erudition, generosity and powerful influence at court. Al Ma'ali wrote a work on medicine entitled *Ta'alik wa*-Maghrabat, and one on surgery styled *Al*-Mujabbir (" The Bone-setter "), wherein he gives accurate descriptions of *Al-Kab*, the joint bones of the heel ; *kaas*, of the hands, *kharaz azzahr*, of the back, etc. He also wrote many other works and essays on medicine and physiology which are no longer extant.

Steinschneider, in his work, *Die Arabische Literature der Juden*, is inclined to identify Ma'ali as the brother-in-law of Maimonides and the secretary of the mother of the vizier Al-Fadl.

Jewish Folk-Medicine.

Among uncultured people of all races and at all times ideas and remedies are prevalent with regard to the prevention and cure of disease. They are found among the Jews of all ages. Even in the Old Testament that curious plant the mandrake (*mandragora*), the root whereof is large and carrot-like and often crudely resembles the human figure, is referred to as being efficacious in curing barrenness in females and producing fertility (*vide.*, Genesis, xxx. 14-16). It is, however, not among the Jews alone that this plant enjoyed that reputation, from very ancient times, among many peoples, aphrodisiac virtues have been ascribed to the mandrake. The plant has a fœtid, narcotic smell and is reputed poisonous. Two species are described by some botanists, the autumnal mandrake (*Mandragora autumnalis*, which flowers in autumn and has lanceolate leaves and ovate berries ; and the vernal mandrake (*Mandragora officinarum*), which flowers in spring and has oblong-ovate leaves and globose berries. Both are natives of the south of Europe and of the East. In the United States of America, the name mandrake is often applied to the "May apple" (*Podophyllum peltatum*), a low-growing perennial plant. The dried root stock whereof is used in medicine, and has alterative, cathartic and emetic properties.

In the Book of Tobit, a late Jewish work, never received into the Jewish canon, and included in the Apocrypha by Protestant Christians, although it was pronounced canonical by the Council of Carthage (397) and the Council of Trent (1546), there is given in Chap. vi, a curious and interesting example of folk-medicine. Tobit, a pious man of the tribe of Naphthali, accidentally losing his eyesight, fell into great poverty, and in his dire distress prayed that he might die. On that same day a similar prayer was offered by Sarah, the daughter of Raguel Echbatana (in Media), in despair because she had been married to seven husbands, each one of whom had been slain on the nuptial night by a demon. The blind Tobit, accompanied by a companion and guide, who gave the name of Azarias, but who subsequently was discovered

to be the angel Raphael, proceeded on a journey to Media in order to recover some money which Tobit had formerly deposited in trust with a friend in that country. At the river Tigris, Tobit caught a fish and was instructed by his companion to preserve its heart, liver and gall. Conducted to Raguel's house, he asked Sarah's hand in marriage, drove away the demon by burning the heart and liver of the fish in the bridal chamber, sent Azarias for the money, and returned with him and Sarah to Nineveh, where Tobit's eyesight was restored by smearing his eyes with the gall of the fish. His wife Sarah bore him a son, and Tobias, Sarah and their offspring all reached a good old age (Tobias living to rejoice over the destruction of Nineveh), and died in peace.

In the Talmud there is ample evidence of the spread of folk-medicine in Babylonia. Probably as a protest against this, it is stated, in *Berakot*, 10 b., that Hezekiah had hidden away a book of medical remedies. In the portion of the Talmud denominated Shubbat, it is stated that the Tertian fever can be cured by an amulet consisting of seven sets of seven things hung round the neck (*Shub.* 67 a.). Amulets were also used in cases of epilepsy (*Shub.* 67 a.).

The idea of transferring a disease to animals, found so frequently in folk-medicine, is also recorded in the Talmud. In fever the patient was recommended to go to a cross-road and seize the first ant with a burden that he saw crawling along. Having seized, it, he was to place the unfortunate insect in a copper tube, which was to be covered with lead and then sealed. Then he was to shake the tube and say :—" What thou carriest on me, that I carry on thee " (*Shub.* 66 b.).

In Morocco to-day, if a Jewish child is lazy its mother will bake ants in a cake and give the same to the lethargic child in order that it may become industrious.

In Jewish ' Folk-Medicine ' there was a rough enumeration of twelve members or parts of the body, with which were associated certain qualities of the mind or character, such as anger with the liver, hearing with the left nerve, and the like. These are found enumerated in the *Sefer Yezirah* (" Book of Creation "). According

(*) A Tertian fever, ague, or other disease, is one whose paroxysms recur every other day, or an intermittent fever, etc., whose paroxysms occur after intervals of about 48 hours.

to this esoteric work ; the twelve " simple " letters of the Hebrew alphabet created the twelve signs of the zodiac, whose relation to the earth is always simple or stable and to them belong the twelve months in time, and the twelve " leaders " in man. The latter are those organs which perform functions in the body independent of the outside world being the hands, feet, kidneys, gall, intestines, stomach, liver, pancreas, and spleen ; and they are, accordingly, subject to the twelve signs of the zodiac.

The belief that the liver is the seat of the soul still exists in Darfur, in Central Africa, and that a man may enlarge his soul by eating the liver of an animal. Mr. R. W. Felkin, in his "Notes on the For Tribe of Central Africa" (published in the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, xiii 1884-86, p. 218) states "whenever an animal is killed its liver is taken out and eaten, but the people are most careful not to touch it with their hands, as it is considered sacred ; it is cut up in small pieces, and eaten raw, the bits being conveyed to the mouth on the point of a knife, or the sharp point of a stick. Any one who may accidentally touch the liver is strictly forbidden to partake of it, which prohibition is regarded as a great misfortune for him. Women are not allowed to eat liver, because they have no soul."

The only other striking statement worthy of record concerning the old Jewish system of anatomy is that contained in the Zohar (called also in the earlier Jewish literature *Midrash ha-Zohar* and *Midrash de-Rabbi shimbn ben Yohai*). The author (supposed to be Moosha de Leon, about the end of the thirteenth century of the Christian era) says (cxxxvii. 33) :—

" There are 248 members in the human body, corresponding to the 248 precepts of the law, and to the 248 angels investing the Shekinah, whose names are the same as their master's. And there are also in the human body 365 sinews ; —[under which vague term are included, as stated above, arteries, nerves, etc.], corresponding to the 365 negative laws and representing the 365 days of the year. They are governed by 365 angels, one of which is Samael himself, who represents the ninth day of the month of Ab [the fast commemorating the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans]. The reason why the sinew of the thigh nerve was forbidden was because it represents Samael [Satan] , who is one of the 365 angels whose day is the Ninth of Ab."

Several attempts have been made by modern Hebrew writers to reconcile the "248 members" theory with modern science. One of the most recent is "Maseket Nittuah" by a Russian physician, Dr. Benjamin Schereschewski, who is also the author of "Mishnat 'Olam Katon," the first part whereof is a treatise on anatomy, and the second on chemistry*. The other is "Remah Ebarim" (the 248 members), by Dr. Judah Lob ben-Israel Katzenelson (pen-name Bukkin ben-Jogli, a Russian physician, born in Borbinsk, 1848. He studied in the Imperial Medico-Surgical Academy of St. Petersburg in 1877. He took part in the war against Turkey and was twice decorated by the Czar. After serving for some time in the clinical hospital attached to the Voyennaya Akademia, he was appointed physician in ordinary to the Alexsandrovski Hospital of St. Petersburg. He was the author of many works, medical and theological, and also of a novel, in Hebrew, entitled *Shirat ha*-Zamir (Pub. Warsaw, 1895). He died in 1917.

*Dr. Schershewski was born 1857 and died 14 August, 1916.

HARUN MUSTAFA LEON.

AL-GHAZZALI

MODERN historians generally warn us against over-emphasising the importance of individuals in shaping the destinies of nations. They say that we should direct our entire attention towards the complex problems, political as well as social, which have been the cause of the progress and the downfall of nations. The assertion may be true, but nobody can deny the fact that individuals have always been at the bottom of all the revolutions and evolutions in a nation's politics and ideas. Those giants of intellect, those sacred personalities, who are sent by God, from time to time, to better the lot of their countrymen, and to infuse spirit and vigour into their minds, are always the makers of history. History, in its true sense, is but a record of their thoughts, which once moved the world, and the doings of the followers, who received inspiration from them. A new school of thought has, recently, grown up, whose exponents maintain that the personal equation in history is quite an insignificant factor. This is a mistaken idea. Can anybody deny the important part played in revolutionizing the ideas of their countrymen by men like Mazzini or, to take the case of modern India, by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Swami Vevekananda or Sir Syed Ahmed Khan of blessed memory ?

Imam Ghazzali was born, in the year 450 A.H., in the famous city of Tus, in Khurasan, which, like Shiraz, was the birth-place of a large number of Muslim philosophers and men of letters. He came of a respectable though humble family. His father was a yarn-seller and hence his Surname Ghazzali*. On his death-bed his father enjoined, on one of his friends, to give the young Ghazzali a thorough and liberal education and a firm grounding in the doctrines of Islam. His last wishes were religiously carried out, and he was put under the tuition

* Quite a different story of the origin of the name is to be found in Kitab'ul-Fakhri.—Ed. " I. C. "

of Ahmad-bin-Muhammad Razkhani, a renowned teacher of Islamic law, and Imam Abi'nasar, a famous divine.

In those days there were no regular colleges or schools in the modern sense. Mosques were the lecture-rooms, and out-houses attached to them served as hostels. Some pious and kindly-disposed gentlemen of the town used to make a small monthly contribution to defray the boarding expenses of these ardent seekers after knowledge. It is instructive, as well, as amusing, to ponder over the interesting fact, that the old system of education produced a larger number of scholars among the Musalmans, than the modern one. If we carefully analyse the constitutions of the great Universities of Baghdad and Cordova, which were the nerve centres of Muslim intellectual activities for centuries, we rub our eyes in amazement to find these institutions, with no regular organisation worthy of the name, producing legions of scholars in rapid succession, while the Indian Universities, with their elaborate system of education, hardly produce one in twenty five years. In this, there is sufficient food for thought, for those "high-brow" educationists, who take pride in denouncing and ridiculing the old system.

Under that out-of-date system Imam Ghazzali, like his many compatriots, commenced his education. He continued his studies only for five years. God had given him such a retentive memory and quick understanding, that, within a short time, he acquired everything that the famous teacher could impart. He drank deep at the fountain of knowledge, and began to feel a secret longing for a greater stream at which to quench his increasing intellectual thirst. There were only two universities (Baghdad and Corvoda), which were renowned for their scholarship throughout the length and breadth of the Islamic world. The University of Nashapur, the older of the two, was, at that time, presided over by Imam-ul-Haramain, the most erudite scholar of his time. Students from distant lands used to flock around him to study at his feet. To this centre of intellectual activity, where the teachers and the taught, alike, were enveloped in the atmosphere of true education, Imam Ghazzali was forced to gravitate. On a sudden impulse, he left his home and entered the famous institution, full of hope and determination, and by unflagging zeal secured a strong position among his comrades. The learned principal of the University, seeing his wonderful capacities, took a

fancy to him, and the young Ghazzali soon became his favourite pupil. Within two years, Ghazzali sustained an irreparable loss in the untimely death of his venerable teacher and guide. Soon after Imam-ul-Haramain's sad demise Ghazzali bade adieu to the great University and started for Baghdad, leaving a creditable record behind him.

Malak Shah, a Turkish King, was the ruler of Baghdad and its adjoining territories, the heritage of the Abbasides ; Nizam-ul-Mulk, that eminent statesman and benefactor of learning, whose name is written in letters of gold in Islamic history soon appointed the Imam, who had already secured a considerable academic reputation, to the coveted post of professor of mental science. Immediately after his appointment, we find him occupying a conspicuous position there and delivering thoughtful lectures on Rhetoric, Philosophy, and Divinity. His discourses soon attracted attention, and he received the highly-prized title of Hujjat-ul-Islam, the title by which he is still known in learned circles.

As he was a born mystic and a man entirely given to contemplation, he retired from his post at the age of forty-nine years and ended his days in philosophical speculation, although for a time he continued to deliver sermons in different seats of learning such as Alexandria, Jerusalem and Damascus, which justly attracted crowds of eager listeners. As he is one of the few Oriental 'Ulama, like Avicenna whose works have achieved a European reputation, it will be quite in keeping with the subject of this article if we take a hurried view of his philosophy, which once revolutionised the world.

In modern times, the moral and mental sciences have made such progress and produced so many eminent thinkers in Europe, that many of his ideas will not appear new to us, but it must be borne in mind that they were formulated at a time when the whole of the civilized world was enshrouded in superstitious beliefs.

On carefully analysing his works, such as the " Confession," and the " Alchemy of Happiness," we find one and only one idea running through all of them. In his early youth, he had realised with considerable pain that the study of secular philosophy had resulted in a general indifference to religion, and that a scepticism which concealed itself under the cloak of piety was destroying the

purity of the nation and was eating into the very vitals of society. By means of books and public lectures, he wanted to dispel the general indifference towards religious problems. This is the only underlying motive of his philosophy. As is the case with every reformer, he was openly denounced by his own co-religionists, but he did not give up the sacred mission which he had voluntarily undertaken.

In one of Imam Ghazzali's famous books called the "Destruction of Philosophy," he maintains that the tendency towards rationalism in religion is the delusion under which all the nations of the world are labouring. Who can guarantee that the verdict of reason will not be upset by some higher authority? Nay, who can say that the things we do not understand just now will not be understood a hundred years hence? With the progress of science we are realizing constantly that the things which were once regarded as superhuman and impossible are the established facts of to-day, similarly a time may come when present-day impossibilities may be transformed into evident truths. With this point of view he examined all sects, such as the Aristotleian, one by one, assailed them at twenty points, and virtually foreshadowed the very centre-piece of modern philosophy. When Descartes took the philosophic world by storm with his new system as embodied in the "Discourse on Method," he was only enlarging and systematising a truth expressed by Imam Gazzali years before. A quotation from either will make the statement clear.

"As I then desired," says Descartes in his interesting philosophical autobiography, "to give my attention solely to the search after truth, I thought that a procedure exactly the opposite was called for; and that I ought to reject as absolutely false all opinions in regard to which I could suppose the least ground for doubt, in order to ascertain whether after that there remained aught in my belief that was wholly indubitable. Accordingly, seeing that our senses sometimes deceive us, I was willing to suppose that there existed nothing really such as they presented to us. But immediately upon this I observed that whilst I thus wished to think that all was false, it was absolutely necessary that I, who thus thought must be somewhat; and as I observed that this truth—I think, hence I am—was so certain and of such evidence, that no ground of doubt however extravagant, could be alleged

by the sceptics for shaking it, I concluded, that I might without scruple, accept it as the first principle of the philosophy of which I was in search."

Imam Ghazzali, said in language equally definite but much simpler :—

اما هستی ولے(روح)ظاهر است که آدمی را در هستي خود هیچ شک نیست و هستی ولے نه بدین کالبد ظاهر است که مرده را نیز همین باشد وجان نبا شد وما بدین دل حقیقت روح مبحوث هم وچون این روح نبا شد تن مردار می باشد واگر کسے چشم فرا ز کند وکالبد خویش را فرا موشی کند وآسمان وزمین وهرچه آن را بم چشم بتوان دید فرا موشی کند هستی خود را ضرورت می شناسد وزخو شتن باخبر بود اگر چه ارکالبد وزمین وآسمان وهرچه در دست بے خبر بود وچون کسے اندرین بیک تامل کند چیزے از حقیقت آخرت نمی شناسد-

The close similarity is easily explained. The Western philosopher and the eastern Saint happened to be born in ages very like each other in their sceptical tendencies. In Europe the Renaissance had thrown a flood of light on the darkness of the middle ages. In religion, as well as in philosophy, the freedom of private judgment had been proclaimed. Scepticism which is the natural result of a free exercise of the critical spirit was making its influence felt. A similar spirit pervaded the East at the time of Ghazzali's advent. Baghdad was the battle-field of religious controversies ; and his confessions embody the inquisitiveness of a spirit eager for truth, and let loose from the safe rock of time-honoured traditions and beliefs. He dives deeper and deeper, testifying to the well-known saying that philosophy ends where religion begins.

In his famous book, "the Confessions," he has recorded his beliefs on all the important topics of Mohammadanism. This celebrated treatise rendered his name immortal and made him the chief Muslim divine.

He was gifted with the rare faculty of skilful and apt exposition of complicated religious doctrines. There may be some persons to whom his line of argument may not appear quite convincing, but nevertheless his noble and sublime soul, which shows through the artificial curtain of language, leaves a deep impression on the reader's mind.

He was a very staunch supporter of Sûfism. His idea of Sûfism was that slow process by which the soul is freed from intrusion of passion, in order that in the puri-

fied heart there may remain room for nothing else except God. As he was a practical mystic, by Sûfis he meant those whose mysticism did not carry them into extravagance. He did not like those Sûfis who make indiscreet utterances, like Mansûr or Bazêd, which are full of fatal consequences and exercise a baneful effect on the common folk.

His style, though terse, is very flowery. He does not hesitate to have recourse to figures of speech and other literary devices, to make his language impressive. The other important quality, which stands out in bold relief, in almost all his work, such as, Ihya-ul-ulûm, is his beautiful turn for allegory. At one place he likens the soul to a fortress beleaguered by the armies of Satan. Moulâna Rûm, that great mystic-poet, paid a high tribute to him by borrowing many of his allegories. Although himself a Sûfi, he never preached celibacy and seclusion from the world, as is wrongly attributed to him. On the other hand, he drew up a code of matrimonal life for the benefit of married couples. He mentions many advantages of marriage in his works, which goes to show that he was not at all opposed to it.

In the whole field of Islamic history he has no rival in his practical mysticism, soul-elevating philosophy, and wisdom. His works are a treasure-house of pathos, moving eloquence, passionate yearning, and serene hope. Whatever was excellent in philosophy and literature he discreetly adapted to Muslim theology, and adorned the doctrines of the Quran by a selfless and a pure life led in piety and religious contemplation. The chief aim of his life was the demolition of the impenetrable barriers erected by the bigoted 'Ulama between independent thought and Islam, and he strove against them till his last moment. As long as his works are extant and Muslims derive inspiration from them, his memory will remain green, and he will be looked upon as one of the greatest practical mystics the world ever produced.

S. M. Rahman.

*THE PERSONALITY OF AKBAR.**

It is always difficult to unravel the tangled skein of personality, more so in the case of Akbar the Great Mogul for his was a most complex, nay, confusing one. The subtle threads in the magic web are only perceptible in the pearly glimmer of a sympathetic mind. The dazzling flashlight of the professional historian often gives a blurred impression. The average man can have little interest in Akbar for he is almost stunned by the weight of his commanding personality. The common man loves the region of the plains ; the solemn peaks that uprear their mighty tops against the sky do not attract him. Akbar is one of these peaks upon the horizon, known only to the stars. The ordinary man delights to read of human frailties and failures which reveal his kinship with his heroes. He loves Baber and Humayun but can only admire Akbar. Akbar has not the light, easy touches of Baber's genial personality, nor the human weaknesses of Humayun. The "Memoirs" of Baber admits the reader to the Emperor's drinking bout ; he is treated to a pleasant chat. The "Happy Sayings" of Akbar gives the impression of solemnity and the reader feels he has been summoned to the Grand Durbar of the Imperial Moguls. Akbar seems to be a man all iron, one of those ' supermen,' we puny men cannot understand and love but whom we are forced to admire. The difficulty of interpreting his personality is further increased by the conflicting and contradictory remarks of contemporary writers. The impressions produced on the minds of, the fanatic Badaoni, the admiring court historian Abu-l Fazl, the cautious and often suspicious Du Jarric, vary in several respects. To get a full picture of the man these fragmentary glimpses have to be collected and pieced together, with the help of a kind imagination.

All those who saw Akbar speak very highly of his personal appearance. The Delhi miniature (the frontispiece of Von Noer's second volume) gives us a faithful representation of the Emperor in a sitting posture. Cul-

* This appreciation of the character of Akbar by a highly cultivated Hindu writer is of special interest to readers of ' Islamic Culture,'—Ed.

ture has softened down the rough Mongolian features. The head is somewhat round, the forehead broad, the eye-brows thick; the eyes are dreamy and thoughtful, 'vibrant like the sea in sunshine.' The moderate-sized nose is a little hooked at the end. The face is clean shaven except for a small moustache that falls in neat little curls over the upper lip. He had a fair complexion; Jehangir says that it was the 'yellow of wheat;' the Jesuit fathers called it 'white.' (see the frontispiece to Smith's 'Akbar the Great Mogul'). The loud full-throated voice of the august Emperor, was considered to have a 'peculiar richness.' He was of medium height, strongly built, full limbed, with long hands and broad chest. His personal appearance was so befitting his position and dignity that 'anybody, even at the first glance, could recognise him as a king.' The Emperor had the most winning manners. He could be familiar and intimate without loss of dignity; Bartoli remarks that he was 'great with the great and lowly with the lowly.' Du Jarric notes that 'to the common people he was sympathetic and indulgent but to the nobles he was terrible.' The physical powers of the Emperor were remarkable. He was an expert in all feats of strength. Even in his boyhood he exhibited a rare gift, the power of controlling fierce animals. Every chronicle of the reign teems with examples of Akbar's physical prowess. The killing of a tigress when only a boy of fourteen, or the riding of the giant elephant Hawai are common occurrences. He was a great hunter and also the best shot and the best polo-player of the kingdom. In war he was the marvel and despair of his enemies. The Gujarat compaign bears testimony to his military abilities. In strength and hardihood he always bore the palm; the wonderful ride to save Jaimall's widow was undertaken when he was past forty. The Emperor throughout his life was a fountain-head of energy, a well of courage.

What were the early influences that moulded the young boy? How was it that Akbar, the son of a foreign adventurer, born and bred up in the Moslem creed became the national emperor of India, the enlightened patron of arts and letters and the founder of a new religion? Genius is a miracle; it is not always derived. But in the case of Akbar we might note that the love of science and art was a distinguishing trait in the character of his versatile father and talented grand-father. Circumstances often forced the young prince to live away from his father.

Humayun was at first sorry for his son : for Akbar was the despair of his tutors. He showed a great aversion to book-learning. Humayun was told that the young prince idled away his time. The emperor wrote his son a letter, quoting :

" Sit not idle, 'tis not the time for play,
'Tis the time for arts and for work."

But it was in vain. Akbar went on in his old way, devoting much time to animals and martial exercises. But the early years were not wholly thrown away. An enlightened Persian tutor had initiated him into the mysteries of the Sûfi poets. Akbar learnt by heart large portions of the works of Hâfiz and Jalälu-ddîn Rûmî. Thirsting for new knowledge the young boy drank deep at the fountain of Sûfism. Mysticism, the predominant trait of his character and the key to his personality, was derived from the Sûfi master-singers. Like his spiritual masters he too longed for personal communion with God. At times he had strange experiences. He believed he had heard the Divine Will. But the Sûfi teachers did more. They taught the young boy to rise above all conventionalities and to keep an open heart. They exhorted him to follow Truth ' like a sinking star, beyond the bounds of human thought. ' From them the future Emperor imbibed the ideals of free thinking and eclecticism in religion. In brief, the Sûfi mysticism proved the basic factor of his career.

Akbar's intellectual abilities surprised everyone who came into contact with him. Ignorant of the mysteries of the alphabet and unable to sign his own name Akbar was one of the most cultured men of his age. As a schoolboy he was rather unfortunate but he acquired a body of knowledge no school could give. An intellectual appetite, an insatiable thirst for new knowledge was his ruling passion. He was a close student of Muslim historians and theologians, and was a deep scholar in Sûfi literature. From the Jesuits he acquired some knowledge of the Christian faith. He also applied himself to the philosophy and literature of Hindusim, Jainism and Zoroastrianism. The principles of Buddhism he had not the time or the opportunity to master. He collected a fine library at Agra consisting of manuscript books alone. The books 'written by great men, mostly by very ancient and serious authors and often illustrated by the best painters numbered 24,000. Akbar had the best books

read out to him and devoured their contents omnivorously, helped by his prodigious memory. It was this wonderful memory-power that enabled him to master thoroughly the principles and details of the administration of a vast empire ; it was said that he could give the names of hundreds of birds, horses and elephants in his service. He was a skilful connoisseur of painting. Akbar discovered the talents of Daswanth the Hindu artist, in a charcoal sketch he made on the wall. The boy was taken into the royal service and he blossomed into a master-painter. Akbar developed a new school of art, the Indo-Persian school. The Indian influence quickly asserted itself and no wonder, for thirteen out of the seventeen master-painters mentioned by Abu-l Fazl are Hindus. The works of the court painters were examined at weekly inspections and handsome rewards were given to the successful artists. Akbar had remarkable knowledge in architecture, ' the queen of arts '. The buildings executed under his immediate supervision show that he had well-developed tastes. The charming palace-city of Fathpur-Sikri, ' a romance in stone' stands as a monument of Akbar's exquisite sense of beauty. It was the the Emperor who supplied the necessary ideas for his artists and the city is ' a reflex of the mind of the great man who built it. ' In music Akbar had acquired some skill ; even the hard technicalities of the science were an open book to him. Abu-l Fazl mentions how he studied Hindi vocalisation and what ' an excellent hand' he was on the kettle-drum. Tansen, the immortal singer and Akbar's protégé, is a name wellknown to lovers of Indian music. In the domains of history, poetry and other forms of literature the enlightened patronage of the Emperor attracted to his court several writers who were the ornaments of their age. Never (perhaps, except in the Gupta Age) did a brighter constellation glitter in the Indian firmament. But the central flame was the Emperor's; the others, like satellites, merely circled round him. The practice of mechanical arts was a mine of pleasure to him. Peruschi tells us, ' there is nothing that he does not know how to do.' We are told that he delighted in making guns and modelling cannon. He used to watch with interest the large number of pigeons he kept and it is said that he tried to improve their species by cross-breeding.

The personal life of the Emperor was planned out with great care and wisdom. Akbar well knew that to be king

over all he must be the servant of all. Every hour had its appointed task ; no single moment was wasted. The Emperor slept only for three hours. The day's programme was overcrowded with state business. He toiled through the wearisome details of administration with the patience of Job and he managed to keep all the strings of policy in his own hands. The hours of the night were generally spent in self-improvement. Witty talk or pleasant stories found the Emperor a willing listener.

In his diet, Akbar must have appeared a puritan to his contemporaries. He took only one meal in the day, and no definite time was fixed for it. Even in his youth he never valued flesh very highly and when he fell under the influence of Jain teachers he completely gave it up. He liked grapes, pomegranates and melons. Akbar used wine and opium, but in his later years he avoided them as much as possible. In his early years he allowed the fumes of wine to get into his head and he used to enjoy mad frolics in his 'merry moments.' Once at Surat he stuck up his sword in the wall and tried to fight it. One historian labels these relaxations, 'vices.' The word is, perhaps, too strong. As Jehangir remarks, Akbar might have been 'in his cups' often but it is too hard a thing to demand that the Emperor should have been a prohibitionist. It is historical lunacy, to forget that most men in those times drowned themselves in their wine-cups and to blame Akbar for not having tried to make India 'dry' is foolish. Du Jarric discovered that Akbar suffered from epilepsy. But it is strange that other historians have never mentioned the fact. His 'melancholy and oppression of heart' could well have been the consequences of his mystic temperament and his unceasing self-examination. It is unnecessary to postulate other hypotheses.

The outbursts of Akbar's wrath have been the subject of numerous unkind criticisms. Some regard him as a monster of cruelty or at least a wild barbarian. The foundations of the Adham Khan and the lamp-lighter episodes might have been true. But the harsh criticisms levelled against Akbar ignore a weighty fact, that in those days of stress and strain, the security of one's neck lay in having the necks of one's enemies severed. A traitor like Adham Khan could not expect any mercy from the Emperor and unwittingly he clutched at the Emperor's sword. Akbar perhaps thought that he had

planned some danger for him. The lamp-lighter incident can be explained by Akbar's veneration for light but cannot be so easily excused. The truth is that Akbar was a highly nervous man and that at times his wrath blazed forth in spite of the fetters of self-control he had imposed on it. Peruschi rightly says that 'in truth, he is naturally humane, gentle, and kind.' Akbar was so forgiving to rebels and enemies that he ought to have been styled 'Clemency Akbar.' Once the fit was blown over he was sincerely repentant; we see him erecting a noble tomb over Adham Khan's mother and taking the four-year old son of Bairam Khan under his protection. "There was no taint of Cæsaromania in him."

Mr. Smith thinks that the ruling passion of Akbar was ambition. He considers him as one of the most aggressive of kings. Akbar himself said, 'A monarch should be ever intent on conquest, otherwise his neighbours rise in arms against him. The army should be trained in warfare, lest from want of training they become self-indulgent.' The position of Akbar was peculiar. The newly-founded Empire had not sent its roots deep down into the soil of the country. The first gust of united opposition would have swept away the feeble structure. The security of the empire hung in the balance; a single defeat or victory could reverse the situation completely. That the Hindus nursed animosity against the Emperor and only waited for the first opportunity to defeat him was no secret. Akbar had to be on his guard. He tried to extend his frontiers so that when the necessity came he would be in a position to grapple with the danger. It is true that the sword was rarely sheathed during the reign: the plea is 'hard necessity.' It is difficult to believe that schemes of Asiatic conquests floated before his frenzied imagination. He had not the earth-hunger of Alexander. On the contrary, his words show that he recognized the welfare of the people to be the chief concern of a monarch. It is easy to pick holes in the administrative system established by Akbar. It is easy to condemn it as predominantly military or disgustingly bureaucratic in character. Generalisations based on superficial facts are dangerous. Mr. Smith has hastily concluded that the peculiar system of administration was intended to be an instrument of conquest and exploitation. The historian's nose is glued to the grindstone of suspicion. We may be tolerably certain that the system of administration was the outcome of an honest desire to give the people good

government. Critics who easily find fault with the system should remember that it was the best that was practicable in those days.

Similar unkind and illogical criticisms are often made about his fiscal policy and his state-craft in general. These bubbles will burst at the touch of reason and hence they need not detain us any longer.

Historians who speak of Akbar's religious *policy* are mistaken. He had no religious *policy*; he had only *religion*. This subject has been the battle ground of historians. Some narrow-minded critics have charged him with inconsistency. Emerson's trite reflection, 'A foolish inconsistency is the hobgoblin of little minds' is quite true. Akbar never vacillated. Much premeditation went before each step, but a step once taken was decisive. Akbar's was an expanding mind; like the lotus it spread out with every ray of light. Some (and among them is A. Muller) think that Akbar was indifferent to religion. Their view is that he was interested only in the political issues of the question. Their opinion is untenable. Akbar was sincerely religious. When he believed the Mohammedan creed he observed the five sacred times for prayer. Before an expedition, we see him worshipping at his father's tomb. At Chitore he declared that he would go on a pilgrimage, if he won. Jehangir remarks that his father 'never for one moment forgot God.'* In the face of these evidences it is difficult to believe that he was 'a noble sceptic' or that he cared little for religion.

The truth is that Akbar was a mystic first and foremost. He thirsted for and whenever he got it, revelled in communion with God. He never cared for immutable dogmas or hide-bound prejudices; he well knew that religion was a matter rather of the heart than of the head. He believed in intuition and inspiration, and in 1578 when he was passing through some strange experiences he said,

"Take care! for the grace of God comes suddenly,

"It comes suddenly, it comes to the mind of the wise."

By nature he was contemplative: we read of the Emperor sitting on a stone, lost in meditation. Abu-l Fazl tells us that one day in 1557 (when Akbar was only fifteen years old) Akbar 'felt constrained by the presence of a short-sighted man and began to chafe.' He rode

off and dismounting 'assumed the posture of communing with his God.' On the completion of his twentieth year he said "From the lack of spiritual provision for my last journey my soul was seized with exceeding sorrow." It is said that in 1573 on a visit to the Brindaban temples he saw 'a marvellous vision.' Early in 1578 while preparing for a grand hunt he had a vision. The hunt was immediately stopped. Late in the same year while the Emperor was passing through a period of growing disbelief in Islam he had another vision. He himself says 'one night my heart was weary of the burden of life when .....a strange vision appeared to me and my spirit was somewhat comforted.' We may well believe that these visions were induced by the intensity of his spiritual emotions.

Akbar was a seeker after Truth. 'Light, more Light' was the motto of his life. He put before himself the eternal question 'what is Truth?' His original nature refused to accept passively the current views of things. His ceaselessly inquiring turn of mind led him to question everything. A contemporary, Nûru-l-Haqq says that Akbar's 'mind was solely bent upon ascertaining the truth.' It was this passion for truth that induced him to institute religious discussions. Akbar had begun to distrust the Muslim theologians. He could never believe that the Muslim religion was the only true religion or that every human being came to the world predisposed towards Islam and the sacred Arabic language. The narrow creed of the fanatical mullas failed to satisfy him. He wanted to convince himself that he was right before he finally broke the shell. It was this devotion to truth that found expression in the creation of the Ibadat-Khana; it was this again that led him to conduct the experiment with a few children. To know whether they really had an inherent liking for Islam and Arabic, Akbar brought up some boys in seclusion. The result, that the poor children could scarcely speak, must have driven home to the mind of the Emperor the vanity and emptiness of some of the teachings of the Muslim dogmatists. In the religious discussions too, the Mulsims were worsted. Akbar was now prepared to cast off his conventional belief in Islam. But the old skin was abandoned, not without a struggle. Critics who accuse him of religious hypocrisy, and of practising Muslim rites when he had ceased to believe in the faith itself, forget the spiritual tempests that rolled over his soul, the convulsions he passed

through. The husk of the religion he abandoned as useless, but he believed in the grain inside —the essential truth, to be found in all religions. It is remarkable that even Abu-l Fazl has misinterpreted his master's acts. The court historian says that Akbar's pilgrimage to the shrine at Ajmer in 1579 was calculated as 'a means of calming the public and enhancing the submission of the recalcitrants.' It is possible that Akbar might still have believed in the efficacy of prayers and pilgrimages in disciplining the mind.

Of all the numerous cants about Akbar, that of his persecution of Muslims is the most absurd one. However Mr. Vincent Smith holds that view, relying on the authority of Badaoni, certainly not a strong staff to lean upon. They consider that the Infallibility Decree of 1579 was inimical to the Muslim faith. They support themselves in their view by citing the regulations issued by Akbar after 1579. They enumerate the grievances of the Muslims caused by the new regulations. No child was to be given the name of Mahomed. The use of Mahomed's name in the public prayers was forbidden. The slaughter of cows was prohibited and made a heavy offence. Abstinence from flesh, for more than a hundred days in the year, was ordered. Garlic and onions were not to be used. No new mosques were to be built and the study of Arabic was to be stopped. Akbar was convinced of the goodness of the measures he took, the regulation of food, for example. He had seen the narrow views of the Moslem faith criticised by other holy men (in the discussion hall). Akbar hated shams and hence he tried to do away with what he considered the false notions cherished by Muslim theologians. The Infallibility Decree was promulgated expressly for the propagation of Islam ; it was intended to clean the faith of corrupt practices. Akbar wanted to make the Muslim faith conform to truth, but smaller minds than his, interpreted it as a direct attack on the faith. It is incredible that any Muslim had to suffer political consequences for belief in his faith.

Akbar's attitude to Christianity has often been misunderstood. It is said that at one time Akbar believed Christianity to be the best religion on earth, but turned away from it because of the demand of monogamy it made. At first Akbar showed great respect for the Jesuit missionaries and their Bible. It is the delight of the " watcher of the skies, when some new planet swims into

his ken ." Akbar was dazzled by the prospect of getting true knowledge. In the joy of his wild expectations he treated the monks with a reverence they did not deserve. But when once the narrowness of their formulated creed was revealed he grew cool towards the new faith. The Jesuit fathers could not answer all his questions. Du Jarric notes the extreme ' obstinacy ' of the Emperor ; he scarcely knew that he was indirectly paying Akbar a great compliment. Christianity could not quiet down his storm-tossed spirit. Perhaps Akbar suspected the sincerity of the Fathers. He had heard of their activities as ' political agents ' of Spain and Portugal. Probably he might also have known of the horrors of the Inquisition at Goa. Anyway he did not feel the need of going to Christianity to quench his spiritual thirst.

Akbar's new religion, the " Dîn Ilâhî, " (as it was called) has afforded his critics some shelter to aim sly darts at him. ' The whole scheme was the outcome of ridiculous vanity, a monstrous growth of unrestrained autocracy " says Mr. Smith. The learned historian thinks that the new faith was but a testimony to his grasping ambition, his pompous desire to be the emperor, pope and prophet, all rolled into one. He makes out that it was love of power that induced Akbar to deny the authority of the Prophet and start a new religion. Some others think that the new religion was the outcome of political necessity, the need for a universal religion in which the Hindus and the Muslims could join. They consider that Akbar became the supreme head of the church because he wanted to keep the warring factions at peace. Both views are far from the truth. Akbar never sighed for mere material power, nor did he allow political issues to interfere with his spiritual yearnings. Still others accuse him of a fondness for flattery, a weakness for adulation. These critics are of opinion that Akbar founded a new religion in order that he might pose as God or at least the vicegerent of God. They think that Akbar allowed prostration before himself because he liked to be treated as God on earth. Akbar, true to his noble self, never allowed material issues to warp his moral nature. Akbar became the vicegerent of the new faith not be cause he was hungry after power, but because, he was convinced that he stood nearer to God than most of his subjects. No single religion satisfied his original mind ; therefore he instituted a new religion of his own which would contain the best features of all religions and at the same time be above all formularies

and narrowness. Akbar sincerely hoped that those who like himself were beset by doubts would find relief in the new religion. It was Truth not Power that he sought.

The question is often asked whether Akbar did not owe his greatness to his ministers. Akbar himself says ' It was the effect of the grace of God that I found no capable minister, otherwise people would have considered my measures had been devised by him.' Peruschi observes ' He is willing to consult about his affairs and often takes advice in private from his friends near his person, but the decision, as it ought, always rests with the King.' The policy of intermarriages with the Hindus and giving them high offices in the State was not original. Intermarriages were frequent ever since the appearance of Islam in India. Even as early as the reign of Subaktagin we find Hindu generals in Muslim service. But no great principle lay behind this policy, it was sheer necessity that dictated the measure. Akbar realised that the old weapon could be put to a new use. He aimed at creating a nation, in which the two communities would be merged. He wanted the two communities that had remained separate to unite and work for the common weal of India. History has set its mark of approval on the policy. It was the best measure for India, ever devised by human ingenuity. Even in his early years he exhibited his originality and wisdom in abolishing the practice of the enslavement of prisoners of war and in reorganising the shattered finances of the Empire. We are certain that he owed these measures to no minister.

Akbar was a truly national emperor ; he was not content to be the leader of the dominant minority alone. He wanted to build on broader foundations. Nothing less than an empire resting upon the willing loyalty of both the Hindus and the Muslims would satisfy him. For India with a heterogeneous population he knew that the only means of salvation was a policy of compromise and conciliation. Hence his synthetic policy in Church and State. Akbar is to be classed with rulers of the type of Asoka and Harsha. He belongs to that small band of heroes who are great rulers, as well as great men, who, by their large-hearted tolerance, wise statesmanship, force of character and brilliant achievements have won imperishable glory in the long record of time. But to Akbar goes a greater credit. A foreigner by birth and training

he yet became ' an Indian of the Indians.' He was the first national emperor of India in the modern age. All glory to the great Muslim ! The fact that he carried out his nation making schemes in the face of the blind opposition of a large section of the population redounds to his credit. A statesman with less force of character or less courage of his own convictions would have weakly yielded to the fanatic Mullas. That Akbar was able to storm the proud citadels of ignorant hostility and unfavourable tradition will alone entitle him to a place among the ' Immortals.' The administrative machinery he set in motion may have been faulty ; the plant he nurtured may have contained within itself the seeds of its own decay. But statesmen 'live in the day and for the day.' Their concern is with the present, not the future. There is nothing like completeness or perfection in history. It is sufficient if the hero guides the country through the storms of the present ; the shoals of the future are beyond his range. None can doubt that Akbar guided the bark safely through the troubled waters of the latter-half of the sixteenth century.

It is often said that Akbar failed splendidly. The statement is only a half-truth. True, that the Dîn Ilāhî went to the grave with its founder. Even in Akbar's lifetime it had but a feeble success. Akbar tried to build in advance of time but the populace only hugged more closely to their breasts the conventional creed. They refused to abandon their cherished ideals so that Akbar's faith had never any great following. After his death the policy he initiated was completely reversed. Signs of flagging zeal were visible even in the reign of his immediate successor. What Akbar had gained was lost completely in the reign of Aurangzib. So much for Akbar's national policy. Even the Mogul Empire, founded for a second time by Akbar was no more by 1707. The name of the great Mogul lingered on the stage of history longer, but only with a shadow of its former majesty. It is said that even the bodily remains of Akbar were taken from the grave, burnt and cast to the wind (in 1691 by the Jats). But the career of Akbar was not wholly vain ; the struggle for truth was not a mere waste of energy. The ideal he lived for was Truth and in the end his labours were crowned with success. He discovered the truth of the Koran and Muslim culture. He affirmed the principles of the Prophet and he pointed out to his age that true Islam was not the narrow creed of a fanatic few, but a

universal religion embracing the whole race of man. He also discovered the truth that all religions had a substratum of solid worth*. The third truth he discovered was that toleration was the golden means of rule in India. Akbar only rediscovered it, having been anticipated by the Hindu monarchs. But, by his discoveries he did a distinct service for his age and he added not a few glorious pages to the history of human progress. A life so well spent, is not a failure. The name of Akbar is not written upon water; it is written in the heavenly scroll wherein the names of the great only are recorded. Others reaped what he sowed.

What were his permanent contributions to the world? To Akbar goes the glory of having definitely formulated an ideal of kingship. To him is also due the credit of having fostered a school of art. The Indo-Persian school flourished under his liberal patronage. The tolerant policy which allowed every man to worship God in his own way and the security of life and property he established gave an impetus to art. Much wealth was spent on palaces and tombs and other works of art. In literature also the benefits of Akbar's work were visible. The Emperor's respect for Hindu thought called forth a large volume of Hindu literature. In other fields as well—Persian poetry and history—the record of the period is unusually brilliant.

A glance at the condition of contemporary Europe adds laurels to the brow of Emperor Akbar. The caricature of a religion was dragging the continent through the throes of bitter and devastating civil feuds. It was the time when emperors refused to ruler over subjects belonging to other religions. The flames of the Saint Bartholomew massacres rose above a scene of ruin. Well might struggling Europe have looked up at Akbar as the rainbow of peace and good-will.

The Emperor Akbar has an honourable place in Muslim history. He has more, he has a right to be admitted to the galaxy of the great rulers of all history. The Jats are said to have scattered his ashes to the world. The whole world, not a particular country is the fittest resting-place for Akbar's remains. Has not the Roman statesman said that the whole world is the tomb of illustrious men? May the name of Akbar continue to inspire the whole world!

K. P. MENON.

* Which is also made clear in the Qurān. Ed. "I. C."

MUNKIR AND NAKIR.

Through the long silences of night
We cry unto thy hollow tomb:
Other muezzins praise the light
We are muezzins of the gloom.

Oh thou, within the brown Earth laid:
All thy fine vestures stripped from thee,
Thy loves which burned for man or maid,
Thy jewels and thy pageantry.

Truly, as some slow caravan
And camels o'er the desert flit,
Thou hast passed from the frame of man
And knowest well the end of it.

Dust meeteth dust, and none remain
Beneath the stern unflinching Sun.
The death-throe and the bearing-pain
Within the grave are made as one.

Only thy soul in this dark shrine
Faceth its maker, the One Lord.
We come to judge thee, and divine
Thy spirit by its spoken word.

Thou liest Earth to earth to-day,
Thy ruined hand weds broken clod.
Yet even in death's darkness stay
Prayer and Faith and Love of God.

These only can restore thy fate,
Lave thy lost lips, unseal thine eyes.
These only will unlock the Gate,
And lead thy soul to Paradise.

REGINA MIRIAM BLOCH.

TRACES OF A KA-BELIEF IN MODERN EGYPT AND OLD ARABIA.

PROF. C. G. SELIGMAN, in his paper on the survival in Modern Egypt of a *ka*-belief, has collected a considerable number of examples from various informants, but my own researches among a good many Egyptians of the simpler kind, carried on in the first half of 1914, met with little result, although I questioned several old men whom I had previously found well stocked with folklore. It would seem that the belief is dying out, though so long as it is held by demon-expellers such as the one figuring later in this paper, it will survive, however faintly.

The cases found were two. An aged native of Heluan believed that a spirit "sister" (*ukht*) follows men and women through their lives: she is quite distinct from the immortal soul (*ruh*); she goes with the person to the tomb, but what happened to her after that he did not know. She has generally no direct influence on a man's character or actions, but has one peculiar quality- that if he gives way to a violent temper she is evilly affected and gives power to local *ginns* to materialise and work mischief on the man.

The second account was obtained at Nezlet Batran, a village near the Gizeh Pyramids, famous for a sacred acacia-grove. There I heard of a wise-man, a seer, living in the village, whose chief business, as usually in Egypt, was to reveal hidden things; but he had won special fame as an exorciser of evil spirits. At his house I found people gathered from all parts of the country, even far in the south.

When pursuing his wizardry he was himself possessed of a guiding spirit, not always the same, sometimes male, sometimes female (*sheikh* or *sheikhet*), but he seems to have changed them seldom, a single one attending him for long periods. His voice changed as the spirit spoke through him; he practised a kind of ventriloquism. A visit to an Italian spiritualist, an itinerant professional, in Cario,

had caused him to adopt the hackneyed curtain and tambourine, to him a new and desirable fashion; previously, we learnt, he set up for professional use a kind of small canvas tabernacle* in the courtyard of his house, or, if visiting, his host's.

Among his recent deeds of exorcism was one of special interest, the subject being the *ka* (*ukht*). A young man became subject to the attacks of a hostile spirit, causing him to fall down and roll about, shrieking and tearing at his clothes. He was brought to the wise-man, who, on enquiring of the spirit about its nature, learnt that it was no ordinary demon, but the patient's spirit "sister." She told the exorciser that the young man "walked about waving his long hanging sleeve and turning his head from side to side"—acts which denoted excessive vanity and so enraged her that she resolved, if he did not amend, to kill him. The wise-man undertook the cure, with such success that the patient became his faithful follower and a promising candidate for seerdom: his master also had begun his career after a series of fits.

The "sister," it was explained, was born with every man, and accompanied him, walking underground, in all his ways, even to the tomb, but what befell her then was not known. As in all the cases reported, a clear distinction was made between the *ukht* (or *qarinet*) and the attendant spirits, good and bad, the "guardian" and the "tempter," who are also named *qarin*. To orthodox Muslims these are religious realities, attested by a *hadith*, and not to be confounded with the vague "sister" spirit or any other.

The descriptions given above resemble, as far as they go, those related by Prof. Seligman, but my informants did not use the word *qarineh*, although its meaning, a "female companion" (fem. of *qarin*), makes it appropriate. *Ukht* is probably preferred, to prevent confusion with the demon *qarineh* known and feared in every Egyptian family, ever prowling to snatch away new-born children, sometimes leaving changelings in their place, the equiva-

* The use of the special tabernacle is worthy of note; it seems to point to a pre-Islamic time when some kinds of spirits would require an abode. We may compare the practice of a mediæval African people, the Beja, who in the days of Makrizi were not yet converted to Islam, and of whom he relates that each family had a priest who set up a tent of skins in which he consulted the "spirit."

lent of the Babylonian *Labarti*[1] or the later Jewish *Lilith*[2] and probably derived from the child-snatching demon feared by the ancient Egyptians[3].

The ancient Egyptian idea of the *ka* underwent in the course of ages many developments and even sophistications, some of them early in history, but it probably kept among the illiterate subject classes, especially the peasants, its original simplicity as a protective genius, attached through life to man and welcoming him in the Elysian Fields.

The modern *ukht* has a different character; she is a guardian no longer in the old material sense, but morally, protecting her ward against his evil self, ready to go to the murderous lengths for a long time practised by saviours of souls in mediæval Europe. Yet, with all this, some of Prof. Seligman's reports show a kindly, reverent feeling towards the sprite—exhibited, for example, in the ejaculation of bystanders when a person stumbles: "God's name on thee and thy sister."

Between the *ka* and the *ukht* Islamic doctrine has intervened. In the Qurân the word *qarin* appears three times in the sense of "accompanying demon" —not "angel." The texts are:—

1. Ch. 41, v. 24.—"And we bound to them companions (*qarin*) and they painted [falsely] for them the present and the future."
2. Ch. 43, v. 35.—"Whosoever withdraws from the admonition of the Merciful, we chain a devil (*shaitan*) to him and he shall be his inseparable companion (*qarin*); they (the devils) shall turn them from the way, yet they (the men) shall imagine themselves to be rightly directed. until, when (the erring man) appears before us [at the Day of Judgment], he shall say [unto the devil] '.....oh, how wretched a companion art thou!'"
3. Ch. 50, v. 22.—This text refers to the Day of Judgment, when "the sentient worlds" (*'alamin*) are brought to trial (Qurân, Ch. 31.

(1) F. Thureau-Dangin, "Rituel et Amulettes contre Lbartu" in the Revued 'Assyriologie, Vol. 18, No. 4. Paris 1921 and R. Campbell Thomspon "Semitic Magic, p. 41."

(2) J.E. Hanauer "Folklore" of the Holy Land pp. 166 and 322. ff.

(3) V. Breasted "Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt." p. 291.

v. 27), this term including spirit-beings, angels, ginns and demons, as well as the "sons of Adam."

"And his companion (*qarin*) shall say: 'Our Lord, I did not cause his excesses, but he was wandering afar.'"

The *qarin* is here shown as trying to throw the guilt of his own actions on the man to whom he is bound, but the Lord cuts short the wrangling and punishes both delinquents.

Lastly, commentators on the above passages lay it down that the devil (*shaitan*) who is "made companion" (*maqroon*) of a man never leaves him.

Orthodox Muslims are bound by these texts and the authoritative exegesis of them, yet the bonds have not proved strong enough, at least among the illiterates, to destroy older ideas of a favouring genius, though they have materially altered them, robbing the ancient spirit of his material protective quality. Thus far we have dealt with Egypt, and now turn to Early Arabia.

The root of the word *qarin* conveys the idea of "a pair" (one of its derivatives, for example, is *qarn*, "a horn"), and *qarin* is an adjectival form denoting the quality of being one of a pair. That the Prophet Mohammed should have attached to this word a deliberately invented idea of an accompanying spirit is very improbable. On the contrary, it is likely that he found such an idea already existing. This inference is strengthened by another meaning of *qarin*, or *qarineh*, as well as the cognate *qaruna*, "immaterial self." This is not an early concept, the fruit of primitive imaginings, but belongs to a comparatively late period, that of philosophical reasoning. There must have been an earlier denotation of the term *qarin*, within the category of the immaterial—namely, an immaterial, or spiritual, "companion." It is likely, too, that the old companion-spirit was of a protective nature, and that when the Prophet, in his *hadith*, added a good *qarin* to the evil one announced in the Qurân, he simply reverted to an older tradition of a guardian spirit.

In one way the *ukht*, as described to me, corresponds closely to the indefinite personal "god" of the Babylonians—"My god who walks by my side." Dr. Langdon, in his contribution to Dr. Blackman's paper on "The

Pharaoh's Placenta,*" gives many incantation texts referring to this personal " god " and says : " The fundamental concept of personality in Sumerian and Babylonian religion is a sort of dualism, a person and a superperson. ' A man and his god ' form a unity which under normal conditions always exists."

Thus the early Arabians found a *ka*-belief held on one side of them by their Semitic congeners, and on the other by their Egyptain neighbours ; that they should share it, even if in a differing form, would be but natural.

One cannot, of course, claim more than that the existence of a kind of *ka*-belief among the early Arabs is suggested by their use of the word *qarin* and is in itself probable. It is possible, doubtless, that the Semitic conception of guardian-spirits is of independent origin, having no connection with the *ka*-belief of Ancient Egypt, and that the Arabian belief is merely a phase of the former. It is, further, possible that Semitic beliefs in the matter influenced those of Egypt before the rise of Islam, in the later periods of penetration ; an example of this may be seen in the domains of magic, on comparing the Harris Hieratic Papyrus of the 20th Dynasty (edited by Chabas) with the Magic Demotic Papyrus of the third century A.D. (edited by Griffith and Thompson), so full of strange, un-Egyptian demons, exactly like those invoked by the modern ink-magicians of Egypt.

These and similar questions I have put aside ; my object has been to put on record things observed likely to be useful to students of such matters.

* *Journal of Egyptian Archæology.* Vol. III, Part IV., p. 239.

G. D. HORNBLOWER.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN ISLAM.

THE idea of religion has undergone considerable change since pre-Islamic time. To-day we define religion as the personal relation of the Individual to the Divine Being. Religious teachers of former ages attempted to improve, by their teachings, the lot of a large group of persons. They looked at an individual as part of a whole. To-day, in matters of personal belief, we look at the individual as an individual, primarily; hence the difference in the concept of religion. To us religion is a man's own private concern, his relation to society and to his fellows is regulated by law and custom, not by religion.

Let us look at Arabia at the time of the rise of Islâm. It was a mass of heterogeneous tribes warring against each other. Judaism and Christianity had very little influence over them. The only instrument of culture that they possessed was their great language ; a language with a wide vocabulary, a highly developed structure, possessing a good deal of desert poetry, and one of the finest mediums of expression the world has ever possessed.

Then came the Prophet and changed the whole texture of Arabia. He gave them a magnificent example and a great moral code ; he united Arabia, and Islâm spread like wildfire. Look at Muslim history and the erroneous notion that Islam was spread by the sword vanishes in a moment*.

Then came the orthodox Caliphate. The centre was still the House of God. The trusted henchmen of the Teacher followed in his footsteps very closely. With the end of the orthodox Caliphate the *real* Caliphate ended, and we see in the rise of the Umayyads the accession to power of the old Meccan nobility whose ambitions had not had an outlet in the earlier period.

The scene is now Damascus. Poetry flourishes and follows the pre-Islamic ideals closely. There is a good

* Cf. Arnold, The Preaching of Islam.

deal of luxury, and it is evident that the democratic ideal has suffered a great blow.

Then came the Abbasides, and as we move on to Baghdad we see a different picture altogether. The Persian influence is now ascendant; the ideals of the classic Arabian poetry have given place to a spirit allied to Romanticism; Science and Grammar and Rationalism and Medicine and Exegesis flourish. The austere simplicity of Islām is gone, and wine and women and song give a new colour to the simple faith.

I will not go any further than the fall of the Abbasides which we may take as the extinction of the *nominal* Khilāfat; for looking at works like the Ahkām as-Sultāniyya of al-Māwardī we cannot but come to the conclusion that the claims of the House of Othman to the Khilâfat are very slender indeed.

Coming to modern times you will see how Mustapha Kemal first deprived the Sultan of all secular authority, then deposed him, and finally declared, by a vote of the assembly, that the Khilafat is abolished; and that declaration was effectually confirmed at the recent Islamic World Congress in Cairo when, delegates coming from all parts of the world could come to no other conclusion except that the Khilâfat is dead and to revivify it at present is pratically an impossibility. They realised that there was no Muslim power in the world which could really come within the four corners of the definition of Khilâfat.

We have taken a bird's eye view of Muslim history; now let us look at the various countries where Islâm flourishes and see the rise of various religious orders and sects and national movements; a proper understanding of which will alone make us capable of appreciating Islâm as it exists to-day and guiding us to a right solution of the problems that confront us here in India. Let us look at the important Muslim countries one by one. Beginning from the westernmost, let us take Morocco. We do not know of any great religious revival in that country. But there is no doubt but the rise of Abdul Karîm and the great fight for freedom which he put up against France and Spain shows that love of independence is highly developed there and nationalism has gathered strength. Glancing lower down, we find that the desert of the Sahara is the stronghold of a sect of which we have heard much, namely, the Sanūsūs.

Sīdī Mohammad b. 'Alī al-Sanūsī, al-Mujāhiri, al-Hasani, al-Idrīsiwas born in 1791 and died in 1859. He studied at Fez between 1821 and 1829. After that he made the pilgrimage and founded his first Zāwīya in 1837. Now a *Zawiya* is the Muslim equivalent of a Christian monastery. It possesses its own property and income; it has its own leader called Muqaddam; it has its own devotees who complete the Qur'ān once every month; the people of the Zāwīya serve as hosts to travellers; and, after expending for their necessities, the surplus is sent to Kufra, the headquarters of the Sanūsis. Al-Sanūsī lived in Mecca from 1840 to 1843. He founded two or three Zāwīyas in Egypt but not in Cairo itself. The original headquarters were at Jaghbûb, but now Kufra is their capital. The number of Zāwīyas rose from twenty-two in 1859 to a hundred in 1884. The Shaikh wrote 4 principal works; one on Usūl, one on conformity between Qur'ān and Hadīth (and it is to be noted that though he calls himself a Māliki he permits Ijtihād), two on Mysticism. He claimed Ijtihâd formally, but the learned Māliki Muhammad Aaish dismissed the claim in 1843 at Cairo. The Sanūsi doctrine is a combination of Wahhābism and Mysticism. Professing to restore Islām to its primitive simplicity, it prohibits music, dancing, singing, tobacco and coffee. It prescribes certain devotional exercises in addition to prayer. It differs considerably from the Māliki doctrine. One of its peculiar teachings is that no Muslim should live in a country where Islâm is not the dominant power, hence their insistence on emigration and hence also their emigration into the oases in the Sahara. By the end of his life the Shaikh al-Sanūsi was practically the sovereign of the region bounded by the Mediterranean from Alexandria to Gabes and stretching south to the negro kingdoms. He had also a large following in West Arabia.

The Turks and Italians were greatly alarmed at the rise of this power. But the Sanūsi principle was never to attack, but merely to be ready for defence and for this reason they collected a great store of arms and ammunition. The Shaikh was inaccessible to foreign emissaries and almost all the delegations sent to him from foreign powers were either killed or never allowed to see the Shaikh. In the great war the Sanūsis suffered a severe reverse. They threw in their lot with the Germans and Turks, and consequently the French and British Armies captured many of their Zāwīyas in 1917. Their power

seemed to be declining then, but their present activities are practically unknown.

Coming eastward to Egypt we do not find any great religious revival. The Egyptians are trying to put as broad a construction upon the tenets of Islam as they possibly can and the teachings of the late grand Mufti of Cairo, Shaikh Muhammad Abduh, a rational interpreter of the Qur'ān, find great favour with the rising generation. But it is really to Turkey that we must turn if we want to study the rise of Nationalism and the development of western influence. Let us look a little more carefully at the two characteristic Turkish movements—Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turanianism.

Pan-Islamism is the name given to a movement which manifested itself in various countries at the beginning of this century*, the avowed object to which was to gather together all the Muslims of the globe under one banner and make a united nation of the 300 million Muslims scattered all over the globe. Turkey was its stronghold, but we find the Habl-ul-Matīn a Persian journal published at Calcutta, preaching the same doctrine. We will take two works both published in Turkey which will give us some idea of the movement as conceived by its founders. In 1913 Jelāl Nūrī Bey published in Turkish a book entitled Ittihād-al-Islām and it was immediately translated into Arabic. It advocated the unification of Islam by abolition of sects ; separation of religion and law ; greater toleration in matters of conscience, and legislation on European models. Even more outspoken is another remarkable book the Qaum-i-Iadīd by Ubaidullah Effendi, according to which the five cardinal principles which ought to be followed by every Muslim are :—(1) Follow reason (2) Keep unchanged the Muslim formula of Faith (3) Preserve good character (4) Fight with power and wealth for the Khalîfah and (5) Unite under his Banner. Incidentally the author says that every Muslim must give half of his wealth to the Ottoman Khalîfah ; that there is no necessity of learning Arabic, and that the Qur'ān and the prayers must be translated into Turkish (and *a fortiori* into any vernacular which Muslims use) ; and that orthodoxy, having been the enemy of Islām, should never be followed. We have a great deal of polemic literature in India on Pan-Islāmism, all that we need mention here being the works of Mushīr Husain Qidwaī, and later, the

*This is to post-date it by quite fifty years. (Ed. "Islamic Culture.")

Mas'ala-i-Khilâfat by Abul Kalām Azād. The poet of reformed Islām is no other than the great Iqbal, and in his Asrāri-i-Khûdi he has preached a doctrine of ' action, action, and action ' which might almost be compared with the teaching of the Gita. He shows how Sufism has made us oblivious of action and that without great endeavours and selfless action we shall not rise at all. Needless to say a doctrine so beautifully and artistically taught has gone home to the hearts of the young.

The other movement which started from Turkey in about 1914 and which is also very interesting is *Pan-Turanianism*. The fundamental idea is the development of Turkish nationalism regardless of religious differences. And one of the first reforms it preached was the purification of the Turkish language from all foreign elements such as Arabic and Persian, and the adoption of a *Turkish* script and not the Arabic script which they had used for the last 7 or 8 centuries. They aimed at a unification and liberation of all Turkish-speaking peoples, making a total population of about 50,000,000 and at the substitution of the pre-Muhammadan emblem of the Turkish wolf for the Muhammadan crescent. The term Tūrän occurs in the Avesta and also in the Shāhnāmah, and it corresponds roughly to the present Russian Turkistan. The people that the movement tried to embrace were the Turks, the Mongols, the Tartars and the Finno-Ugrains and various other allied tribes. The primitive religion of the Tūrānian seems to be Shamanism, namely, the worship of Shaman, a wizard whose services were required to influence supernatural forces. Shamanism really is a form of demon worship.

From the two movements of Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turanianism the general plan of Turkish supremacy emerges before our eyes. A great Turkish empire was to be established with Constantinople as its centre, embracing the Muslim population of the world and helped by the national pride of the Turks and their racial cousins.

We now come to Arabia proper and we find the cradle of Islam fermented by a new puritanic zeal, *Wahhabism*.

Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb was born about 1730 in the centre of Arabia, Nejd. He was a traveller and a student and ultimately he attached himself to Muhammad bin Sa'ūd, chief of the Dirā'iyya, who married his daughter and became 'Abd al-Wahhāb's disciple. We need not go into the detailed history of the family, but the present

Ibn us-Sa'ūd, a man of towering personality and striking appearance, is a lineal descendant of Muhammad bin Sa'ūd.

The headquarters of the Wahhābis have always been in Nejd and they have representatives in Mesopotamia, India and Africa.

The Wahhābis are very strict puritans and seem to us somewhat narrow and bigoted. Their aim—which the Sanūsis also followed—was to restore the original purity and simplicity and rigour of Islam. Their tenets contain nothing very new. As a matter of fact, when their doctrines were examined formally in Cairo, they were found not to differ from orthodox Islâm. There is one thing however which distinguishes them above all sects: they regard the visiting of tombs of Prophets and saints as idolatry and prohibit it with great severity. In accordance with the teaching of the exterme Hanbalites, they believe that the Deity has bodily form, hands, feet, etc. They give no place to reason in their religion, consensus of opinion (Ijtimā) and analogy (Qiyās) they utterly reject. They do not believe that either the Prophet or the saints can intercede on behalf of any sinner. A very pleasant picture of Riyādh, their capital, is given by Harrison in the Moslem World, October 1918, p. 418. Everyone prays, everyone fasts. Their virtue, their abstemiousness, their zeal for Islam and for the education of missionaries is most admirable. Such is the influence of Wahhâbism in the heart of Arabia. And we must refrain from judging them too harshly from press reports of interested or prejudiced parties. Wahhābism also had a stronghold in India. A certain Sayyid Ahmad (b. 1786-87) of Rai Barelli established a Wahhābi centre at Patna after his pilgrimage to Mecca. After the Mutiny the Wahhābis gave a lot of trouble to the British Government, but they were ultimately crushed. In India the Wahhābis identified their own leader with the Mahdi, whereas in Arabia they did nothing of the sort.

We now come to Persia and view cursorily a very interesting movement that arose there in the 19th century; the religion of the Bāb. It is to Prof. E. G. Browne and C. Hurat that we owe most of our knowledge of this sect.

Bāb in Arabic means "gate" and many mystical orders call their leaders by that name, which was adopted and made famous by Saiyyid 'Alī Muhammad of Shiraz who declared himself the gateway of Divine Knowledge

in 1844. Ali Muhammad was born in 1821 and was executed by the order of Nâsiruddîn Shâh in 1850 in Tabrîz. He was the son of a merchant and began to practise austerities at a very early age. He went on a pilgrimage to Kerbela and on returning preached his new faith. To the Shī'itē formula of faith he added ' 'Alī before Nebīl (*i.e.*, 'Alì Muhammad. The Babis called the Prophet ' Nebīl ') is the mirror of the Breath of God. ' The first disciple was Husain of Bushrūye and he converted two brothers in Teheran (1) Mirza Yahyā Nūri (later called Subh-i-Ezel) and (2) Husain Ali Nūrī (later called Bahû'ullāh). At Qazwīn however we have the most picturesque convert of all. Zarrin Tāj, the beautiful daughter of a mulla, highly gifted as a poetess and replete with all accomplishments, embraced Bābism and later she was known as Qurrat ul'Aîn. She was persecuted, bore the persecution nobly and gained a great many converts.

The Bābi doctrine is really a new religion and can hardly be called Reformed Islâm. According to it God is one and Ali Muhammad is his mirror. Every one should make a mirror of his own heart, and truth will be visible therein. The number 19 is sacred ; the year consists of 19 months of 19 days each (= 361 days) ; a Council of 19 members regulates the affairs of the Bābis. The taking of interest is allowed on goods sold on credit. Marriage is compulsory after the age of eleven ! The laws of Islâm *against* luxuries are repealed. Every year there is a fast of one month (19 days). Women may be seen unveiled, but conversation with men should be restricted. Intoxicating drinks are forbidden as in Islām.

The Bāb's most important work was The Bayān (both Arabic and Persian), hence the Bābis prefer to call themselves Are-i-Bayān. In 1852 Nāsiruddin Shāh was wounded by the Bäbis and then began a general persecution of this unfortunate sect. Mirza Yahya Nuri ' Subh-i-Ezel,' declared himself the successor of the Bab, left Persia and retired to Baghdad. Later he was imprisoned by the Turks. His followers are the Ezelis and they follow the original doctrine in its entire purity. His half-brother Mirza Husain Ali, surnamed ' Bahāullah ' (b. 1817 d. 1892) was first arrested and then permitted to go to Kerbela. Already in Ali Muhammad's time he was recognised as the Bâb's successor and his followers are spread all over the world. They are the *Baha'is* as distinguished

from the Ezelīs. The Bahā'īs are to-day far more numerous than the Ezelīs.

I do not wish to deal at any length either with Afghanistan or with India. In Afghanistan we have a very enlightened ruler in Amānullah Khan who is making Kabul a centre of light and culture. And his efforts at female education are specially interesting. In India, barring the Qādiāni movement,—which has had comparatively little success—we have had no purely religious revivals. The activities of the Muslim League and the Khilāfat Committee are purely national and political.

A brief mention may here be made of the sect popularly known as the Qādiāni sect, or according to their own description, the Ahmadīyyah movement. Their founder was Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qādiān, (district Gurdaspur, Punjāb). Their stronghold is the Punjāb, but by their zealous missionary activities their numbers are increasing. Recently for instance, they opened a mosque in South London, and they claim to have gained many adherents in Europe and America. Their chief organ is in English, ' the Review of Religions ' published in Qādiān, which was started in 1902. The chief book of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad is the Barāhīn-i-Ahmadīyyah (1880 et seq.). 'The Arguments or Proofs of the Ahmadīyyah, ' in which he claimed to be the Mahdi and, in 1889, demanded homage from his disciples. Incidentally it may also be remarked that one of his scholarly adherents has published recently a very excellent translation of the Qur'ān in English (The Holy Qur'ān, Arabic Text, with Translation and Commentary, Woking England, 1917). Their distinctive beliefs are, firstly that Jesus did not die on the cross but migrated to Kashmir, lived and preached there, and died and is buried at Srinagar. Secondly, they consider Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (d. 1908) as the Mahdi whose task is to bring peace and enlightenment on earth, and they consider him the truest exponent of Islām in modern times, and an incarnation both of Jesus and of the Prophet of Islām. And thirdly, they say that true Jihād is peaceful conversion and not defence by the sword. It is to be noted that their beliefs regarding Jesus are rather extraordinary. Apart from the fact that he fled to Kashmir and lies buried there (Muhammad Ali, Qurā'ān p. 686 fan. 1723); contrary to the orthodox belief, they do not believe in his miraculous birth, and display great ingenuity in interpreting some very plain verses of the

Qur'ān (Muhammad Ali, Qur'ān, foot-note No. 1536 et seq. especially 1539).

An analysis of the Muslim situation in India is beyond the scope of this article and would require separate treatment. But after I deal with one more interesting country I shall venture, to make some general remarks and offer some definite suggestions which have particular reference to the Muslims of India.

JAVA
Sharikat Islam

Very few people seem to know that Java has a large Muslim population, and the Muslims there are taking a very important part in organising the forces of religion and national-ism. The name of their organisation is Sharekat Islām (Sharēkat, Javanese for Sharīka) and its headquarters are in Surakarta in Java. If we go back to the year 1910 we shall find that there was a gradual weakening of Islām among the Indonesians and a consequent subservience of the Muslims to the Dutch. At the same time there was a great desire among the aristocracy to avail themselves of the benefits of European education. If Java itself—the parallel with India is too pointed to be missed—most foreigners like the Chinese, Japanese, domiciled Arabs, were given perfect equality by the Dutch, but not the Javanese themselves. In 1908 the League of Young Javanese was formed and its first members were mostly medical students, not lawyers (briefless or otherwise) as in India. Their chief grievances were that the social position of the Javanese was unsatisfactory in their own homes. Special homage had to be paid to Europeans. There was lack of education and forced labour was common. Rights of property were not respected and equality under the law was unknown. Secondly, their economic position was very bad ; native industry was deliberately being crushed. Thirdly, there was a great fear of conversion to Christianity. Seeing the activities of the missionaries here in India, this is not surprising, as they are adepts in the various methods of influencing the consciences of men. The organisation gathered strength rapidly ; in 1914 it had to face international problems, and in 1917 it had to deal with the effects of the Russian revolution. In the same year, the organisation asked for official recognition but that was denied, and since then it has been a *political* organisation mainly against Capitalism. In the first congress in 1916 the ideal was laid down that the Indonesians desire to raise themselves to the status of

a united and independent nation, while the fifth congress in 1921 deals with a new programme which indicates the growth of the movement. It declares firstly, that capitalism is pernicious ; secondly, that Islām demands democratic government and popular institutions : and thirdly, that the S. J. is ready for international co-operation if only her independence were maintained. Their great leader and orator was Radën Usman Seyid Tjakara Aminata. He was ultimately prosecuted for perjury and, though acquitted, lost a certain amount of influence. But, curiously enough, he presided over a pan-Islamic congress in 1922 which modelled itself on the All India Muslim League. That shows that the Muslims in Java are keenly interested in the Indian Muslims, while we here are almost entirely ignorant of their activities. The Sharēkat Islām has been of late the most important political organisation in Java and is the expression of the firm desire of the Indonesians to win freedom and independence for themselves while strengthening their own religion.

We have now come to the end of our brief survey of the various movements in Muslim countries. The Turkish, the Javanese, the modern Persian and the Indian are all *mainly* political and social movements, whereas the Sanūsi, the Wahhābi and the Bābi are chiefly religious. What general conclusions should we draw from these facts and how should we apply this knowledge for the improvement of our own lot in India ? There are two factors which emerge out of the Muslim world-situation of to-day. The first is the rise of Nationalism and the second is the Freedom of the Individual. Both are lessons learnt from the West and we must be careful to avoid going to extremes. We must remember that Nationalism can only be based on a right understanding of constitutional principles and great desire for unity ; whereas the freedom that we want is the Liberty of Spencer and Mill, freedom to act as we like *provided* we infringe not the *equal* freedom of every other individual, and not unrestrained ' license ' which would lead us to certain disaster. What can we do in India ? Firstly, let us study the Arabic language with greater zeal. It will give us a right understanding of the past ; it will train our minds by giving them a classical discipline and it will help us to understand our religion. Secondly, let us educate and emancipate our women. So far, without their help, consolation and encouragement, we are labouring not with two hands but with one

hand, not with our whole body, but with half of it paralysed or atrophied. Thirdly, let us look into our social customs, and weed out grass from wheat. Fourthly, let us determine upon legal reform; by modifying our divorce laws in favour of women; by the adoption of a simplified system of inheritance wherever we can, and by the adoption of truer notions of civil and criminal legislation. If we attempt to bring about these reforms, and sincerely work for the uplift of Islâm and study its problems, we shall have no time to lead sacrificial cows through Hindu areas or be disturbed in our devotions by 'Music before Mosques'.

A. A. A. FYZEE.

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF THE MUSLIMS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

THE Educational System of the Muslim peoples fills an important place in their history. We can understand their history only when we consider the moulding influences of those ideas by which, for centuries, Islam held together the most diverse nations of Asia, Africa and Western Europe, with the powerful consciousness that —despite all political and other divergences —they still constituted a great brotherhood.

The more clearly we understand the entire tone and bearing of the Muslim school system the easier will it be for us to explain the cohesion of these numerous peoples.

It must, therefore, appear strange that hitherto only a few scholars have applied themselves to the exposition of this side of cultural history. With commendable industry, indeed, individual aspects have been treated[1] but many questions of detail still remain unsolved or uninvestigated, and on the entire organization of the Islamic system of education even Slane[2] has given only a series of sketches. I shall, therefore, reckon myself lucky if, without completing it, I add some feature of enduring worth to the picture already begun by great masters.

The entire teaching system of the Muslims falls into two groups : the elementary school and the school for higher instruction.

(1) In his ' *Die Academien der Araber* ' (First Part translated by Khuda Bukhsh in the first number of the ' *Muslim Review* ' (1926). Wüstenfeld has made known, according to the account of Ibn Schobba, the names of the institutions and of the professors of those *Madrassahs* which were in existence, since the XIth century, in the five towns of Baghdad, Nisapur, Damascus, Jerusalem and Cairo. He has appended a lithograph extract from Ibn Schobba to which I shall occasionally refer with the simple designation of Ibn Shohbah. Cf.- Middeldorpf, *Comment de institutis literariis in Hispania, quae Arabes Auctores habuerunt.* Gotting. 1810.

(2) In the introduction to the second volume of the English translation of Ibn Khallikan—the first edition of which is by Wüstenfeld.

In both we notice a want of that system which, in our schools, governed by a set course of studies, controlled by regulations of all kinds and guarded by severe State supervision, manifests itself from the very outset. Here the State, in the beginning, did not trouble itself at all with schools, and later but very little. Thus the entire system here is built upon purely voluntary efforts, and we must confess that in the Muslim educational system there stands before us a magnificent experiment, revealing freedom of teaching and freedom of studies, carried to the farthest possible point, with all its concomitant advantages and disadvantages.

Interwoven pre-eminently with religion is this zeal for teaching and learning—they knew nothing then of a compulsory school system. The spiritual power which the Quran exercised over many nations, led them on, without any extraneous pressure, to a desire to read it for themselves, and this desire, by itself, indeed, spread all over the Islamic world.

I. Elementary schools grew quite naturally, without compulsion from above. Not only in the later centuries do we find a school in every small village, or attached to every mosque but even in the earliest times arrangements to that end were made by the people themselves, and not only in Arabia and Iraq[1] but even in the provinces.

Thus Abu Muslim, founder of the Abbasid rule, in the first century of the Hegira, attended as a boy a school in Khorasan[2]. At the end of the second century there was not only a boys' school at Tuster in Persia but regular attendance was insisted upon without official interference; for a certain Sufi, afterwards famous, was only permitted finally to leave the school earlier than other boys by special arrangement between his kinsmen and the teacher[3].

It is apparent, therefore, that boys of six years were already admitted into the school. Wherever the community employed a regularly paid school teacher the benefit of teaching was extended to the poor; even slaves, at

(1) Hell's *Arab Civilization* (Eng. Tr. by Khuda Bukhsh) p. 47.Tr

(2) Ibn Khallikan, Nr. 382 المكتب (Wüstenfeld's Ed.).

(3) Kushairi. Conscientious parents did not discontinue religious instruction at home. Sultan Salahuddin was seen in the midst of his children with a catechism (عقيدة) in his hand. Ibn Khall. Nr. 728.

least in some cases, were admitted to the school[1]. But along with the boys, at all events in some countries, even girls were allowed to attend schools. This is obvious from the Gulistan of Sa'adi[2].

In establishing in many and in far distant countries thousands of elementary schools we must credit Islam with a magnificent influence of a truly philanthropic kind; although the spirit which prompted the establishment of these schools was narrow. That in the elementary schools a very narrow spirit obtained is evidenced by the fact that over an indulgent teacher, a man so kind and humane as Sa'adi actually gives preference to a veritable *Orbilius plagosus* of gloomy appearance and caustic speech, "at whose sight the life of the Muslims sickens[3]."

If the punishments which Olearius saw administered in Persia were not out of the way, isolated acts, we must confess that in Mohammedan elementary schools kindness was at a discount[4].

The learned discussed whether a man could be trained into something which nature had denied him or whether education was merely a development of the tendencies born with him. Leading authorities agree with the view which Sa'adi puts into the mouth of a king in his Gulistan:'

نا کس بتر بیت نشود ای حکیم کس

This view[5], however, did not prejudicially affect the zeal for teaching. Against all these discouraging circumstances religion sustained the enthusiasm for teaching and thus counteracted the influences that made for the narrowing of the area of elementary education. It confined itself chiefly to imparting the knowledge necessary to read the Quran to enable Muslims to fulfil religious duties according to the direction of that book. They learnt, indeed, to read it—more capable ones learnt individual Suras by heart—and many learnt the entire text. Early with this was associated the art of writing, which

(1) Ibn Khall. Nr. 335. At the end of the third century. (2) Book VIIth p. 147. Ed. Semelet. Girls, like boys, had their ears boxed. In the *Arabian Nights* a couple has a little love affair in the school. According to the tradition of the Prophet it is the duty of a Muslim woman to acquire religious knowledge. Burhaneddin, p. 3. Ed. Caspari. (3) Gulistan Book VII., p. 147. Ed. Semelet (Bombay edition of the '*Kulliyat-i-Sa'adi*, p. 57. Tr.). (4) One kind of punishment he has represented on a copper print. (5) 'By education the unmanly does not become manly.'

was responsible even for the name given to elementary schools[1].

The practice in writing, at least in the schools of Mesopotamia, went far beyond immediate needs.

The plastic art, suppressed by Islam, appears to have reasserted itself in the manifold inventions of calligraphy[2].

Even the driest and dullest compositions of the Mufti were assessed according to the degree of calligraphic art expended on it[3].

In Africa and Morocco they never went beyond these poor performances in the elementary schools. There, the script remained till recent times very much like the original stiff Kufic script, and there, as Ibn Khaldun has pointed out, they retained the earliest standard of Muslim elementary education unchanged. In other countries, notably in Moorish Spain, they added grammar to the curriculum, and used it in explaining old Arab poems (Ibn Khaldun, quoted in Slane's Introduction to Ibn Khallikan, Vol. II. p. 12). In Persian countries Arab grammar, indeed, held its ground, but, at least from the XIIIth century, the study of Persian poets was associated with it. Already, in the lifetime of Sa'adi, the students of the upper classes, while discussing Arabic syntax, display great interest in Persian poetry[4].

For centuries Sa'adi and Hafiz were there what Cornelius Nepos and Horace are with us.

With the introduction of grammatical studies in the elementary schools the supremacy of religious influence was considerably restricted. But in higher studies this influence became all the more powerful.

(1) لمكتب ا The term لكتا ب ا according to Freytag's observation may appear suspicious, but Zamakhshari gives this word as a synonym for مكتب Ed. Wetstein (1850) p. 20, and Kushairi uses this word in the year 438 (1046). Indeed the passage (p. 23) فبعثو بى ا ى ا لكتا ب might be translated : they sent me to the book, but it is immediately followed by فمضيت ا لى ا لكتا ب و تعلمت ا لقر ا ن which can only mean : I went to school and learnt the Quran. Even Sa'adi takes *Kuttab* in the sense of elementary schools and, though a foreign word, uses it in his Persian text, Gulistan, Book VII. (2) Khuda Bukhsh, *Studies : Indian* and *Islamic* p. 166 and A. H. Harley's paper on Ibn *Muqlah* in Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London, Vol. III. Part II. Tr. (3) Ibn Khall. Nr. 604. Cf. Nr. 468. Slane's Trans. II 282. (4) Rosengarten, Book VI., p. 128. It is doubtful whether مقد متم نحو ز مخشرى is identical with the مقد متة ا لا د ب there.

II. Higher studies originally included only the Science of Law evolved out of the Quran, the traditions, and natural inferences drawn from them. This science, even in later times, not only maintained the first place but sought more and more to thrust other branches of study into the background. One of the leading authorities in the learned world of Islam of the 8th century hesitatingly acknowledged the science of medicine (which keeps the body healthy), along with the science of law, emanating from the Quran, which keeps the mind healthy[1]. The rest was mere pedantry.

These views, however, were crude, and could not stem the tide of culture[2].

If it had not so many devotees and workers as law, philology at least enlisted some men of shining talents on her side. And other studies too —speculative and mathematical —did not lag behind. But in a large measure they appeared as servants of the religious science of law, which jealously guarded the continuance of its prerogative in contradistinction to the branches of learning of more recent development[3].

In later times the dominance of those branches of learning, more closely related to theology, over the still later ones, became more and more formal, because these later ones grew more and more independent.

But we would miss an essential feature of the Muslim educational system were we to ignore its religious aspect.

We would, indeed, be unjust if we merely credited religion with a restricting influence. The creation and diffusion of an interest in and zeal for learning among Muslims of the Middle Ages —perfect freedom of thought and movement, utmost publicity and intense activity in

(1) بلغة ا لمجالس Shafai, in Burhan-al-Din Sernudji, Ed. Caspari, p. 7.

(2) Haji Khalfa's survey of the entire Sciences in Hammer's *Encyklopadie der Wissenschaften des Orients* 1804, p. 1761.

(3) The zeal for developing a branch of learning, not essentially theological, generally assumed a theological garb. Thus of the 60,000 dirhams, inherited by Abdullah ibn Muharak from his father, he spent half over the study of law and the remaining half on that of grammar, but he later said that he wished he had dedicated the entire amount to philology, for the neglect of one single letter of the alphabet has led to Christian heresies, for it is said in the Bible : I have caused Jesus to be born : ولدت The Christians, however, read it ولدت : I have given him birth. Fleischer, Cod. Bibl. Lipsiens, Nr. XXIII, p. 344.

the domain of teaching—all these were permeated through and through with a religious strain.

From the very beginning, for the use of higher instruction, Islam lent the mosque.

For Muslims the mosque does not bear the same exclusive character as does a church for Christians. It is not merely a place of worship. The Muslim, indeed, honours the mosque, but he does not hesitate to use it for any laudable purpose[1]. Thus the indigent traveller there finds a shelter ; the sick a hospital. Not infrequently the community used it as a court of justice[2] ; for even the administration of justice was deemed something holy. But next to prayer the holiest thing is learning ; for it stands even higher than blind piety[3]. Thus, then, were the gates of the mosque readily opened for learned discussions on questions of law. The immense growth of legal knowledge, however, soon let in subjects such as were, at first sight, remote from religion. Thus, under one and the same roof the pious said their prayer and the philologist explained a poet.

Hariri, well-known to the West, delivered, in a mosque at Basra, lectures on poems that were far from religious[4].

It is very apparent how much the delivery of public lectures—that is higher education—was promoted, not only by the establishment of learned institutions, but by the friendly countenance accorded thereto by religion. When it is said of a learned man that he taught in this or that mosque, it is not, of course, to be understood that his lectures were actually delivered under the very roof which sheltered the pious at prayer. In many mosques then and now, there were, and are, different halls and annexes intended to serve this purpose[5]. But they were always closely connected with the mosque and thereby the lec-

(1) As the education of children was regarded everywhere as something sacred we need not wonder that *Boys' Schools* were, and are, very frequently accommodated in mosques. (2) The famous professor of Nizamiya, Abu Ishaq Shirazi, often had his meals in the mosque. Nawawi, 647 and specially 648. Strangers stay in the mosque. Ibn Khall. Nr. 699.

(3) One conscientious jurist (Faqih) wields greater power over the Sultan than a thousand pious people. Burhaneddin, Ed. Caspari, p.5.

(4) Libraries were also used as meeting-places for men of culture, where learned discussions and debates took place. Khuda Bukhsh : *Studies : Indian and Islamic*, p. 198.

(5) In the upper storey, the غرفة of a mosque, a poor poet had his room. Nr. 307. Ibn Khall.

tures acquired the two-fold character of publicity and accessibility, which demonstrates how favourable was the influence exercised by religion on education in Islam. Between the public and the lecturer there was almost no restriction in the choice of subjects. If—as frequently happened—the lectures were delivered in the mosque itself, the audience formed a compact circle round the lecturer[1]. No respectable man was excluded; admission, however, was subject to the consent of the lecturer, and this to avoid angry discussions[2]. Precisely the same was it with lectures delivered in the halls attached to the mosque[3]. Permission had to be obtained from the lecturer for admission to the hall, but many lecturers seem to have lectured with open doors. That the entrance to the lecture-hall was guarded by the police طرد شبة is mentioned as something exceptional which occurred in the fourteenth century, and this fact shows how easy it was, as a rule, to obtain admission[4].

The custom of the teachers to listen to criticisms and to hold discussions on the subject lectured upon compelled them to prepare their lectures with the utmost care, so as to create a favourable impression[5]. Cases occurred of immature teachers resigning their lectureships at the sight of a *savant* in the mosque, and devoting themselves to a more thorough study of their subjects[6]. But even the silent presence of a learned man must have been inspiring. We may therefore conclude that, despite its limitations, the religious influence was very much to the good by keeping teaching in and by the mosque in close touch with the general public. The constant contact with all and everyone interested in learning must, in any circumstance, have been stimulating, but Islam added a special feature of its own—the feature of many-sidedness —which, in my view, is unique in history. Among Mus-

(1) حلقة Kazwini, *Cosmography*, II. pp. 252-277. Ibn Khall. Nr. 423. This word is particularly applied to the audience. Nawawi. 122. Also, 703. (2) Mohamed Ibn Yahya forbade admission to his lectures to those who held the opinion of his opponent Bukhari. Ibn Khall Nr. 727.

(3) Hatimi receives permission to enter the lecture-hall of Mutanabbi. Ibn Khall. Nr. 660.

(4) Maqrizi saw this arrangement at the Nasariah founded in the XIVth century at Cairo. Hamaker *Specimen Catalogi*. 64. (5) Even a preacher could be interrupted. Ibn Khall. Nr. 378. Objections of other kinds Nr. 372. Interruptions in the midst of the discourse Nr. 640. (6) While Anbari dictated to his pupils, Darqutni remained without interrupting him. Ibn Khall. Nr. 653.

lims prevailed a life of travel which constantly brought to every important mosque foreign visitors[1]. Even if religion had not given an impetus to this passion for travel —the love of knowledge would have drawn the wanderer to the mosque by its peculiar position as a seat of learning. But, no ! religion had a direct share in this. The obligation to make the pilgrimage brought to Mekka from the remotest countries many lovers of learning and, not infrequently, highly-cultured men. Hailing from the remote East they would visit the schools of Baghdad and, having come so far, they would hardly deny themselves the privilege of listening to the professors at Damascus and often enough to those in Egypt. And somewhat similar was the case with those that came from the far West—Africa and the Magrib.

To this religious impulse were added, in special cases, reasons connected with the subject in which the traveller was specially interested. Thus particularly was it with the study of traditions. The sayings and reports of the actions of the Prophet which were looked upon as the measure of religious duties grew incessantly in volume. Intentional fabrications therein contributed; as, for instance, when a Jew put an entire collection of invented traditions into circulation[2]. People felt compelled to call individual collectors liars, Shaskuni for instance[3], and to hold as impostors some who pretended to have travelled far and wide[4].

This induced men who were at once pious and conscientious to undertake most troublesome journeys to all parts of the world where they could hope to find traditions. The sacrifices of our boldest naturalists alone give us an idea of the all-conquering zeal of these old collectors. The zeal for collecting traditions sent the famous Bukhari out of his home in modern Turkistan, not only to Baghdad —the greatest centre of learning in his day—but into the heart of Arabia, and on again to Egypt and Syria. Although he rejected thousands of traditions heard by him, he yet put together, after sixteen years of travel, 60,000

(1) See Khuda Bukhsh, *Studies: Indian and Islamic*, p. 159 et sqq., particularly pp. 164-65. Arab Travellers by Arnold in '*Travel and Travellers of the Middle Ages.*' (Kegan Paul).

(2) Dhahabi, III. 21. Cf. Nawawi, 135. See Goldziher's *MS.*, where this subject has been luminously dealt with. (3) Dhahabi cl, VIII. Nr. 81. p. 22. (4) Abu Abdallah. Dhahabi, Vol. III. Nr. 29, p. 7.

traditions[1]. One Abul Kasim heard 1,300 traditions, and in his travels even took the trouble of eliciting traditions from more than eighty women[2]. The biographical works of Ibn Khallikan, Nawawi, and Dhahabi are rich in such instances, which, indeed, bring home to us the sacrificing enthusiasm of Muslims for travels for religious enquiry and religious researches.

The zeal for travelling for philological researches was also primarily connected with religious purposes. The Quran had made the language of Central Arabia the standard language of the Arabs. It was for this reason, too, that the oldest philologists did their utmost to come as much as possible into contact even with the Beduins, to learn their popular songs, to listen to the subtleties of their speech, and to acquaint themselves with their idioms in all their shades and niceties. Even from India came such lovers of learning. The desire of many to live with the children of the desert was so overpowering that even the attacks of the Beduins, who plundered caravans and killed travellers or took them prisoners, were regarded in the light of good fortune. The philologer Azhari, in one of his travels, was captured by Beduins, and rejoiced over it[3]. Even later these journeys for philological purposes retained touch with religion, for naught but the supremacy of the Quran could make Central Arabia the goal of such travels. True, the study of Beduin literature and its imitations became later independent of the Quran. But these linguistic researches introduced into the life and activities of Muslim teachers and students that passion for travel which is so outstanding a feature of the educational system of Islam. At the age of about fifteen the youth who had acquired elementary knowledge in his native town usually set out for the next great town to hear the lectures there, and, in many instances, was not satisfied until he had compared the schools of the East with those of the West. Often, indeed, elderly men and men of culture took to travels for increasing their knowledge[4]; even such as had themselves taught were attracted to distant countries by the fame of famous teachers. As the language in which all lectures were deliv-

(1) Nawawi gives an exhaustive biography of Bukhari, pp. 76 et sqq. Cf. Krehl. Z.D.M.G. (1850) p. 5. (2) Dhahabi, III. 43. (3) Ibn Khall. Nr. 650. (4) Indeed it is to be remembered that even men who had acquired fame attended public lectures. Al-Ashari hears Marwazi. Ibn Khall. Nr. 440 Fasc. 14. Cf. Nr. 388, 406. A private teacher also hears lectures. Fleischer, *Codic. Lipsiens.* p.333.

ered was Arabic, every newcomer—even from the remotest corner of the Islamic Empire—could understand and be understood in a mosque. This constant wandering for learning or for curiosity or in search of truth or for mere fashion—whatever the driving motive—introduced much many-sidedness into the entire educational system of Islam. No literary journals were needed then to circulate new ideas. Travellers carried with them to distant countries good and evil reports of the lecturers as also of the views they propounded.

Thus with wonderful rapidity and uniformity spread the broad and enlightened views on numerous theological and psychological questions which had come into vogue at Baghdad in the IXth century as the result of the study of Greek philosophy. Kushairi reports how, in Eastern Khorasan, the first messenger of these new views was greeted, and how Mekka heard from a wandering *savant*, who had been there before, but had abandoned the crude, anthropomorphic ideas locally obtaining, that in Baghdad a new light of religious science had dawned[1].

We must confess that the immediate effect of this manifold contact of widely-travelled scholars was a love for discussion which frequently degenerated into insensate talk[2]. The desire to shine in dialectical contests must have been particularly fostered and heightened by the frequent presence of powerful patrons of learning[3] at public disputations. On such occasions even instances of unseemly encounters were not wanting, but worse still was it when disputants met in private and sought to carry a point for the mere sake of carrying it, apart from any question of its soundness or otherwise.

One of the delights of these learned disputations consisted in hurting, with clever witticisms, the feelings of one's opponents[4], but sometimes the respective followers of the disputants even resorted to actual acts of violence.

The Hambalities—the disciples of the founder of the fourth orthodox school—who, more and more, from decade

(1) Kushairi, Cod. or. mon. 55 f. 8 b and 7 b. The expression is : اسلمت اسلاما حدیثا , I have accepted a new Islam.

(2) They invited in a mosque those that were present to suggest a favourite topic from a favourite branch of learning for discussion Kazwini, *Cosmogr.* II. p. 252.

(3) Ibn Khall Nr. 599. and Nr. 617.

(4) Ibn Khall. gives a fine example No. 20.

to decade, outdid their master[1] in fanatical stubbornness until the XIth century of the Hegira, repeatedly caused bloodshed at Baghdad and elsewhere. These acts of violence of the opposing schools drew the masses with disastrous consequences into discussions on matters relating to higher studies; for the masses are hardly capable of quietly acting according to definite principles[2].

Those Caliphs of the House of Abbas who, in the eighth century, tried to give to the current fatalistic and superstitious ideas a more rational turn, realized most strongly how sad was the position of things[3] and had, at last, to give up their efforts in that direction.

These are the dark spots on the freedom and publicity which obtained in the higher educational system of Islam.

But we should not forget that the three first leaders of thought —Abu Hanifa, Malik, and Shafa'i—set a most brilliant example of reasonableness and compromise, notwithstanding considerable differences in their opinions and method of teaching[4]. Shafa'i and Malik stood on very friendly terms with one another and their meeting in Egypt became the model of the later peaceful co-operation of the two schools in Cairo.

But there always existed an appreciable rivalry between the schools. Those of Malik and Shafa'i considered themselves more orthodox than the school of Abu Hanifa, called rationalistic by their opponents[5].

It was reckoned a triumph with every sect to win over to its fold some distinguished man belonging to another[6] but they respected conviction and regarded it as disre-

(1) Abulfeda, *Annal.* Ed. Reiske, II. 359, 391.

(2) The crowd which the lectures of distinguished men drew also redounded to the disadvantage of those lectures. When Mohamed ibn al Hassan lectured according to Malik, there was a large crowd, but, when he lectured according to another, the attendance was thin. Nawawi, 104.

(3) These Abbasid Caliphs tried to force their own views upon the populace but, by their own conduct, set an example of sordid pleasure-seeking, with the result that they created a consciousness of martyrdom and the realization of a higher sense of morality among their opponents.

(4) Ibn Khall. Nr. 560, 569, 578, Nawawi, in his biography of Shafa'i, gives details, p. 56.

(5) مذ هب اهل ا لرا ى Ibn Khall, 2. Also س ا هل ا لقيا. Under Alp Arslan (1064=A.H. 456) Asharites were cursed in Khorasan. Men like Kushairi fled from this sort of barbarism.

(6) Cf. Ibn Khall. Nr. 612 (Nur-al-Din, Nr. 526 (Malik al-adil).

putable to join another sect for mere worldly gain[1]. The many treatises on controversy[2] prove the attempt of each of the schools to gain adherents by advancing arguments in proof of the soundness of their respective views, and, however worthless this branch of learning may be, it indicates at least the dialectical activity which the divergences of views, obtaining in different schools, awakened and accentuated. They felt the necessity of being ever ready with arguments at a moment's notice, for defeat was synonymous with indelible shame.

Whether publicity in all these things had, on the whole, a favourable influence, must remain just as doubtful a question as another, connected therewith ; namely, the preference shown to the cultivation of memory and the practice of learning things by heart. This preference is not to be explained away by the fact of the scarcity of books, for, had that been the case, it would have declined in the later days of Islam. There never was a lack of books.

Even in the first century of the Hegira we find learned men scolded by their wives for possessing great numbers of books[3] and one was actually killed by the fall of a pile of folios which he had heaped around him while sitting on the floor[4]. It was deemed a matter of pride to possess a large collection of books, and not merely *savants* but even statesmen gloried in their collection. A Buwayiid Wazir never travelled without carrying with him thirty camel-loads of books[5]. Numerous copyists (among them men of philological training) multiplied copies—often, indeed, arranging and improving the texts[6]; while the astonishing fertility of countless authors swelled the list of new works.

Public libraries attached to mosques and schools owed

(1) The founder of the Nizamiyah at Baghdad had ruled that the chair of philosophy in that institution should be held by a Shafite. On a vacancy occurring a learned man immediately became a Shafa'i, says Ibn Khallikan, Nr. 565 Fasc. vi. p. 80.

(2) خلاف Ibn Khall. Nr. 616 and 614 where جست is mentioned as a branch of polemics or apologetics. At the Nizamiyah at Baghdad there was a special chair for this branch of learning.

(3) Abulfeda, *Annal*, 1,454. (4) Jahiz. Abulfeda, II. 230. (5) Ibn Khall. Nr. 451. (6) As such Ibn Khallikan mentions Nrs. 408, 451, 453, 464, 468. (The great geographer Yaqut was one of them. See Khuda Bukhsh, *Studies : Indian and Islamic*. p. 163 Tr.,

their existence to legacies and endowments*. Many of these became famous on account of their great number, and some by the correctness of their MSS. There never was a scarcity of books in Muslim countries ; nevertheless, people relied upon their memory if they hoped to take part with credit and distinction in public and free discussions in the schools. Says Zamakhshari : the glory of the learned man is in his note-book ; that of the merchant is in his cash-book ; but the saying that found still greater favour and acceptance was ' the glory of the learned man is in what he knows by heart.' It was not rare for a learned man, who in his younger years had committed the Quran to memory, to recite without a fault a large number of classical poems, even entire systems of Jurisprudence (Ibn Khall., Nrs. 321, 325 and 608), and thousands of traditions with the pedigrees of their narrators. Merwazi could boast of having 70.000 traditions as though in a sack, and Bukhari so splendidly passed through the searching test imposed upon him by his distrusting opponents that he won and maintained the fame of a vast and amazingly accurate memory. (Abulfeda, II, 236).

Such cultivation of memory was one of the conspicuous results of the publicity—I might say the freedom—of the Muslim educational system. In intimate connexion with the public character of teaching stood the freedom of teaching in the sense that every Muslim of distinction was able without any difficulty to step forward as a teacher, if only he had sufficient confidence in his own powers. Up to the establishment of Madrassahs in the XIth century, only in those branches of study which were connected with law, as sanctioned by religion, was anything like an association with an older teacher required, to

(*) In the *Journal Asiatique*, 3rd series, Vol. VI. Quatremere has given information on more than forty libraries. In the Febr. number (1848) of the same journal Von Hammer has made very considerable additions. (Hajjaj made copies of the Quran and distributed them among Muslim generals. Weil, I. 562. Ibn Hajib An-Noman possessed a splendid library. Z. D. M. G. Vol. XIII p. 592, Abul Hasan Az-Ziyadi al-Hassan bin Uthman is said to have possessed a large library. He died 243 A.H. (857-858). Ibid p. 586. Khalil-i-Baghdadi (Ibn Khall. Vol. I. pp. 38, 65. ' He made a waqf of all his books in favour of Muslims'. The library of Al-Waqidi (ninth century) required 120 camels, with 600 chests, to carry it from Baghdad to beyond the Tigris, Purgstall I., Intro. p. LXVI. Fateh Ben Khaqan, the wazir of Mutawakkil, established a magnificent library and the Wazir of Wathiq was in the habit of spending 10,000 rupees every month on the translation and copying of books. For further information see Khuda Buksh's *Studies*, pp. 197-198 Tr.).

establish a sort of professorial apostleship traceable right back to the Prophet. There was no such thing as a state examination or a state appointment of any sort or kind. (Even slaves appeared as teachers. Ibn Khall. Nr. 432).

With such subjects as were remote from religion no connexion with earlier authorities was required. Thus, in his sixteenth year (abut 996 A.D.), Ibn Sina appeared as a teacher of Medicine for which he felt himself qualified after having diligently studied all the books available in Kharmaitan and after he had practised for some little time[1]. On the other hand a restriction was imposed on the freedom of teaching by the rule that no one was permitted to use at a public lecture the book of another, without his written permission. Even after the death of the other, permission had to be obtained from his heirs. Thus a learned man of the XIIIth century secured a written authority to use the Sahih of Bukhari, composed three hundred years earlier[2]. Even the sons of an author could not grant such permission without express authority from him. Possibly in this connexion some disciple or other was given preference over the author's own children[3]. Even women could give private licenses to teachers[4]. The rule that obtained regarding the use of books extended also to lectures. They, too, could only be used by the express permission of the lecturer[5]. Such a license served a two-fold purpose. It was at once an acknowledgment of the rights of the author and a certificate of competence of the licensee. I presume our licentiate has its origin in this Muslim practice. Many teachers were very cautious in regard to the granting and continuation of this license. Zamakhsari, for instance. Others were very liberal[6]. It is reported of one who was free with his licenses that he covered the earth with certificates obtained from his audience and with

(1) Vita Avicennæ Ex Sorsano (*i.e.*, Abu Ubaid Abdal-Wahid el-Jurjani in Avicennæ Canon. I. Venet 1595 and Ibn Khall. Nr. 189 Fasc. II. p. 131.

(2) Ibn Khall. Nr. 414. Slane II., 171. (3) Thus the sons of Hariri as regards Maqamah. Ibn Khall. Nr. 546 Fasc. VI. (4) For instance, Zainab. Ibn Khall. Nr. 250. (5) Even to recite the verses of a poet permission had to be obtained إجازة Nr. 396. Cf. Nr. 616. لا إجازة Cf. Hamaker, *Specimen Cat.* p. 128. With his explanation of إجازة we cannot quite agree. (6) A private teacher in Cairo asks for a written license in vain. Ibn Khall. Nr. 721.

licenses granted to others[1]. Many teachers put a note in the book they lectured upon, to the effect that they had used it in their lectures. (Ibn Khall. Nr. 448). The license generally was a certificate, in the true sense of the term, containing the signature and the date of issue[2].

If it was competent to a teacher to pass on his own authority to teach to another—so was it open to him to appoint a deputy or a representative to carry on his work. Professors who were advanced in years or were otherwise engaged in official work had frequently such assistants to help them in their work[3].

Since the establishment of proper high schools or Madrassahs with fixed incomes the founders or their families acquired the right of appointment and removal of professors; but even so, in the method of teaching and in the choice of subjects, the teacher enjoyed perfect freedom.

The State interfered only in a case where religion was in danger[4].

A fair degree of variety and many-sidedness was thus introduced into the educational system of Islam, but the freedom obtaining there was no pure caprice.

The main features of that system may be thus summarised. There was no fixed rule as to the interval dividing one lecture from another. This depended entirely upon the inclination of the lecturer. Some lectured every day: (Al-Harrani, Exegesis of the Quran. Ibn Khall. Nr. 668) others, once a week, particularly on a Monday (Ibn Khall. Nr. 413). Anbari delivered his philological

(1) Ibn Khall. سما عا ت merely indicates that one has heard a lecture—not that he has been given permission to transmit what he had heard. (2) The last of the biographies in Ibn Khallikan contains one such instance. (3) Ibn Khallikan, Nr. 306. Nawawi, 734. Masud of Nisapur acted for Jawaini at the Nizamiyah at Baghdad. Ibn Khall. Nr. 728. Even in the case of an ordinary schoolmaster, Olarius speaks of an assistant. In every school, says he, there is only one principal *Mulla* or teacher and a *Khalifa* who is his collaborator and substitute. *Pers. Reisebeschr.* 612.

(4) They could complain against a teacher before any *divan* for an offence against religion. In important cases the Caliph reserved the jurisdiction for himself. Thus the famous Dhun-Nun had to travel from Egypt to Baghdad to answer to a charge before the Caliph Mutawakkil, Kushairi *Cod. Mon.* 55 f. 13 b. Cf. Kazwini II 94. This happened amidst a large concourse of people right down to water-carriers. Kushairi, f. 162. Compare other instances of interference on the part of the Caliphs. Abulfeda, II. 187. Dhahabi cl. viii Nr. 108. Even where no formal enquiry was made—public opinion was of great importance. Such was the case with the historian Tabari.

lectures every Friday[1]. Al-Barawi delivered more than one lecture a day[2]. Wherever the lecture was delivered —in or by the mosque—it was stopped at prayer-time[3]. Regular vacations, at fixed times of the year, were not in vogue. The commencement of the vacation depended entirely upon the conclusion of the course of lectures. Here the lecturer had the greatest possible freedom. The lecturer usually followed the text-book written by himself or by some other authority.

Experienced professors knew their text-book by heart, so that they were in no way embarrassed if, on their appearance in the lecture-hall, they found that they had forgotten to bring the book along with them[4]. When dictated (a frequent occurrence) the lecture was delivered slowly, to enable the students to take it down correctly. In Siluki's lecture-hall at Nisapur there were 500 ink-pots always ready for use[5]. Many a time a student who did not take down the lecture was censured, but Al-Isfaraini was perfectly satisfied with Kushairi for committing the entire lecture to memory without taking it down in writing. The lecturer was not merely content with delivering his lecture ; he tried to satisfy himself that the students had followed and understood him. For this purpose he would discuss the subject with them, put questions to them and encourage them to put questions to him. He who sat next to the lecturer was the first to get into conversation with him[6]. Sometimes the lecturer asked one of the students to sit nearer to him to enable him more easily to enter into conversation with him.

Many teachers, while discussing the subject, left their seat and mixed with the students. By his example Al-Zuhri, one of the oldest teachers of Islam, showed how much teaching could be done by mere conversation and discussion[7].

In a gathering he never placed himself behind but always in front of the people[8]. He never let a boy in the

(1) Ibn Khall. 653 مجلس إلا ملاء (2) Ibn Khall. Nr. 603. About 1170. (3) Ibid Nr. 560 Fasc. vi. p. 70. (4) Ibn Khall. Nr. 608.

(5) محبرة Ibn Khall. Nr. 273. Dictating is ملو Abulfeda II. 349.

(6) سدة Ibn Khall. Nr. 600. Fasc. vi. 116. This word is translated by Slane (Vol. II. 626) as 'Sofa.' When the lecture was delivered in a mosque the pulpit (المنبر) was used by the lecturer. (7) He died A.H. 122=741 A.D. Abulfeda, I. 454. Cf. Ibn Khall. Nr. 269. (8) كان يأتي المجالس من صدورها ولا يأتيها من خلفها

assembly go unquestioned nor an old or a young man either. He would not only do this in the mosque but even call on people at their homes for that purpose[1].

Later, this importunity was moderated[2] but, none the less, it continued to remain a special feature of enthusiastic teachers. Study in the High Schools was thus not merely a hearing of lectures but a thorough drilling in the subject[3].

Since the Xth century an old professor usually had a special *Repetitor* of his own[4]. Not infrequently such a one was chosen from among the students, and his work was regarded at once in the light of a distinction and as a further grounding in the subject[5].

The instruction continued beyond the lecture-room, for the audience sought personal contact with the teacher. That it depended upon the teacher himself to impose a restriction upon this personal contact may well be imagined ; but he could not very well have refused the request of an eager student, in the first flush of enthusiasm, for the solution of his doubts and difficulties[6].

As the teacher not infrequently lectured to beginners at the same time as he gave advanced courses for the benefit of those who wanted to enter the State service, and also delivered public lectures meant for a larger audience, we can easily imagine that the questions addressed to him were many and various[7]. While to the young the sim-

(1) Nawawi p. 117. He went to the house of this or that Ansar and even questioned old women there: (for the life of Nawawi see Wüstenfeld's 'Life and Writings of Nawawi', a masterpiece of its kind. Göttingen. 1849 Tr.) (2) It became an عادة ا لتماديم. According to this Riza was examined on the syntax. Ibn Khall. Nr. 678 Fasc. vii. p. 85.

(3) They used to say ' he heard,' for instance, Law from N. N. سمع من Ibn Khall. Nr. 400. But the real training in Law was secured by exercises. It is expressed by تفقه على Ibn Khall. Nr. 5,395. 403.

(4) The *Repetitor* was an assistant who helped the students in getting up their subjects. (5) Repetitor معيد Ibn Khall. Nr. 606. عاد له ا Nr. 490. 422. 442. Nr. 852. Fasc. XI. (6) A troublesome questioner of this sort later received the appellation of فطرب Abulfeda II 140. Ibn Khall. Nr. 646. Close contact with the teacher is صحب Eg. Ibn. Khall. Nr. 18. Thus the صحاب ا of a teacher. Nr. 19. (7) Ibn Khall. Nr. 395. Nr. 603.

plest things had to be explained a great number of times —the often widely-travelled old listener wanted to hear something useful[1] or sought to have an ingeniously-raised doubt set at rest. All this meant a great deal of work to the teacher. Going back, indeed, to the beginning of Islam we find the teacher more and more worried in this respect. The trouble was all the greater as the branches of learning were very little marked off one from another. We see Abu-z-zinad[2] going out of the mosque in Medina, surrounded by his pupils, like a Sultan by his escort: one questioning him about a religious precept, another about arithmetic, a third about the meaning of a poem, and yet another about a tradition of the Prophet or about some difficult case. Although by the separation of the different branches of learning, the burden was lightened and the professors were, to a certain extent, protected by their position from the crowd, yet the duty 'to occupy with the people' constituted the most difficult side of the educational system of Islam[3].

The fact that the teacher was not tied down to a rigid syllabus very appreciably affected his income. Up to the XIth century it was left to the teacher to earn his living as best he could. He who gave himself up to learning had therefore to be either well-off or well-patronized or to carry on a trade or to act as a judge or mufti or in some such capacity[4]. The latter course was very often adopted by those that taught the more practical side of Law[5]. For fifteen years Shafa'i practised Law along with a[6] theoretical study of jurisprudence. Many teachers, like the famous Imam-al-Haramain, held several offices at the same time[7]. These posts, sometimes, were very lucrative. A Qadhi of Aleppo drew, for in-

(1) فايدة means something really useful profit, gain. Among other things they understood by it an original idea which might be useful even to those who already possessed sufficient knowledge of a certain subject. Ibn Shohbah. Nr. 41. (2) Dhahabi I. 25. He died A. H. 131. No wonder that another teacher, according to the same writer, Dhahabi (1, 10) actually ran away and bolted the door against his pupils who uselessly worried him.

(3) يشتغل الناس يشغل The first word evidently refers to the teacher and the second to his students. Ibn Shohbah Nr. 45, 47, 49, 51. Ibn Khall. Nr. 408. (4) Ibn Khall. Nr. 402 Nr. 445. (5) Ibn Khall. 3. يدرس ويفتى He was professor and Mufti. Cf. Ibn Shohbah Nr. 47 and 49. (6) Nawawi. 64. (7) Ibn Khall. Nr. 388. Many were preachers and professors at the same time. Ibn Shohbah. Nr. 46

stance, 100,000 dirhams[1]; but a conscientious teacher could not find this arrangement very satisfactory. Conscientious men, like Abu Yusuf, under Harun-ul-Rashid, or the Qadhi of Kairwan, whose curses on poverty Ibn Khallikan records, did not worry about these posts. The more conscientious ones actually refused these appointments, and Abu Hanifa would rather endure ill-treatment or die in prison than accept the very lucrative and honourable position of the chief judgeship of Baghdad[2].

Worst off were the philologists, for of these only a few could hope to secure an appointment under the Government. There is but one of famous exception to this rule and that is Abu Tamam, the collector of Hamasa, who became the governor of Mosul. Whoever, therfore, gave himself up to the study of language and literature and was not content with the poor pittance of a schoolmaster or a private teacher had to look to some other means of livelihood as well. But as a means of living, poetry and particularly lyrical panegyrics, offered the surest prospect. There were, in fact, few Muslim princes who had not stirred some poet's enthusiasm or were not the object of a poet's devotion. Up to the tenth century the Caliphs were surrounded by poetical philologists. Thenceforth these made their way to the courts of those rulers who wrenched away the power of the declining Caliphate.

In a moment of generous humour one couplet might bring in a landed estate[3]. The glorified ruler sometimes even paid the debts of his poet; but often literati had to be satisfied with trivial presents, and tramp from one town to another to celebrate in poems all the great ones they could get hold of[4]. No professor who was also a Qadhi (a lucrative post) was immune from them. In such cases it was difficult to decide who was worse off—the one who sang the praises, or the one whose praises were sung. Happier, no doubt, was the lot of the poetical philologist when he met a princely patron who found pleasure in his intellectual companionship. But such a one had to know or improvise a poem suited to every incident that occurred. And as his presence was necessary at hunting

(1) Wüstenfeld, *Akad. d. Araber* p. 24. (2) Another learned man resigns the post of a Qadhi after a single day's service. Ibn Khall. Nr. 455.

(3) Ibn Khall. Nr. 549. A still richer reward, Nr. 684. (4) The poetical philologist languished in the ante-room of the great. Often they quarelled with the *valet de chambre*. Ibn Khall. Nr. 675. Nr. 851. Fasc. IV. 39; Fasc. vii, 80.

parties it was naturally useful that he should know something about falcons and dogs. To many it proved also very beneficial to possess some knowledge of household medicine, and to combine acquaintance with astronomy with the art of preparing *Sherbat*[1]. Not infrequently the life of such philologists was the life of a wretched parasite. However, it brought into being the so-called 'Science of amusing princes[2]' and numerous selections from poets and story-tellers. One and the same person appeared now as a teacher of philology, now as a panegyrist or as a companion of some powerful magnate[3].

Honourable, indeed, was the position of those philologists who were entrusted with the education of princes. And such was often the case at the court of the Abbasids in the East and of the Omayyads in Spain[4]. There was yet another source from which teachers and learned men could derive some support. The Wazirs generally had a fund at their disposal from which they could give financial aid to such men. But this involved humiliation and the amount allowed was very often most exiguous. The famous Tirmidhi only got four dirhams per month[5].

The madrassahs or the academies which since the XIth century were established[6] in various towns appear to have adopted this small subsistence allowance of the earlier days as the standard of the teacher's salary[7]. The salary allowed was very small. This fact undoubtedly explains the reason why many teachers gave up their appointment at a madrassah shortly after they had joined. Those that continued had an income from some post or other elsewhere.

Just as the academies brought forth no changes in the manner of the delivery of lectures or in the general trend of the educational system so in the matter of the pay of the teachers[8], at least during the first centuries

(1) An instance in Ibn Khall. Nr. 451.

(2) *Encyklopadische Ubersicht der Wissenschaften des Orients.* p. 63. مسا مرة ا لملوك p. 256 ; Cf. Hammer's Intro. to Flügel's translation of Al-Salabi's, anthology. (3) Such was the case even with Mutannabbi. (4) Ibn Khall. 517. (5) Ibid Nr. 583. Also see Nr. 448. (6) The current idea that the first Madrassah was founded by Nizam-ul-mulk at Baghdad (459=1066) is corrected by Slane in the introduction to his Eng. tr. of Ibn Khall. He tells us there that already in 418=1027, that is to say, ten years before Ibn Sina's death, such an institution was established at Nisapur. (7) Ibn Shohbah Nr. 49 (8) وظايف On the pay of the professors later—Hammer's *Gesch. des Osmanischen Reichs,* II, Part I.

of their existence, no financial improvement was effected.

At all events their existence did not in any way improve the prospects of the philologists, for only the larger madrassahs like Nizamiyah of Baghdad seem to have had a chair for philology, and the occupant of that chair, about 1100 A.D., could not have been very happy, for he alludes to his position in the words of an earlier grammarian :—

" Grammar and he who is occupied with it, are worth less than even a morsel steeped in oil[1]."

Only one kind of teachers could everywhere count upon a sure income, namely, those who took in young people as boarders and were put completely in charge of their education. What Lane says in this respect of the Egyptian teachers up to the time of the French invasion, is true in the main of the Middle Ages[2]. The peasant who made over his son to a teacher, to train him for a government appointment, provided the teacher with food. The pupil personally served the teacher, went out with him, took care of his sandals when he was bathing, fetched necessaries for him from the market[3], and, even cooked his food. With but a few of such pupils it was possible for the teacher to eke out a livelihood. Sometimes the teacher gave his daughter in marriage to the best of them. (Ibn Khall. Nr. 374 and Nr. 321. Kushairi got for wife the daughter of his teacher).

In the old days there was very little provision made for the students. It was left to their families to defray their expenses. Men, therefore, who dedicated themselves to study, were often well-to-do men. Whether from the very beginning of the establishment of the madrassahs residental arrangements for students were made I am not prepared to say, but such, undoubtedly, was the case after

(1) Ibn Khall. Nr. 464. We have already referred to the injunction of the founder of the Nizamiyah that the professor of philology there should always be a Shafa'i. Nr. 565 p. 80 F. vi. (2) (In Chadwick's *Social Life in the Days of Piers Plowman* pp. 23, 24, 62, 87, the reader will find interesting points of comparison and contrast. From this point of view Charles Bigg's chapter on Education in his *Church's Task under the Roman Empire* is of considerable interest. Tr.).

(3) Abdullah ibn Bari sent a student of his to fetch some vegetables- root and all. A well-behaved student was treated like a son of the family. A certain teacher is reported to have nursed his sick pupil, sold even his donkey to meet the expenses of his illness and carried the convalescent on his back.

the XIIIth century[1]. Generous provisions for the support and maintenance of the students seem to have gone hand in hand with increase in the pay of the teachers. The rulers, of Mongolian and Turkish descent, were not only particularly lavish with gifts to mosques and educational institutions connected with them, but also founded a number of new institutions of the kind. Even from their graves they stretched out, so to speak, a helping hand to the votaries of learning; for the numerous endowments for the Quran readers at the graves of Sultans and Wazirs redounded to the benefit of young teachers and advanced students[2].

The students often resided in large numbers in hostels which may be likened to the colleges of the English Universities. Thus the madrassahs were not unlike great beehives which received the honey of wisdom from a thousand blossoms of knowledge. But the bees were pre-eminently drones. The educational system perished by its own prosperity.

It would be no harsh judgment were I to say that from the fifteenth century the activities of the Muslim schools slackened, the extended intercourse ceased. This fact the Mohammedan world has itself realized, and in its grim humour has described the students, the foster children of the hostels, as *Sukhta* or *Sufta*, *i.e.*, the burnt ones; whereas those of the earlier age they called *Talaba*, the seekers, the aspirants.

In my account of Islamic education I have confined myself to the Middle Ages. But it is not unknown to me that in the mosques and colleges of the Turkish Empire even in later times many beneficent forces were actively at work. Let us only recall the educational history of Haji Khalfa and remember how a lecture in a mosque awakened in him, a young officer, the desire to master knowledge in its entirety, and how in the pursuit of that object he went from town to town, from teacher to teacher, and how, again, he was not ashamed, though a man of position, to become a patient student of learned men

(1) Kazwini, in his *Cosmogr.* (p. 259, Vol. II), states: Ibn Sahlan transcribed books for Ibn Sina, as he was too poor to meet the expenses of his study, and as there were no madrassahs then.

(2) Nur-ud-din, in his lifetime, gave alms and stipends to readers of the Quran along with jurists and sufis. Ibn Khall. Nr. 725.

until he attained the highest position in Turkish literature[1]. And this happened only two hundred years ago. Yet it was naught but a mere after-glow. Within, the decay manifests itself in the artificiality of imitation; in the luxuriant growth of anthologies, commentaries upon commentaries, etc. And without, in a rigid demarcation of status, behind which the man is nothing, the status everything.

Even the earlier times were not indifferent to marks of honour. People greeted the teacher, went about with him, held his stirrup when he got on his mule[2]. The personal esteem particularly showed itself in the last-mentioned service. While the corpse of the teacher was washed by favourite pupils—the entire town took part in the funeral[3]. When the famous Imam-ul-Haramain died in 478 (summer 1085) at Nisapur it was not enough for the poets to sing his praises, but even the merchants closed their shops in the bazar. Moreover the pulpit in the mosque was broken down and his pupils smashed their pens and inkpots[4].

Such recognition of merit was a common feature. Very early, indeed, the guild of *savants* and teachers was distinguished by a professional costume of its own[5]. The invention of this official costume is ascribed to keen-sighted Abu Yusuf, the illustrious casuist already referred to, belonging to the court of Harun[6].

As all professions were distinguished by characteristic marks of their own—*e.g.*, that of the soldier or of the sufi—it was very natural that the guild of the *savants* too should have a uniform of its own; in fact the various faculties were differentiated from each other by their own special uniforms[7]. In the main the distinguishing features of

(1) Hammer, *Encyklopadische Uebersicht der Wissenschaften des Orients*, p. 3. et. Sq. (2) Ibn Khall. Nr. 411. Nr. 582. (3) Thus with Malik, Ibn Khall. Nr. 576. (4) If I understand it correctly the students had a year's holiday in honour of the dead. Ibn Khall. Nr. 388 Fasc. IV. p. 85, Cr. Wüstenfeld, *Acad. der Araber* p. 31. (5) ثياب اهل علم in contradistinction to ordinary dress, Ibn Khall. Nr. 373.

(6) Ibn Khall. Nr. 834 Fasc. xi. p. 38.

(7) Ibn Khall. Fasc. vi. 139. Hakkari wears the soldier's costume with the *turban* of the jurist. Cf. Nr. 274. Robes of honour of Wazirs. Nr. 455 of the Qadhi. It is reported of Ibn Sina that very early he put on the dress of the jurist فقيه and specially *Tailasan*, Ibn Khall. Nr. 189. This rare word is etymologically connected with the *Talles* of the Jews and is the precursor of our academical robes. Even Tumart puts on the academical robes of the jurists. Nr. 799.

a *savant's* dress were wide sleeves, long trails, and artistically arranged pleats[1]. But, later, the dignity of the position became more and more an empty show and merely provoked offensive witticisms from the populace[2].

All the ostentation of the Turkish *Ulemas* at Turkish festivities —their magnificent splendour notwithstanding —could not revive in that order the bloom of the Muslim culture that appeared in the 9th, 10th, 11th and even, perhaps, in the 12th century of the Christian era.

Extinguished there is the light of culture, to shine forth again in other countries. Is this to be the eternal fate of human civilization ? Is culture always to be the monopoly of a small group of people ? Such is the impression which the history of civilization conveys and reinforces. And yet, with this impression, we cannot abandon the belief— the pious hope—that permanent and universal are the gifts of the many civilizations that have risen and fallen, bloomed and withered away[3].

(1) Zamakhshari's Golden neck-chain. Nr. 48. Compare our University dress. (2) Meninski, Sub '*Tailasan.*'

(3) Kaufmann's *Gesch. der deutschen Universitaten* may be mentioned here as a mine of valuable information on the subject in question. Very instructive is the chapter headed *Stellung des Staats und der Kirche zu der Schulen des Mittelalters* pp. 106-118. Denifle's *Entstehung der Universitaten* may also be referred to here. Rashdall's *Universities of Europe,* is the most comprehensive book in English that has yet been written. Prof. Macdonald in his *Aspects of Islam* deals in Chapter ix with ' Muslim Ideas on Education,' and Snouck Hurgronje in his *Mekka* (pp. 200-294 Vol. II.) gives a luminous account of the Muslim conception of learning. Davidson's *History of Education* deals in Chapter iv with Muslim education. It is interesting reading. Tr.

NOTES.

D' Ohsson (Tableau general de l'empire Othoman t. II. 1788. Small Ed., pp. 464 et sqq.) has described the modern schools thus :—

(1) The public elementary schools, *Muktab.* These are open to the children of the poor. They learn there to read and write ; they also receive instruction in religion and the Turkish language. Every such school has a number of pupils who are provided with board and lodging by the mosques. The superintendent مُعَلِّم never asks anything from the parents, who generally show their appreciation as they can.

(2) Colleges, High Schools, Madrassahs. The madrassahs of the Ottoman Empire unfortunately concern themselves only with Law and Theology, but these studies are conducted with system and method. They are divided into ten branches under the common term of *Ilm, i.e.,* knowledge :—(1) Grammar, *Ilm Sarf* ; (2) Syntax, *Ilm Nahw* ; (3) Logic, *Ilm Muntiq* ; (4) Moral Science, *Ilm Adab* ; (5) Rhetoric, *Ilm Ma'ani* ; (6) Theology, Dogmatic, *Ilm Kalam* ; (7) Philosophy, *Ilm Hikmah* ; (8) Law, *Ilm Fiqh* ; (9) Commentary on the Quran, *Ilm Tafsir* ; (10) Traditions of the Prophet.

Every great mosque has its madrassahs ; some have two to four. The mosque of Sultan Sulaiman has five ; of which one is devoted to the study of Medicine. The mosque of Sultan Mahmud has as many as eight. These madrassahs are always stone buildings with 12 to 30 rooms, everyone of which is occupied by one or more students, according to the number on the list at the time.

The students bear the name of *Sufta*, a corruption of *Sokhta*, which means something ' burnt, ' and is applied in a figurative sense to a 'tolerated, suffering being.' They also call them *Muid* or *Murid*, which means a pupil, and *Danishmund*, which means only a student. Instructors who bear the name of *Khajah*, instead of the professors, *Mudarris*, guide the students in their work. The professors, as a rule, shirk their work and show themselves only once or twice a month. In the earlier days the great *Muftis* of Constantinople were wont to go from time to time to the classes held in the mosque of Sultan Bayazid and deliver public lectures there for the benefit of the more advanced *Softas* ; for, in the language of Ahmad Effendi, they made it their duty to light up this institution with the torch of their learning and wisdom. (p. 470).

The observations which D' Ohsson makes on these oldest schools require some slight correction. He credits the builders of the oldest mosques with the glory of establishing colleges along with these Houses of God. But, as has been stated above, before the establishment of the real madrassahs in the XIth century, this was not the general practice. Even before the XIth century there appear to have been special buildings attached to a considerable number of mosques devoted to instructional purposes ; just as, even after the creation of the madrassahs, in a good many cases the mosque itself was used for purposes of teaching. The following are the various places where instruction was imparted :—

(1) The teacher gives instruction at home. بمنزله A case in A.H. 564 (1160) at Isphahan. Hamaker, *Specimen Catal.* p. 139.

(2) There are elementary schools. *Maktab*, for children.

(3) For more advanced students there are institutions called *Ribat*. These offer only rooms for the audience and the teacher, but the latter receives no special pay. Ibn Khall. Nr. 178. About 1420 there were in Mekka, besides eleven madrassahs, many such *Ribat* which gave shelter also to poor pilgrims.

(4) Sufis used the cloisters for purposes of lectures without denying themselves the use of other lecture rooms. Ibn Khall. Nr. 670.

(5) Colleges, madrassahs attached to mosques with residential quarters.

(6) For both lower and higher teaching the mosque was the most enduring and universal institution. Often the expression occurs ; This and that teacher lectured in this or that corner of the mosque. Many a time it is said that in the same mosque two or more teachers lectured, each in a corner (زاوية) Ibn Khall. Nr. 272 Fasc. VIII p. 98 زاوية الغربية western corner). One such case, related by Ibn Khallikan, occurred in the last days of Shafa'i. When Shafa'i fell mortally ill, one of his distinguished pupils appeared in the mosque to lecture in his place. Another wanted to dispute the honour with him. After a violent quarrel the matter was thus settled. The first lectured under the arch (طاق) where Shafa'i used to lecture, and the other took his seat under the next arch but one. By زاوية we understand the space underneath an arch in a building constructed according to the Byzantine Moorish model.

(الجامع) signifies a mosque proper, including the madrassah. The library was occasionally used for discussion by the learned. (Ibn Khall Nr. 412). Thus in the hall of the library at Basra Hariri places the philological contest which constitutes the second Maqamah. And yet the library cannot well be included in the list of places where regular instruction was imparted. (That among beneficent and cultured princes and wazirs there was no lack of learned societies may be inferred from Ibn Khall, Nr. 471. 476).

The institution of the Caliph Hakim, Dar-ul-Hikmat, was of short duration.

The following extract from Slane's Intro. to Ibn Khallikan (Eng. tr.) is instructive. (Vol. II.).

"It is much to be regretted, that the information which we possess on the course of study universally followed in Muslim countries is very slight, and that the system of mental culture requisite to form a well-educated Muslim is a point on which great obscurity still prevails. And yet the importance of obtaining a clear insight into the causes which gave to the character of a great and polished nation its peculiar cast and form cannot but be deeply felt. Were it possible to dissipate the obscurity in which this question is involved, a more exact idea would then be formed of the Muslim mind and Muslim civilisation. In such an investigation the works of Arabic authors might be expected to afford the highest assistance, but unfortunately the documents which they have left on this subject do not enable us to view it in all its bearings. These indications are not, however, without their value; they aid us to understand more parts of the system, and from the parts we may judge of the whole. One of the most curious is that given by Ibn Khaldun in his *Prolegomena*, where he expresses himself thus:

"To teach children the Koran is a sign of religion shown by the Muslims in all their cities, and a duty which they universally fulfil; for by this means the faith is firmly planted in the youthful heart, as also a knowledge of the dogmas which are enounced in the verses of that book. The Koran is therefore the basis on which are reared the future faculties of the mind; for that which is learned at an early age remains deeply impressed on the memory and serves as a foundation for what follows, and we know that the form of the edifice is determined by the disposition of the foundations.

The different systems followed in teaching children the Koran are distinguished by the peculiar faculties developed by each. In Maghrib (Algiers and Morocco), that book is taught without any accompaniment; they begin by making the scholar read it over; then he learns it by heart from the edition of the text received in that country; and he is instructed, at the same time, in its peculiar orthography, the questions to which it gives rise, and the various readings remarked in the systems of those (*ancient masters*) by whom it was transmitted down. Till this first step be surmounted, everything else, such as traditions, jurisprudence, poetry, and the idiom of the

desert Arabs, is excluded. It therefore happens that a failure in this early stage of the pupil's progress puts an entire stop to his career.

Such is the mode of instruction followed in the cities of Maghrib and in some Berber towns where the example has been adopted ; it applies equally to the scholar who has not attained the age of puberty, and to persons more advanced in years who intend to recommence their studies ; the result is, that the Maghribins are more intimately acquainted with the orthography of the Koran, and know it by heart much better than people of other countries.

In Spain they proceed otherwise ; for, whilst they make it a rule to teach the reading of the Koran and its orthography as actually used (because they consider that book as the foundation of learning, the groundwork of education, and the basis of religion and the sciences), they instruct their children at the same time in poetry, epistolary writing, the principles of grammar, and the art of penmanship. The acquisition of this last accomplishment occupies scholars till the age of puberty, so that whilst youths obtain a knowledge of grammar and an acquaintance with the works of the poets, they become skilful penmen and persevere, nearly all, in the pursuit of learning. But learning subsists by transmission, and, as its transmission has been interrupted in the provinces of Spain, the students of that country can only acquire such portions of knowledge as are accessible from the first steps of their education. This is however sufficient for him whom God directs, and it gives him the means of reaching other branches of learning.

In Ifrikiya (*the province of Tunis*), they generally instruct their children in the Traditions whilst teaching them the Koran, to which they add the principles of the sciences and some of the questions which they involve ; but, as their chief object is, to communicate a correct knowledge of the text and various readings of that book, the art of penmanship is neglected.

In the East instruction is also of a mixed nature, but do not know to what length it is carried ; we have been told however that they pay more attention to the culture of penmanship and of the sciences than to the study of the Koran.

The people of Ifrikiya and Maghrib, by confining their application to the Koran, can never attain the faculty of mastering the langauge. The reason of this we shall here explain : No peculiar faculty can be developed in the mind by the study of the Koran, because the declaration that it is impossible to produce anything equal to it, prevents it from being taken as a model for imitation ; so that the student, though he may acquire an ample share of spiritual merit, can neither obtain a good command of Arabic nor a facility of diction. The people of Ifrikiya are perhaps more advanced in this last respect than those of Maghrib, because, in studying the Koran, they learn Traditions and scientific rules ; they have therefore a certain command of language, but they do not attain elegance of expression.

The habit of teaching pupils, of repeating poems and epistles, and of studying the rules of grammar is so general in Spain, that the natives of that country have acquired a complete mastery of the Arabic tongue ; but in the other branches of knowledge their skill is inferior, because they have not paid sufficient attention to the Koran and the Traditions, which are the source and basis of the sciences. In grammar, however, and polite literature they excel in a greater or less degree, accordingly as they have devoted more or less time to these occupations on terminating the studies which engaged their youth.

The *kadi* Abu Bakr Ibn-al-Arabi[1] has laid down, in his *Rihla*, a highly curious and original plan of study. He proposes that youths should be first instructed in grammar and the works of the poets, conformably to the Spanish custom, ' for,' says he, 'language is enregistered in its poetry,' ' and the corruption of the language renders it necessary that you should commence by that and by grammar ; you should then pass to arithmetic, and, having acquired an idea of its rules, you may proceed to the study of the Koran, which, by means of these preparatory labours, will be found much easier than it generally is. You may then commence dogmatic theology (*osul-addin*) and the fundamentals of jurisprudence (*osul al-fikh*), after which you may proceed to dialectics (*djedel*), and from that to the Traditions and the sciences connected with them.' He disapproves of teaching two sciences simultaneously, unless the pupil be remarkably intelligent.

(1) The life of Abu Bakr Ibn al-Arabi will be found in the third volume of this work.

Such are the counsels of the kadi, and I acknowledge that the plan laid down by him is excellent; but settled custom, that influential element in the human character, renders it inadmissible. In taking the Koran for the basis of education, people are actuated by the desire of meriting the divine favour, as, by this means, they protect youth against its own follies and preserve it from that levity of mind which not only ruins the knowledge already obtained or interrupts its acquisition, but would also prevent the young Muslim from learning the Koran. Indeed, whilst under the guardianship of his family, he may be retained in habitual submission, but, when the age of puberty delivers him from control, the storms of passion may soon cast him away on the coast of folly. They therefore take advantage of the time during which he is under command, to teach him the Koran, so that, at a later period, he may not be entirely ignorant of its contents. However, were it certain that the student would persevere in the pursuit of knowledge and submit to receive instruction, the system proposed by the kadi would be the best which the people of the East and the West could adopt; but God ordains what he pleaseth, and no change can be effected in His decisions."

To proceed from this first step so well described by Ibn Khaldun and follow the young Muslim in his path through the higher departments of study, we must have recourse to the biographical notices on their learned men. The life of Avicenna offers us a transitory glance at his early education, and therefore merits attention, but much fuller information will be obtained from the autobiography of Abd al-Latif. In this work, he gives us a perfect outline of his own studies under some of the most distinguished masters of the epoch. Were this treatise less known, I should have felt it indispensable to insert an extract from it here, but it has been rendered fully accessible by two editions, one in Arabic and Latin by Mousley, and the other in Arabic and French by de Sacy; the latter so admirably translated and commented that, were I to undertake a new version of it into English, I feel I should rest far—very far indeed—beneath that illustrious orientalist, my deeply venerated master.

Another contribution to the same stock of documents is furnished by Ibn Khaldun in his autobiography. He informs us that, having learned to read the Koran and got it off by heart, he read it again according to each of the

seven readings or editions, and then combined these various readings in a final repetition of the text. During this occupation he went over the Koran twenty-one times, and in a twenty-second repetition, he went over all the various readings. He finished by the lecture of the two editions, or systems of readings, taught by Yakub[1]. At this period, two other works occupied his attention : the Lamiya, a poem of Ibn Firro-as-Shatibi, on the readings of the Koran, and the Raiya, another poem by the same author on the orthography of that book[2]. He next studied the Takassi, a treatise composed by Ibn Abd al-Barr[3] on the Traditions cited in the Muwatta[4], and a great number of other works, such as the Tashil[5] of Ibn Malik and Ibn al-Hadjib's[6] abridgment of jurisprudence, but these last he did not get off by heart. During the same period he cultivated the art of grammar under the tuition of his father and of the first masters. He perused also the Six Poets[7], the Hamasa, the poems of Abu Tammam[8], part of al-Mutanabbi's[9] poetical works, and some of the pieces preserved in the Kitab al-Aghani[10]. Under Shams ed din al-Kisai, chief traditionist of Tunis, he perused Muslim's collection of Traditions and received a general licence (ijaza). In law he studied the abridgment of the Mudawwana[11] composed by Abu Said al-Baradai, and the exposition of the doctrines held by the sect of Malik. He followed, besides, a general course of law and learned Malik's Muwatta ; certificates were also obtained by him authorizing him to teach that book, the Sirat ar-Rasul[12], the treatise of Ibn Salah on the Traditions, and many other works. He obtained access to the library of Abd-al-Muhaimin al-Hadrami, chief traditionist and grammarian of Morocco, who had accompanied to the city of Tunis Abu'l-Hasan, the sovereign of that empire, in the quality of

(1) He means Yakub Ibn Ishak al-Hadrami, one of the great readers. His life is given by Ibn Khallikan. (2) See page 499 of this volume. By the Lamiya, Ibn Khaldun means to designate Ibn Firro's Hirz al-Amani. (3) In a subsequent volume will be found the life of Ibn Abdel-Barr. (4) See page 549, note 12 of this volume. (5) This is a treatise on grammar by Ibn Malik, the author of the Alfiya, who died A. H. 672 (A.D.1273-4). See M. de Sacy's Anthologie Grammaticale, pages 203, 215 and Fluegel's Hajji Khalifa, tom. II. page 290. (6) See page 193 of this volume. (7) The six poets are Amro'l-Kais, Nabigha, Alkama, Zohair, Tarafa, and Antara. See page 10 of my preface to the Diwan d'Amro'l-Kais. (8) See Vol. i. page 348. (9) See Vol. i. page 102. (10) See Vol. II. page 249.

(11) See Vol. II. page 86. (12) Vol. II. page 128.

Secretary of State. This collection of books consisted of more than three thousand volumes on the Traditions, law, grammar, philology, the intellectual sciences, general literature, and poetry ; these manuscripts were all of the highest correctness and their authenticity was guaranteed by certificates annexed to them. Under another master he studied logic, dogmatic theology, jurisprudence, and all the intellectual and philosophical sciences. Whilst pursuing his studies, he followed the public lectures at Tunis, and attended the assemblies held by the first doctors and professors of the place. He finally devoted three years to study under a shaikh called Abu Abd Allah al-Abbali " and then," says he, " I felt that I knew something." Ibn Khaldun terminated his studies in the twentieth or twenty-first year of his age*.

* This notice was just terminated, when a large manuscript, containing the biography of the doctor and historian Ahmed Ibn Ali Ibn Hajar al-Askalani, by the hafiz Shams ad-din Muhammad as-Sakhawi, fell into the writer's hands. A chapter of this work is devoted to the history of Ibn Hajar's youth, travels, studies, etc. ; but it is drawn up in such a manner that to make an analysis of it would be a very difficult task. We find however that he began by learning the Koran by heart, and proceeded to the study of the Traditions and jurisprudence ; following, in fact, the same system which has been already indicated in the introduction of our first volume.

S. KHUDA BUKHSH.

AL-BIRUNI'S "INDIA."

(For the earlier portions of this article, see *Islamic Culture* for January 1927, pp. 31-35, and for April 1927, pp. 223-230.)

THE Hindu system believed in the existence of a certain number of spiritual beings above mankind. These are sometimes referred to by Al-Biruni as "Angels," but the Muslim or Christian conception of Angels is entirely different from that of these spiritual beings. Al-Biruni complains that the Hindus themselves have no clear-cut ideas on the subject, which could be stated with scientific precision, and their enumeration is often vague and inconsistent. The Sankhya and the Gita do not agree in describing them, and the popular view of the majority of Hindus is again different from what may be gathered from any one of their books.

According to the popular view the hierarchy of spiritual beings is headed by the Devas, a word which Al-Biruni translates by "Angels," but which may more correctly be translated as "gods." He notes that the Zoroastrian hostile attitude towards the Indian religion of Buddhism produced a curious result. The Persians gave the name of Deva to their devils, while "Deva" in India meant the highest class of spiritual beings[1]. The fact is undoubted, but modern philology explains it in a different way. The distinction goes back to the days of the Rig Veda and the Avesta. In the Rig Veda the gods are the Devas and (at least in the later hymns) the demons are the Asuras. In the Avesta the Devas are the demons, the powers of evil, while God has the name of Ahura Mazda, "Ahura" being the Iranian form of the Vedic "Asura." It would seem that Hinduism is directly descended through the Rig Veda from the oldest form of Aryan worship, while Zoroastrianism was a revolt from an old religion, whose gods it converted into demons while it preached a monotheism alien to the earliest Aryan faith[2].

1. A.I. S., I. 91.
2. Cambridge History of India I. 76.

The Devas are supposed to live in the North, which points to the Himalayas as the sacred land of Hinduism. Next after the Devas come the Daityas, who live in the South. They oppose the Hindu religion and persecute the cow. Although they are so closely related to the Devas, there is constant fighting between them. In the courts of the Devas are their musicians and singers who are called Gandharvas. The female musicians are called Apsarasas. The Yakshas are the treasurers or guardians of the Devas. Below them come the Rakshasas or demons, of ugly and deformed shapes. After them come the Kinnaras, who had human shapes but horses' heads, being the contrary of the Greek Centaurs, who had human heads on the bodies of horses. The Archer among the signs of the Zodiac is a centaur according to Greek mythology. Then there are the Nagas, who have the shape of serpents. Lastly there are the demon sorcerers called Vidyadharas who exercise a kind of witchcraft but not with any permanent results[1]. From other lists we may also add the Pitras and Pishachas[2].

All these spiritual beings are supposed to belong to one category. They have attained their present stage of existence by action during the time they were human beings. They have left their bodies behind them, for bodies are weights which impair the power and shorten the duration of life. Their qualities and conditions are different. The Devas live in quietness and bliss, and their predominant faculty is the comprehension of an idea *without matter*, as the predominant faculty of the human mind is the comprehension of the idea *in matter*. The number of Devas is 33 crores, that is 330,000,000. They eat and drink, live and die, marry and give in marriage, and live within matter, though in the most subtle and the most simple form of matter, which they have attained by action, not by knowledge[3]. The Pitras are the deceased ancestors of human beings.

If a Brahman attains the degree of a Rishi he is halfway to the position of a Deva, and is called a Brahmarshi ; if a Kshatriya attains to that degree, he is called a Rajarshi. It is not possible for castes lower than these to attain the degree of a Rishi. The Rishis, though human beings, excel the " Angels " on account of their knowledge.

1. A.I. S., I. 91.
2. A.I. S., I. 89.
3. A.I. S., I. 93.

The " Angels " come to learn from them, and there is none above them except Brahman or the abstract idea of godhead. Brahman or Prajapati is the First Cause of all creation and is identical with Nature as an active creative force. Nature, in so far as it has reached the end of its action and is striving to preserve that which has been produced, is called Narayana, which is the second creative force. Nature, in the last stages of activity, when its power slackens, giving rise to destruction and annihilation, is the third force, and is called Mahadeva or Shankara or Rudra. This is the account which Al-Biruni gives of the Hindu Trinity, in which we may recognise the characteristics of the modern names Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva. In Al-Biruni's description " Vishnu " is the name given to the final unity or substance which unites the three distinct characters of their Trinity[1].

The description of the four classical castes follows the classical models in the Hindu text-books, but is accompanied by some interesting comments. The castes, he says, are Varnas, or colours, from the point of view of race as evidenced by the fair or dark skin ; or Jatakas or births, from the point of view of genealogical descent. The pervading influence of caste ideas in Hindu institutions is noted. Al-Biruni adds : " We Muslims of course stand entirely on the other side of the question, considering all men as equal, except in piety ; and this is the greatest obstacle which prevents any approach or understanding between Hindus and Muslims[2]."

The parallelism in the position of Brahmans and Kshatriyas on the one hand and the Vaishyas and Shudras on the other hand seems to have been more marked in Al-Biruni's time than it is now. Vaishyas and Shudras in his day, though they differed from each other, lived together in the same towns and villages, and were even mixed up in the same houses and lodgings[3].

Outside the castes were the menials, who performed the various kinds of services and were known by their professions. There were eight classes of them, who freely intermarried with each other, except the fuller, the shoemaker, and the weaver, with whom the others had no relations whatever. Al-Biruni classes them as Trade Guilds. Besides the three already mentioned, he names

1. A.I. S., I. 93.
2. A.I. S., I. 100.
3. A.I. S., I. 101.

the jugglers, the basket and shield makers, the boatmen, the fishermen, and the hunters of wild animals and birds. They had to live outside the villages and towns. Below these outcaste menials of the guilds were a still more degraded class : they did the dirty work. They were supposed to be the offspring of illegitimate unions between members of different castes. The names of four of their divisions are mentioned : the Hāris, the Doms, the Chandāls, and the Badhataus. The Doms still exist as a tribe of vagrant gipsies, and the Chandals are still known as a tribe of sweepers. Probably all the four mentioned by Al-Biruni were representatives of aboriginal races, who were lumped together in one class. The profession of the Doms is expressly mentioned as that of playing on the lute and singing. The Badhataus were the lowest of all ; they ate the bodies of dead animals, including those of dogs and other creatures whose flesh is ordinarily considered abominable[1].

The sources of religious law were the Rishis or sages, not the gods, who only came in human form to destroy some evil. No law could be changed or replaced. For the Hindus used the laws simply as they found them. At the same time Al-Biruni was told that many things which were forbidden in his time were allowable in earlier ages, for example, the eating of beef, or the celebration of certain kinds of marriage, or certain modes of imputing legitimate descent. In this matter Al-Biruni was referring to numerous customs like that of Niyoga, which he considered essentially foul, and which in his view brought out by contrast the superiority of the institutions of Islam[2].

The chapter on idol worship begins with a philosophical explanation of how the vulgar mind is deeply affected by visible emblems in worship. He observed that Hindu students of philosophy and theology and those who were seeking the path to liberation were free from the worship of anything but God and did not acknowledge an image manufactured to represent Him. The idol of Multan, called Aditya, was dedicated to the Sun. It was made of wood and covered with red Cordovan leather. Its two eyes were formed of two red rubies. When Muhammad Ibn Qasim conquered Multan, he left the idol where it was, as it was the cause of Multan's trade and pros-

1. A.I. S., I. 102.
2. A.I. S., I. 110.

perity. It was when the Karmatian sect usurped power and captured Multan that the idol was broken to pieces and its priests were put to death. "The Blessed Prince Mahmud" (of Ghazna), says Al-Biruni, "swept away the rule of these fanatical sectarians, who had oppressed the territory of Multan for nearly a century. At Thaneshar was a life-size bronze idol of the "Lord of the Chakra," evidently an image of Vishnu, which was taken off to Ghazna. The idol at Somnath was a Linga of Shiva, which was also taken off to Ghazna. In the interior of Kashmir about two or three days' journey from the capital, was a wooden idol called Sharda which was much venerated and visited by pilgrims. There were many and strict technical rules about the construction of idols, some of which are quoted from Varahamihira[1].

In describing the literature of the Hindus, the first pride of place is naturally accorded to the Vedas. Al-Biruni treats the Vedas as a whole as one unit and calls it the Veda, although he mentions that it is divided into four parts and gives their names. The Brahmans recited it without understanding its meaning, and they learnt it by rote in the same way, by oral transmission. There were only a few who learnt its meaning and still fewer who mastered its contents and its interpretation sufficiently to hold a discussion. The Brahmans taught the Veda to the Kshatriyas. The Kshatriyas could not teach it,—even to a Brahman. The Vaishyas and the Shudras were not allowed to hear it, much less to recite it. If one of these lower castes could be proved to have offended against this law, he was dragged by the Brahmans before the magistrate, and his tongue was cut out. It was not permissible to commit the Veda to writing, as the correct chanting of it required certain modulations which could not be represented in writing. They were metrical compositions, which reminded Al-Biruni of the free and primitive metre of Rajaz in Arabic poetry[2].

While the Vedas have a divine origin, the Puranas are of human origin and were composed by Rishis. There are eighteen Puranas, called after the names of animals, gods or planets, and Al-Biruni gives two separate tentative lists of them, although he admits that he had only seen portions of the Matsya, the Aditya and the Vayu Puranas[3].

1. A.I. S., I. 117.
2. A.I. S., I. 127.
3. A.I. S., I. 130.

The Smritis were derived from the Vedas, and dealt with all manner of subjects, including law, religion, ascetic practices, the search after liberation, the methods of science, and the various branches of science as known to the Hindus. Of these sciences Al-Biruni confesses the limitation of his knowledge, as he was a foreigner and the Hindus were very exclusive[1].

The Epic of the Mahabharat was held in such high veneration that everything which occurred in other books was supposed to be found in this book, but not everything which is found in this book was necessarily to be found in other books. It consisted of one hundred thousand Shlokas and was divided into eighteen parts, each of them being called a Parvan. These Parvans are named by Al-Biruni, with a brief indication of their contents. He also refers to the Hari-Vamsha, which forms a sort of sequel[2]. The text of the Mahabharat as known to him was not precisely the same that we have now. There were important differences, but the Epic had substantially taken the shape that it has now. And we have independent evidence of this from a contemporary Kashmir poet Kshemendra, who has left us an abstract[3].

The science of grammar (Vyakrana) was held in high esteem. It not only gave the laws of correct speech but also etymological rules and the principles of rhetoric. As most of the Hindu books were in verse, the science of Metrics was of the highest importance. As knowledge was mostly disseminated orally, most of their sciences were contained in metrical treatises. Most Hindus, says Al-Biruni, are passionately fond of their verses and always desirous of reciting them, even if they do not understand the meaning of the words, and the audience will snap their fingers in token of joy and applause. They do not want prose compositions, although it is much easier to understand them, —and, Al-Biruni might have added, prose is more suited for the accurate handling of scientific subjects. The metre most in use was the Shloka. Al-Biruni employed himself in its exercise with a view to its employment in his translation of Euclid and the Almagest from Arabic. He was also dictating, he notes, a treatise on the construction of the Astrolabe, "being simply guided herein by the desire of spreading science."

1. A.I. S., I. 132.
2. A.I. S., I. 133.
3. See A. A. Macdonell's History of Sanskrit Literature (1905), p. 290. Compare also Monier William's Indian Epic Poetry, p. 91.

Presumably this was also to be in Shlokas, as the Indians had an inveterate desire to render everything into the metrical form, with a constrained and affected style. As the whole scheme of grammar and versification in India was entirely different from that of Arabic, Al-Biruni's attempts at mastering them can only be called heroic. He confesses to his own imperfection, although he makes a valiant attempt to describe them according to his lights[1].

With the science of astronomy he was more at home. He justly observes that " if a science or an idea has once conquered the whole world, every nation appropriates part of it." He found that the Hindus had used the work of other nations, and as most of their religious affairs were connected with the stars and with astrology, all knowledge regarding the stars was most popular. Our author gives a short account of the contents of some of their famous astronomical and astrological works. Medicine was also considered to belong to the same class of sciences as astronomy. The standard book on medicine was one by Charaka, to which Al-Biruni does not devote much space, as it had already been translated into Arabic for the Barmecide Princes. Al-Biruni wished that he could have translated the Pancha-Tantra, already known in Arabic as " Kalila wa Dimna." He found the Persian and Arabic translations of this work very inaccurate, and some of them consciously misleading. But Al-Biruni was too busy with this enquiry into the sciences to devote much time to a book of fables[2].

Al-Biruni took much pains to understand the system of weights and measures and distances in India, and to determine accurately their relation to the Arabic system. He found however no uniformity of usage in different provinces in India or in dealing with different kinds of commodities. He notes that most of the older books considered the circumference of the circle to be three times the diameter, but that in later times the Hindus had become aware of the fractional mistake in this estimate of what is now known in mathematics by the Greek symbol Π[3].

For writing materials very little use was made of hides and skins. In Southern India they used the leaves of the Tar palm. Oblong pieces of these leaves were prepared

1. A.I. S., I. 137-151.
2. A.I. S., I. 159.
3. A.I. S., I. 168.

and written on, and then bound together by a cord passing through a hole in the middle of each leaf. In Central and Northern India they used the bark of a kind of birch, which was called Bhurja. A piece of the length of a yard and the width of the outstretched fingers of the hand was first oiled and polished so as to make it hard and smooth. It was then written on and the leaves numbered. The book was wrapped up in a piece of cloth and fastened between two tablets of the same size. Such a book, he notes, was called a Pothi. Apparently neither papyrus (qirtas of Egypt) nor paper, the invention of China, was yet used in India, although these handy materials were spread all over the Muslim world[1].

The Hindu alphabet consisted of 50 letters, evolved by a gradual process of development. This large number of letters was explained by Al-Biruni as due to two causes. First the A sound (treated as a consonant) was shown with all the long and short vowels combined, each combination being treated as a separate letter by way of a paradigm. Secondly there are many sounds in Sanskrit not found together in other languages, though they may be found scattered through different languages,—sounds of such a nature as to be unpronounceable by Arab tongues and indistinguishable by Arab ears as to the shades between similar letters. Hindu writing was from left to right, although (what was unknown to Al-Biruni) it had once been from right to left[2], as the Sanskritic alphabets themselves were derived from ancient Semitic alphabets which were the parents of most of the known alphabets proper. There were many varieties of the Indian alphabet. The one most in current use was the one called Siddhamatrika, which was used in Kashmir, Benares, and the Madhya-desha, the Middle Country round Kanauj, which was specially known as the Arya-varta. This seems to have been the standard Sanskrit alphabet. In Malwa they used an alphabet called Nagara, which differed little from the first-mentioned alphabet, and which may be considered as the representative of modern Nagari. There was also an Ardha-nagari alphabet, used in

1. A.I. S., I. 171.

2. The Kharoshthi Alphabet, in which Asoka's inscriptions in the North-West Frontier are written, read from right to left, but the Brahmi which was cognate to it, and in which Asoka's other inscriptions are written, read from left to right. See E. Hultzch, Inscriptions of Asoka (1925) pp. 10-11.

Bhatiya[1] and some parts of Sindh. Eight other alphabets are also mentioned by name : some of them must have been Aryan alphabets derived with slight modification from the standard Sanskrit alphabet, while others were undoubtedly Dravidian. The numerals were represented by separate signs, and not by letters of the alphabet. They also varied in shape in different systems, like the letters of the alphabet. Al-Biruni recognises that Arabic numerals were derived from the finest forms of Hindu numerals. He was very much interested in the universality of the decimal system among all the nations known to him, and had written a separate treatise on the subject. He admired the comprehensive nomenclature of the Hindus as regards figures higher than a thousand, for example, Laksha (lakh), Prayuta (ten lakhs), Koti (crore), with ten more orders of higher numerals to follow[2].

A number of curious customs are described by Al-Biruni from his own personal observations, which seemed to him so monstrous as to be a sign of " the innate perversity of Hindu nature." He is frank enough, however, to admit that the Hindus themselves were proud of the difference and claimed to be "something better than we." He also reminds himself that he " must not reproach the Hindus only with their heathen practices, for the heathen Arabs too, committed crimes and obscenities.....Islam has abolished them in these parts of India " which have accepted Islam[3]. Witchcraft or Magic which produces a delusion and makes things appear to the senses as different from the reality, was of course of gross deception and had nothing whatever to do with science. Al-Biruni considered alchemy to be a sort of witchcraft or magic, though he saw that the force behind its vogue was greed rather than want of intelligence. For, he says, we find many intelligent people are entirely given to alchemy while ignorant people ridicule the art and its adepts. A sage was once asked why scholars always flocked to the doors of the rich, while the rich were not so ready to call at the doors of the scholars. " Ah ! " he answered, " the scholars are well aware of the use of money, but the rich are ignorant of the nobility of science." The ignorant therefore, according to our

1. A strong fort in Sindh, between Multan and Alor, captured by Mahmud of Ghazna. See Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, ed. S.M. Sastri (Calcutta, 1924), p. 294.
2. A.I. S., I. 175.
3. A.I. S., I. 186.

philosopher, deserve no credit for abstaining from alchemy, as their abstention is not the result of experimental knowledge but only of innate ignorance and stupidity[1].

While Al-Biruni was not able to learn very much about the methods of Hindu alchemy, he found a considerable body of literature in India on the allied science of Rasayana. It had mainly to do with the preparation of drugs and compound mixtures derived from the vegetable kingdom. It claimed not only to restore health, but, says Al-Biruni sarcastically, to make the old as young as eighteen, to make white hair black again, and to prolong life indefinitely. A famous professor of this art was one Nagarjuna who lived near Somnath a century before our traveller. Many tales are told of the deceptions practised in the name of this art. The Hindus had also a firm belief in charms and incantations, and their use against snake bite was a superstition as wide-spread in India then as it is now[2].

When Al-Biruni treats of the concrete facts about India he gives his information under three heads : (1) what he had seen himself ; (2) what he had gathered from enquiries from credible witnesses ; and (3) what was written in Hindu books. The first we may accept absolutely, subject only to the allowances that have to be made for the personal limitations of Al-Biruni himself. The second is interesting testimony, but it is not direct evidence, and has to be tested by comparison and corroboration. The third is usually fantastic and superstitious, the " absurd science, absurd geography and absurd history " which called forth the withering contempt of Macaulay when he pleaded for the construction of a system of modern education for India, based on a study of the English language. Of the physical features of the country, its rivers, its sea-coast, its itineraries and distances, and other geographical facts, I have already given details in another place[3], and I shall not repeat them on the present occasion. I have also there discussed the practical life-scheme of the Brahmans, their rites and sacrifices, the relative position of the other castes, the pilgrimages and sacred places, and many of the other social institutions of the Hindus as they worked in actual practice.

1. A.I. S., I. 188.
2. A.I. S., I. 194.
3. An address given to the Punjab Historical Society on Feb. 25th 1925, not yet printed.

Although astronomy, chronology, and mathematics occupy a good deal of space in Al-Biruni, they are technical subjects and need not detain us very long here. He regretted that the Hindus of his day had given up the scientific attitude of their ancestors, who learnt freely from the Greeks, and reasoned acutely about what they learnt. In his day there was practically no direct observation, and everything depended upon tradition and authority. Science was further handicapped and the scientific spirit practically suppressed by the subordination of science to religion. " The Hindus " he says, " are devoid of training in astronomy, and have no correct astronomical notions. In consequence they believe that the earth is at rest, more particularly as they, when describing the bliss of paradise as something like worldly happiness, make the earth the dwelling-place of the different classes of gods, angels, etc., to whom they attribute locomotion and the direction from the upper worlds to the lower[1]." Although their astronomers knew better, their Puranas spoke of one pole only, and the common belief postulated only the dome of heaven above without a corresponding dome below. The Hindus wrote about stars and spoke vaguely about them, but Al-Biruni was not able to find a single Hindu able to point out to him with his finger individual stars so that he could identify them with the names which he knew from Greek and Arab astronomy[2]. The astronomers were acquainted with the fact that the earth was round, but the Puranas spoke of it as flat and evolved a fanciful geography of a central mountain (Mount Meru) and seven concentric seas and continents. The astronomers had not the courage to contradict the popular traditions. Thus the vulgar and the scientific theories became intermingled in their books, and authors who made no independent scientific research mixed up various inconsistent notions[3]. The followers of Arya Bhatta maintained that the earth moved and heaven was at rest, but this was attacked by Brahmagupta and other authorities. The diurnal motion of the earth round its axis was a subject of dispute among astronomers long before the acceptance of the Copernican system. On this subject Arya Bhatta was sounder than the majority of Hindu astronomers, and Al-Biruni himself, though admitting

1. A.I. S., I. 221.
2. A.I. S., I. 242.
3. A.I. S., I. 265.

that the solution of the question was difficult, sides with the majority[1].

In their divisions of time the Hindus had many refinements and subtle distinctions, but on account of a want of the historical or chronolgical sense, it was very difficult to fix any dates or eras or the beginning or end of the numerous periods of time which they reckoned. They piled on figure upon figure to get imaginary years. For example, the three Yugas already past, in the world's chronology, had nine thousand Dibya years or 3,240,000 human years[2]. A Golden Age was postulated in primeval times, when men lived with each other in harmony and love, without hatred or envy. Afterwards the hearts of men were hardened, and their natures altered. With moral evil came physical disease. And so the evil went on until the last and worst age was reached, the fourth Yuga, called the Kali Yuga, the present age, the age of universal wickedness and sin. In this age Shudras are to be kings, and the laws of Brahmans are to be abolished. Frugality, poverty, and the worship of Vishnu are to be despised, and universal wickedness is to prevail. The end of this final Yuga is to see the birth of a Being of irresistible force, who is to draw his sword and clear the wicked off the face of the earth. Then will come again the Golden Age ; and the cycle of four Yugas be repeated for ever[3].

In all the mass of confused Hindu chronology, Al-Biruni, in order to take a standard for comparison and fix up some of the dates and eras used in Indian reckoning, adopted the 400th year of the Persian era of Yazdejerd, as it had a figure of even hundreds and corresponded roughly with the decease of Mahmud Ghaznavi, "the pattern of a prince, the lion of the world, the wonder of his time[4]." Of this Persian year the New Year's Day fell only twelve days before the corresponding Hindu New Year's Day, and the death of Mahmud occurred precisely ten complete Persian months before it. This standard date, the New Year of the 400th of Yazdejerd, would correspond with Thursday, the 25th February 1031 of the Christian era, and the 28th Safar, 422 of the Hijra. Compared with this standard date, the date of

1. A.I. S., I. 277.
2. A.I. S., I. 374.
3. A.I. S., I. 382.
4. A.I. S., II. 2.

Rama would work out to be 18,148,132 years before it[1].

The Hindu year being solar and the months being lunar, an additional month called the Adhimasa was added periodically according to certain rules to bring up the calendar to the solar reckoning. The different methods and formulæ by which the number of days are counted in a number of years solar or lunar or in a number of cycles of different kinds of years are fully explained and discussed. The cycles of the planets lead to a discussion of the order of the planets, and their distances and sizes, as well as to a discussion of some of the constellations. Here again the popular notions are compared and contrasted with the theories of their astronomers, which did not form a consistent or unanimous whole. The 27 lunar mansions or stations of the moon were of great importance in the practical astronomy of the Hindus, as they affected the casting of horoscopes, the calculation of calendars, and many of the rites and ceremonies of practical life. As regards actually fixing them by the observation of the fixed stars, he found the Hindus very ill-informed. He says : " I never came across any one of them who knew the single stars of the lunar stations from eyesight, and was able to point them out to me with his fingers. I have taken the greatest pains to investigate this subject, and to settle most of it by all sorts of comparisons, and have recorded the results of my research in a treatise "On the Determination of the Lunar Stations[2]." The heliacal rising and setting of the stars was connected with various omens and superstitions, which were however put together into an elaborate pseudo-scientific system[3].

The ebb and flow of the ocean were explained in a curious way. As the rivers perpetually flow into the ocean, they postulated a fire called Samvartaka which from time to time drank up the water of the ocean[4]. Thus there is a constant addition from the rivers and a constant depletion from the fire. Another idea was that when the fire drew breath the sea was blown up by the wind and caused the flow of the tide, whilst when the fire exhaled breath and the sea ceased to be blown up by the wind, there was ebb-tide[5]. Against this must be set out a more fanciful explanation, that Indra, the ruler of the

1. A.I. S., II. 4.
2. A.I. S., II. 83.
3. A.I. S., II. 90-100.
4. A.I. S., II. 101.
5. A.I. S., II. 104.

heavens, took up the ocean in the shape of a cloud, and sent it down as rain, thus causing a diminution and an increase, which balanced each other. This would certainly account for a constant quantity of water in the ocean, but not for the daily or monthly tides[1]. In fact the educated Hindus knew by observation that the daily phases of the tides were determined by the rising and setting of the moon, and the monthly phases by the increase and waning of the moon, but the physical causes of these phenomena were not clearly understood by them[2].

On the subject of the solar and lunar eclipses, the Hindu astronomers knew perfectly well that the moon was eclipsed by the shadow of the earth and the sun by the shadow of the moon. It was on that basis that they made their calculations for their almanacs and astronomical handbooks, and yet they humoured the popular idea of a dragon lying in wait for these luminaries and trying to swallow them up. Brahmagupta, who was certainly one of the most distinguished of their astronomers, yet lent himself to the imposture that the sun was lower than the moon in the heavens and that a Head was required to bite the sun in order to produce its eclipse. Al-Biruni apostrophises him in the following words: " If people must under circumstances give up opposing the religious codes (as seems to be your case), then why do you order people to be pious if you forget to be so yourself? Why do you, after having spoken such words, then begin to calculate the diameter of the moon in order to explain her eclipsing the sun, and the diameter of the shadow of the earth in order to explain its eclipsing the moon? Why do you compute both eclipses in agreement with the theory of those heretics, and not according to the views of those with whom you think it proper to agree[3]? " Al-Biruni quotes a number of other absurd notions, which he would forgive more easily if they were due to ignorance and not to an unworthy desire to play with their scientific conscience and pander to popular or theological ignorance.

The discussion of the different kinds of cycles which have or have not their peculiar Dominance leads us into the regions of astrology, to which we shall not follow our

1. A.I. S., II. 102.
2. A.I. S., II. 105.
3. A.I. S., II. 111.

author. The same remarks apply to the sixty years' cycles of Jupiter*.

The extraordinarily minute attention which the Hindus devoted to divisions of time, and the meticulous care with which they calculated the lunar days (*tithis*) and the two halves of the lunar days (*karanas*) as distinguished from the two natural divisions of a solar day which are ordinarily called day and night, show the extent to which astrology had taken possession of Hindu life. To the several karanas were ascribed various kinds of dominance, and elaborate rules were laid down showing what must be done and what not done in each karana, and what were the rules for calculating the lucky and unlucky days and hours and even moments for given acts. Al-Biruni had not a prophet's vision and could not in his day foresee the extent to which the Muslims in India in subsequent centuries would adopt and even improve upon Hindu superstitions, until in the life of the later Mughal Empire the degenerate Muslim nobles were caught up in an even more elaborate net-work of superstitions connected with lucky and unlucky moments, lucky and unlucky directions of travel, lucky and unlucky times and seasons for marriages and public ceremonies than were ever devised by the fertile ingenuity of the Brahmans whom Al-Biruni criticised.

Al-Biruni's picture of India's mind in his day is not only valuable for the historical insight which it affords us. It is even more valuable to us latter-day Muslims as a reproach and a criticism of what his unworthy successors in India have made of Islamic culture in the fourteenth century of the era of our Prophet.

* A.I.S. II. 115-129. It is curious that the fame of Al-Biruni himself among later Muslims rested on his supposed occult powers. The Chahar Maqala, of Ahmed b. Umar, b. Ali Nizami Arudi, written only a century after Al-Biruni, notices him only for his astrological feats of an incredible nature!

A. YUSUF ALI.

(*Concluded*).

BOOKS AND AUTHORS.

'SPIRITUALISM" AND ISLAM.

MUCH ridicule has been heaped on the apostles of modern psychical research, especially in that department of it which has come to be known in English as "Spiritualism," a term which has a very different connotation in other languages. Yet at first sight there would appear to be nothing ridiculous in the application of modern scientific methods to the verification and classification of psychic phenomena, and the attempt to demonstrate the truth or falsehood of the prevalent religious belief in a life after death. The strong objectors to this kind of investigation in the West fall into two main categories: convinced scientific materialists who regard the falsehood of the belief in a future state of existence as evident from existing scientific data, and devout Christians who regard it as an act of un-faith in the church's teachings almost as nefarious as the necromancy and black magic of the dark ages. In spite of ridicule and much opposition however, "Spiritualism" has been gaining ground; great scientists have avowed belief in it and even written books upon the subject—books which their materialistic colleagues choose to regard as due to mental aberration or the coming on the second childhood. It has attained almost to the status of a religious school of thought, and, since its tenets are based upon investigation instead of faith, it is interesting to see how they agree or conflict with the tenets of religion which is based on faith and postulates divine revelation. For this purpose we have taken up a very simple and clear exposition of the conclusions to be derived from psychical research so far as it has gone at present: "The New Revelation," by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle (The Psychic Book Shop, Abbey House, Victoria Street, London, S.W.). The author thus describes his original position:

"When I had finished my medical education in 1882, I found myself, like many young medical men, a convinced materialist as regards our personal destiny. I had never ceased to be an earnest theist, because it seemed to me that Napoleon's question to the atheistic professors on the

starry night as he voyaged to Egypt: "Who was it, gentlemen, who made these stars?" has never been answered..... I did not, of course, believe in an anthropomorphic God, but I believed then, as I believe now, in an intelligent Force behind all the operations of nature—a force so infinitely complex and great that my finite brain could get no further than its existence. Right and wrong I saw also as great obvious facts which needed no divine revelation. But when it came to a question of our little personalities surviving death, it seemed to me that the whole analogy of nature was against it. When the candle burns out the light disappears. When the electric call is shattered the current stops. When the body dissolves there is an end of the matter. This was my frame of mind when spiritual phenomena first came before my notice. I had always regarded the subject as the greatest nonsense upon earth, and I had read of the conviction of fraudulent mediums and wondered how any sane man could believe such things. I met some friends, however, who were interested in the matter, and I sat with them at some table-moving seances. We got connected messages. I am afraid the only result that they had on my mind was that I regarded those friends with some suspicion. They were long messages very often, spelled out by tilts, and it was quite impossible that they came by chance. Someone then was moving the table. I thought it was they. They probably thought that I did it." Sir Arthur goes on to describe his gradual change from a sceptic to an inquirer and from an inquirer to a believer. "I came across a book called *The Reminiscences of Judge Edmunds*" —"I was amazed to find what a number of great men—men whose names were to the fore in science—thoroughly believed that spirit was independent of matter and could survive it." "It is to be remembered that I was working without a medium, which is like an astronomer working without a telescope."—"When I heard some old fashioned critic saying that there was nothing to explain, and that it was all fraud, or that a conjuror was needed to show it up, I knew at least that that was all nonsense."—"I recognised that the testimony was so strong that no other religious movement in the world could put forward anything to compare with it"....."I seemed suddenly to see that this subject with which I had so long dallied was not merely a study of a force outside the rules of science, but that it was really something tremendous, a breaking down of the walls

between two worlds, a direct undeniable message from beyond, a call of hope and of guidance to the human race at the time of its deepest affliction. (This was written during the war). The objective side of it ceased to interest, for having made up one's mind that it was true there was an end of the matter. The religious side of it was clearly of infinitely greater importance. The telephone bell is in itself a very childish affair, but it may be the signal for a very vital message."

The author then describes at length what he considers that " vital message " or " new revelation " to be. He writes in terms of Christianity, naturally, having been born and bred in a Christian country and addressing an audience which has no knowledge of any other religion. But the essence of what he has to tell is of equal interest to Muslims, and will be more readily understood and accepted by Muslims, especially by those who have made a serious study of the Qurân. It is really nothing new except as regards phraseology and was perfectly familiar to the gnostic Christians of old, a remnant of whom found refuge from the church's persecution in Islam and perpetuated their ideas among the Sûfîs. There are only two specific references in the book to religions other than Christianity. The author mentions that among the books which influenced him in favour of Spiritualism was one by Monsieur Jacolliot, Chief Judge of the French Colony of Chandernagur in India, in which was described the series of experiments which the writer conducted with " native fakîrs " and how he " found among them every phenomenon of advanced European mediumship ; " and in an account of a " table seance," Sir Arthur gives the message of " Dorothy Poslethwaite " (a spirit) who stated that " she had been a Catholic and was still a Catholic, but had not fared better than the Protestants ; there were Buddhists and Mahommedans in her sphere, but all fared alike..... It was a place of light and laughter. She added that they had no rich or poor, and that the general conditions were far happier than on earth." Sir Arthur considers that the results of psychical research to date are sufficient to destroy the very foundation of materialism as a belief and, if accepted by Christians generally, to modify conventional Christianity deeply. His hope is that it will never form a new religion, but will prove a bond to bring the existing religions nearer together in fellowship. " These modifications (of Current Christianity) would," he explains, " be rather in the direction of

explanation and development than of contradiction. It would set right grave misunderstandings which have always offended the reason of every thoughtful man, but it would also confirm and make absolutely certain the fact of life after death, the base of all religion. It would confirm the unhappy results of sin, though it would show that those results are never absolutely permanent. It would confirm the existence of higher beings, whom we have called angels, and of an ever-ascending hierarchy above us, in which the Christ-spirit finds its place. "—In another book Sir Arthur Conan Doyle has used the term " the Cosmic Christ " familiar to the gnostics, in order to describe a being mentioned in messages from the departed. This Cosmic Christ of the gnostics has been shown to be one with حقيقة محمد *Haqiqat-i-Muhammad* in the Sûfî terminology, *i.e.*, the spiritual reality of all the Prophets—" culminating in heights of the infinite with which we associate the idea of all-power or of God. It would confirm the idea of heaven and of a temporary penal state which corresponds to purgatory rather than to hell. Thus this new revelation, on some of the most vital points, is *not* destructive of the old beliefs, and it should be hailed by really earnest men of all creeds as a most powerful ally rather than a dangerous devil-begotten enemy. On the other hand, let us turn to the points in which Christianity must be modified by this new revelation.... One can see no justice in a vicarious sacrifice, nor in the God who could be placated by such means.... Never was there any evidence of a fall. But if there were no fall, then what became of the atonement, of the redemption, of original sin, of a large part of Christian mystical philosophy.... Again too much seemed to be made of Christ's death.... It was his most wonderful and uncommon life, and not his death, which is the true centre of the Christian religion.

" Now let us look at the light which we get from the spirit guides upon this question of Christianity. Opinion is not absolutely uniform yonder any more than it is here." This is the weak point of the whole edifice, implying, as it must, fallibility in the spirit guides —" but reading a number of messages on this subject they amount to this. There are many higher spirits with our departed. They vary in degree. Call them ' angels, ' and you are in touch with old religious thought. High above all these is the greatest spirit of whom they have cognizance—not God, since God is so infinite that He is not within their ken—but one who is nearer to God and to that extent represents

God. This is the Christ-Spirit. His special care is the earth. He came down upon it at a time of great earthly depravity—a time when the world was almost as wicked as it is now, in order to give the people the lesson of an ideal life. Then he returned to his own high station, having left an example which is still occasionally followed. That is the story of Christ as spirits have described it. There is nothing here of atonement or redemption."

Students of the Qûrân will find much to interest them in the above. Sir Arthur goes on to develop the theory that Jesus of Nazareth was the greatest of spiritualistic "mediums." "When I read the New Testament with the knowledge which I have of spiritualism, I am left with a deep conviction that the teaching of Christ was in many most important respects lost by the early church, and has not come down to us"—Of course, since the gospels are narratives of Christ's life containing only a few of his Sayings, and the collections of his Sayings, gathered by the gnostics were denounced as apocryphal. If Jesus Christ is to be regarded as a "medium," obviously the words he uttered when under the divine "control," and not his life or death or personality would be of paramount importance to the human race. "All these allusions to a conquest over death have, as it seems to me, little meaning in the present Christian philosophy, whereas for those who have seen, however, dimly, through the veil, and touched, however, slightly, the outstretched hands beyond, death has indeed been conquered. When we read so many references to the phenomena with which we are familiar, the levitations, the tongues of fire, the rushing wind, the spiritual gifts, the working of wonders, we feel that the central fact of all, the continuity of life and the communication with the dead, was most certainly known. Our attention is arrested by such a saying as 'Here He worked no wonders because the people were wanting in faith.' Is this not absolutely in accordance with psychic law as we know it? Or when Christ, on being touched by the sick woman, said: 'Who has touched me? Much virtue has passed out of me.' Could he say more clearly what a healing medium would now say, save that he would use the word 'power' instead of 'virtue'? Or when we read the words 'Try the spirits whether they be of God,' is it not the very advice which would now be given to a novice approaching a *seance*.....For the rest, the list of gifts which St. Paul gives as being necessary for the Christian Disciple, is simply the list of

gifts of a very powerful medium, including prophecy, healing, causing miracles (or physical phenomena), clairvoyance and other powers (I Cornith. XII, 8, 11)."

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle is indignantly opposed to the orthodox idea of Hell—"this odious conception, so blasphemous in its view of the Creator," which he thinks "arose from the exaggerations of Oriental imagery." "Hell as a permanent place does not exist. But the idea of punishment, of purifying chastisement, in fact of Purgatory, is justified by the reports from the other side. Without such punishment there could be no justice in the Universe....The punishment is very certain and very serious, though in its less severe forms, it only consists in the fact that the grosser souls are in lower spheres with a knowledge that their own deeds have placed them there, but also with the hope that expiation and the help of those above them will educate them and bring them level with the others." In its more severe forms we are not told in this book what the punishment is like, but we seem to remember having read in another book by the same author "reports from the other side" of souls in still lower spheres without the hope of expiation in a state of utter torment and despair—a state horrible enough to justify, by way of warning, all the Oriental imagery that has been lavished on the thought of Hell, even though it be to be endured only "for a long while," and not "eternally" (alternative translations).

"The departed," says the author, "all agree that passing is usually both easy and painless, and followed by an enormous reaction of peace and ease. The individual finds himself in a spirit body, which is the exact counterpart of his old one, save that all disease, weakness or deformity has passed from it. This body is standing or floating beside the old body, and conscious both of it and of the surrounding people. At this moment the dead man is nearer to matter than he will ever be again, and hence it is that at that moment the greater part of those cases occur where, his thoughts having turned to someone in the distance, the spirit body went with the thoughts and was manifest to the person. Out of some 250 cases carefully examined by Mr. Gurney, 134 of such apparitions were actually at this moment of dissolution, when one could imagine that the new spirit body was possibly so material as to be more visible to a sympathetic human eye than it would later become...However, let us follow

the fortunes of the departing spirit. He is presently aware that there are others in the room besides those who were there in life and among those others, who seem to him as substantial as the living, there appear familiar faces, and he finds his hand grasped or his lips kissed by those whom he had loved and lost. Then, in their company, and with the help and guidance of some more radiant being who has stood by and waited for the newcomer, he drifts to his own surprise through all solid obstacles and out upon his new life. This a definite statement, and this is the story told by one after the other with a consistency which impels belief.....and now, before entering on his new life, the spirit has a period of sleep which varies in its length, sometimes hardly existing at all, at others extending for weeks or months. 'Raymond'—the son of Sir Oliver Lodge and subject of a famous book—said that his sleep lasted for six days. That was the period also in a case of which I had some personal evidence. Mr. Myers, on the other hand, said that he had a very prolonged period, of unconsciousness....Having wakened from this sleep, the spirit is weak, as the child is weak after earth birth. Soon, however, strength returns and the new life begins....The reports from the other world are all agreed as to the pleasant conditions of life in the beyond. They agree that like goes to like, that all who love or have interests in common are united, that life is full of interest and of occupation, and that they would by no means desire to return....All agree that the life beyond is for a limited period after which they pass on to yet other phases, but apparently there is more communication between these phases than there is between us and Spiritland. The lower cannot ascend, but the higher can descend at will. The life has a close analogy to that of this world at its best. It is pre-eminently a life of the mind as this is of the body. Preoccupations of food, money, lust, pain, etc., are of the body and are gone. Music, the Arts, intellectual and spiritual knowledge, and progress have increased. The people are clothed, as one would expect, since there is no reason why modesty should disappear with our new forms. These new forms are the absolute reproduction of the old ones at their best, the young growing up and the old reverting until all become normal. People live in communities, as one would expect if like attracts like, and the male spirit still finds his true mate though there is no sexuality in the grosser sense and no childbirth....language is no longer a bar, since thought

has become a medium of conversation....These, roughly speaking, are the lines of the life beyond in its simplest expression, for it is not all simple, and we catch glimpses of endless circles below, descending into gloom, and endless circles above, ascending into glory, all improving, all purposeful, all intensely alive. All are agreed that no religion on earth has any advantage over another, but that character and refinement are everything. At the same time, all are also in agreement that all religion which inculcates prayer, and an upward glance rather than eyes for ever on the level, is good."

We are, of course, reminded of the many passages in the Holy Qûrân which declare in unmistakable terms that true religion is a matter not of creed or ritual observance, but of conduct ; and especially of these two verses.

و قالوا لن يدخل الجنة الا من كان هودا او نصارى تلك امانيهم قل هاتوا برهانكم ان كنتم صادقين

بلى من اسلم وجهه لله وهو محسن فله اجره عند ربه ولا خوف عليهم ولا هم يحزنون

" They (*i.e.*, the Jews and Christians) say : None entereth Paradise except he be a Jew or a Christian. Such are their desires. Say : Bring your proof if ye are truthful.

" Nay, but whosoever surrendereth his purpose unto God while doing good (to men) surely his reward is with his Lord ; and there shall no fear come upon them neither shall they suffer grief."

We have quoted Sir Arthur Conan Doyle at some length, as the fairest way of presenting " the body of new doctrine " (as he calls it) in which he is so devout and zealous a believer. To Muslims most of it is not new doctrine, nor will even the points of trivial resemblance with the life on earth—as when Raymond, in Sir Oliver Lodge's report, declares that in the next world he has been provided with tobacco—astonish them or rouse their laughter ; for have we not read in the Qûrân :

وبشر الذين امنوا وعملوا الصالحات ان لهم جنات تجرى من تحتها الانهار كلما رزقوا منها من ثمرة رزقا قالوا هذا الذي رزقنا من قبل واتوا به متشابها ولهم فيها ازواج مطهرة وهم فيها خالدون

" And give to those who believe and do good works the tidings that for them are gardens underneath which rivers flow. Whenever they receive a fruit from out the fruits thereof they say : This is what we received before. And

it is given to them in resemblance. There for them are purified consorts. There shall they abide."

In Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's account we find, indeed, no mention of a Day of Judgment nor of some other points of the Qûrânic teaching regarding the life after death; but neither do we find here any hint of the nature of that life in the infinity of circles which, our author learns from his spirit informants, extend above and below the sphere in which reside those spirits who converse with Spiritualists. These spirits are not altogether of one opinion as to their position, or the position of the spirit world in which they dwell. Many of them honestly confess that their sphere of knowledge, though more vast than ours and different, is strictly limited. They say that they will shortly pass on to another state, of which they know as little as we know of theirs. Therefore from the standpoint of divine revelation this "new revelation" is not satisfying, though as corrective of materialism and of doubt concerning after-life it may well be said to have inestimable value. But when the author seems to wish that everyone should engage in psychical research, employ a medium and try to get into touch with the spirits of the dear departed, the believer in revealed religion will join issue with him on his own ground. For, if the Prophets, as he has shown in the case of our Lord Jesus (on whom be peace) are simply transcendent mediums; and if, as we gather from our reading on the subject, the relative virtue of a medium depends upon the rank in the spirit world of the "spirit control," and if, as we also gather, the worth of the "spirit control" can be judged from the message uttered by the human medium, then we can be perfectly certain that the spirit which controlled and inspired the Prophets to convey a truth which no one has been able to subvert, was of infinitely higher rank and wider knowledge than those spirits, most of them newly departed from this life with which the spiritualist gets in touch; therefore more able to impart a general view of the Divine Plan, and a much safer guide. Indeed, accepting all Sir Conan Doyle's premises, and applying his tests so far as we are able, we come to the conclusion, on the historical and traditional evidence, that the whole Qûrân-ush-Sharif is a "communication," or rather a long connected series of "communications," from the other world. The whole history of its revelation—the vision of Mount Hira, the change which came over the Holy Prophet when the divine words came to him, his asking to be covered up, the very

nature of the book itself which bears on every page the mark of such communications so much so that it is not a book at all in the sense of ordinary literary composition—points to this. A Muslim, urged to take up psychical research for his soul's guidance, might well ask why he should " barter that which is higher for that which is lower." At the same time it would be impossible for him to deride the activities of the Western Spiritualists or deny their conclusions so far as they go. To him it is no " new revelation " they are spelling out with such praiseworthy perseverance and such difficulty, but a partial confirmation of the old one :

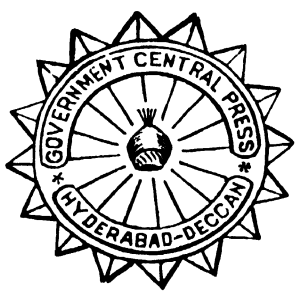
و لا تقولو لمن يقتل فى سبيل الله اموات بل احياء ولكن لا تشعرون و لنبلونكم بشئ من الخوف و الجوع و نقص من الاموال و الانفس و الثمرات و بشر الصابرين الذين اذا اصابتهم مصيبة قالو ان لله وانا اليه راجعون اولئك عليهم صلوات من ربهم و رحمته و اولئك هم المهتدون

" Say not of those who are slain in the way of Allah (that they are) dead, but living, only ye do not perceive.

" And verily we shall try you with something of fear and hunger and lack of wealth and men and provisions, but give glad tidings to the persevering.

" Those who, when calamity assails them, say : we are Allah's and unto Him we are returning.

" These are they on whom are blessings from their Lord and Mercy. These are the rightly guided."


GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS
HYDERABAD-DECCAN

ISLAMIC CULTURE

PRESS COMMENTS.

"It is a unique production of its kind."
TIMES OF MESOPOTAMIA.

"The journal is sure to breathe a new life into the lethargic Muslims." *ISLAMIC REVIEW.*

"A periodical of this kind in the English language has long been a great want. Islamic Culture will be a most important addition to Indian periodical literature." *THE INDIAN DAILY MAIL.*

"The journal is of a really high standard.....the get up is good, and the matter is excellent. Hyderabad may well be proud of this production." *THE INDIAN NATIONAL HERALD.*

"There is no dout that the journal will be occupying an honourable place in the list of periodicals which save humanity from stagnation. Not merely Muslims but everyone interested in human progress will find much food for study and thought."
THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE.

"This journal will do a great deal in bringing Islam into line with modern thought. It is tastefully got up. *THE HINDU.*

"The journal is undoubtedly a most precious addition to literature in general and to literature on Islam in particular. The Review is certainly a great enlightening and uplifting force and no educated man can afford to be without it." *THE LIGHT.*

"In general get-up and style the magazine is on a par with its British contemporaries, but the choice of subjects and the co-operation of brilliant Muslim and non-Muslim contributors, makes it the most interesting periodical published in India."
THE MUSLIM OUTLOOK.

"Islamic Culture is in every way up to date and can be compared with the first class magazines published in England, France and Germany. The magazine is unique of its kind."
THE MUSLIM CHRONICLE.

"Is excellently got up and well printed on high class paper. The organ presents the cultural and the enlightened side of the Islam and as such it should be welcomed not only by Muslims but also by men of other religions who wish to see a united India by allowing followers of each religion to study the best of other religions.
THE INDIAN DAILY TELEGRAPH.

"There is great need for such journals in order to dispel ignorance and misunderstanding and uphold the real significance and truth of every religion and culture. The magazine is very well printed on good paper." *THE RANGOON MAIL.*

"The magazine is a laudable attempt to present Islamic Culture in its proper perspective.... it is well got up and is quite readable." *SIND OBSERVER.*

"A noteworthy feature of this production is that it is well printed and carefully "read." *THE PIONEER.*

"Represents the best Islamic thought of the day. To the Muslims it will certainly be invaluable and even to the non-Muslims it may be useful in removing certain misconceptions about Islam." *UNITED INDIA AND INDIAN STATES.*

"Its printing, paper and get-up is excellent and leaves nothing to be desired." *THE ALIGARH MAIL.*

"The periodical bids fair to be a model one in the English language." *JAM-E-JAMSHED.*

"An invaluable guide to the acquisition of a true knowledge of Islamic Culture and civilization." *KHILAFAT DAILY.*

"A first noble effort to serve Islam." *RAHBER-I-DECCAN.*

THE PATNA TIMES.

Resplendent MUSLIM English Weekly

Editor.—M. H. Khan.

Commands a most influential circulation in Behar and Orissa, C.P. & U.P.

Do you want to take your own share in the building up of the Indian Nation? If you do, make it a point to study "The Patna Times." It will tell you how to be a Nationalist and yet not come in clash with your countrymen of the other community.

The Best Medium of Advertisement.

Will reach high and low alike.
Extremely Moderate Charges.

Thoroughly revised and remodelled.

Annual Subscription Rs. 5.
Sample copy sent free.

Please send your subscription to—
The Manager,
"The Patna Times,"
PATNA.

Islamic and Arabic Literature.

Manuscripts, Miniature Paintings, etc.

Write for our catalogues stating subject of interest.

LUZAC & CO.,

ORIENTAL BOOKSELLERS,

46, *Great Russel St., London W.C.I.*

opposite the British Museum.

To Let

THE REVIEW OF NATIONS

AN ORGAN FOR PAN-HUMANISM

AND SPIRITUAL FREEDOM

Twelve Numbers Per Year, each 160 pages
The Copy Five Swiss Francs or One Dollar

The Problems of Europe and Asia Expounded
World Famous Contributors.

Founder and Editor
FELIX VALYI

Annual Subscription Price :

£ 2. 0. 0., or 10 Dollars (50 Swiss Francs)

Send your Check *c/o* Banque de Paris
& des Pays Bas 6, Rue de Hollande,
Geneva, Switzerland.

THE REVIEW OF NATIONS PUBLISHING CO.,

117, RUE DE LAUSANNE, GENEVA,

SWITZERLAND

ISLAMIC CULTURE

THE HYDERABAD QUARTERLY REVIEW

PUBLISHED JANUARY, APRIL, JULY AND OCTOBER.

Scale of Advertisement Charges

Single Insertion.

	Rs.
Per ordinary page	.. 20
Per half page	.. 11
Per quarter page	.. 6
Second page of cover	.. 50
Third page of cover	.. 50
Fourth page of cover	.. 80

Annual insertions .....10 % Discount.

Annual Subscription: Inland Rs. 10, foreign £1-1s including registered postage. The price of single or specimen copy is Rs. 2-12-0.

Purchasers of specimen copies for the current year can become annual subscribers by paying Rs. 7-4-0 additional.

Subscribers are not registered for less than one year and the subscription in all cases must be paid in advance. Notices of change of address, should be sent before the date of issue.

Subscribers when communicating with this office will please mention their respective Subscriber Numbers. Intending subscribers are requested to send their subscription by M. O. as the V. P. P. causes delay and extra expense. All business communications to be addressed to the Manager.

Agents :—

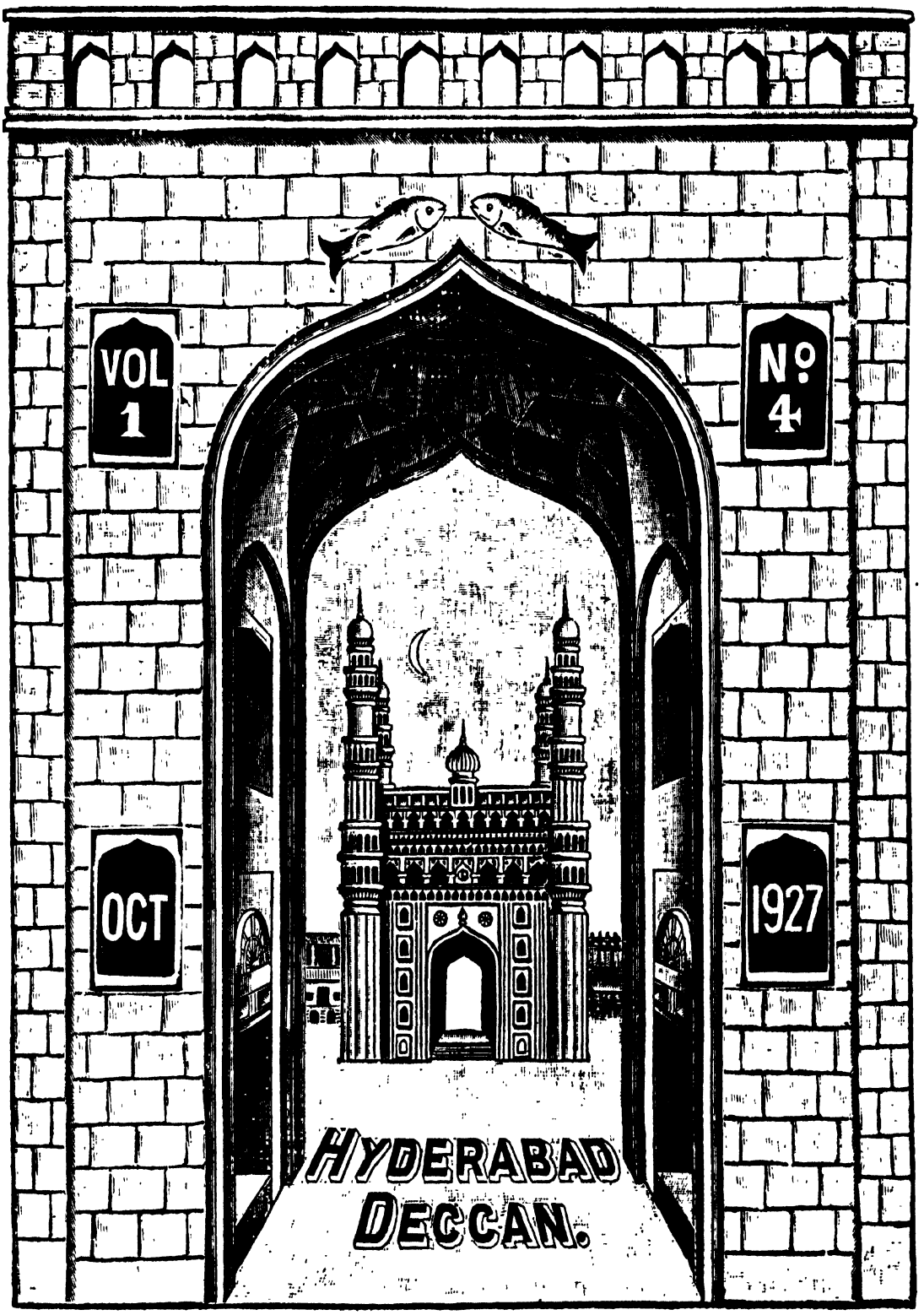
Great Britain ..PROBSTHAIN & Co., *41, Great Russell Street, London, W. C. I.*
LUZAC & Co., *46, Great Russell Street, London.*

France ..LIBRARIE ERNEST LEROUX, *28, Rue Bonaparte, Paris.*

Germany ..OTTO HARRASSOWITZ, *Leipzig.*

India ..D. B. TARAPOREVALA SONS & Co.,
THACKER & Co., *Ltd., Hornby Road, Bombay.*
THACKER, SPINK & Co., *Calcutta.*

Islamic Culture



ISLAMIC CULTURE

THE

HYDERABAD QUARTERLY REVIEW

Edited by

MARMADUKE PICKTHALL.

CONTENTS FOR OCTOBER.

		PAGES
I.	ISLAMIC CULTURE UNDER THE MOGULS BY THE RT. HON'BLE SYED AMEER ALI, P.C., C.I.E. ..	499
II.	WIT AND HUMOUR IN ARABIC AUTHORS BY PROFESSOR MARGOLIOUTH (*of Oxford University*).	522
III.	THE EARLIEST BIOGRAPHIES OF THE PROPHET AND THEIR AUTHORS BY PROFESSOR JOSEF HOROVITZ (*of Frankfort University*).	535
IV.	PHYSIOLOGY AND MEDICINE UNDER THE KHALIFS BY HARUN MUSTAFA LEON, M.A., LL.D., D.SC., M.D.	560
V.	IBN KHALDUN AND HIS HISTORY OF ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION BY S. KHUDA BUKHSH, M.A., B.C.L., BAR.-AT-LAW.	567
VI.	JAMI AND HIS AUTOGRAPHS BY M. MAHFUZUL HAQ, M.A.	608
VII.	THE REALMS OF GOLD—A STUDY OF MOGHUL INFLUENCES BY CAPTAIN W. E. GLADSTONE SOLOMON.	617
VIII.	THE OLD PERSIAN LITERATURE AND THE MUSSALMANS BY PROFESSOR HIDAYAT HOSAIN.	623
IX.	ISLAM AND PARSIS BY G. K. NARIMAN.	682
X.	SUFISM AND ISLAM BY S. M. RAHMAN, B.A., LL.B.	640
	BOOKS AND AUTHORS.	
XI.	ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE BY G. D. HORNBLOWER, O.B.E.	645

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

MSS. sent to the Editor will receive careful consideration. Business communications should be addressed to the Manager, ISLAMIC CULTURE, Civil Service House, Hyderabad Deccan.

Notice

It has been brought to our notice that articles from "Islamic Culture" have been pirated wholesale by some Indian periodicals. The law of copyright exists in India and whenever such a case occurs in future we shall take proceedings to protect our legal rights.—Ed. "I. C."

ISLAMIC CULTURE UNDER THE MOGULS.

THE accession of the Mogul dynasty to the Empire of India marked a new epoch in the history of Islamic culture.

Zahîr-ud-din Mohammed Bâbar, the Lion King, was one of the most remarkable personalities of that age, prolific in great men. He began his career at the age of twelve, fighting for kingdoms and losing them. At the age of 37 he acquired Cabul of which he and his successors retained possession until the time of Nâdir.

His contemporaries in England were Henry VII and Henry VIII; in France Charles VIII and Louis XII and Francis I; in Germany the Emperors Maximilian and Charles V; and in Spain Ferdinand and the fanatical Isabella.

His "Memoirs" record the story of his life with a simplicity and vividness of description that has few equals in the life-accounts of monarchs. An English writer describes him as a great general and a profound politician! He was an accomplished scholar and versed in Arabic, Persian and Hindi; a curious and exact observer of the statistical phenomena of every region he entered—he does not fail to record every detail that comes within his purview. He is described as good-humoured, brave, munificent, sagacious and frank in his character.

"The great charm of the work" adds this critic to whom I have referred "is in the character of the author, whom we find, after all the trials of a long life, retaining the same kind and affectionate heart, and the same easy and sociable temper with which he set out in his career, and in whom the possession of power and grandeur had neither blunted the delicacy of his taste nor diminished his sensibility of the enjoyment of nature and imagination."

Bâbar was born in 1482 and died in 1530. He entered India in November 1525 and in less than six months, by the overthrow of Ibrahim Lodi, the Afghan King of Delhi,

was master of Hindustan. The plain of Panipat has been three times the field of contest for the Empire of India. On the first occasion the defeat of Prithvi Raja by the Ghorian King decided the fate of the Indian continent and established Musulman rule. The second was Bâbar's decisive victory over Ibrahim Lodi. The third was still more momentous ; the total débâcle of the proud Mahratta host which had issued for the conquest of North India and its crushing defeat by the Musulman army in 1742 paved the way for the establishment of British power.

The five years of Bâbar's reign were occupied in conquering the turbulent elements in the country and restoring order ; yet, in spite of incessant labour and frequent marches in pursuit of rebels and enemies, he was busy with the creation of aqueducts, reservoirs, and other improvements, and the introduction of new fruits and products from foreign lands. In the midst of his unceasing activities he did not neglect literature : himself an accomplished writer and poet in two languages—Turkish and Persian—he cultivated the society of cultured scholars. He appears to have compiled a work on Hanafi jurisprudence which was commented upon by Sheikh Zaini. The historian Khondemir, the author of the *Hafil-us-Siyar*, visited him in Agra and has left an appreciative account of his reception by the Lion King. Abdul Kâdir Badâuni gives an account of the men of learning who flourished in his time (*Zaman-i-u*). The foremost among them were Shaikh Zaini who translated Bâbar's Memoirs from Turkish into Persian ; Moulâna Bakâi, a scholar and a poet ; and Moulâna Shahâb-ud-Dîn Muammai, a gifted scholar and rationalist. We learn from Bâbar's Memoirs that affairs of State were discussed and decided at meetings of the Council (Divân) which seems to have been regularly held.

Bâbar was extremely severe in repressing any excesses on the part of his soldiery. He says himself that having learned that the troops had behaved badly towards the inhabitants of Bahrah, and were " using them ill " he sent out a party who seized a few of the culprits " that had been guilty of excesses;" some were executed, others received condign punishments.

Artillery does not seem to have been in use in India before Bâbar's time. Matchlocks and flintlocks had been employed by the Mameluke Sultan Baibars surnamed *Bandukdar* to crush the Mongols, but there is no verified record of their being used for purposes of warfare by Indian

armies. In the time of Firoze, fire is spoken of as being employed on both sides in military operations. As fireworks were known in India from early times, probably the "fire" mentioned by the historians of Firoze was either naphtha used by means of tubes or the *hawai* which are to be seen even nowadays on occasions of Indian festivities, and which can be used by dexterous hands to deadly purpose. In all probability, the *burkandaz* "the lightning thrower" who in modern times became the humble policeman or orderly, was employed in this work.

The use Bâbar made of his artillery in fighting with the Indian armies marked an epoch in the history of warfare in that country.

Bâbar describes in his Memoirs the four Musulman kingdoms into which Upper India had broken up after the death of Firoze, and the Bahmani kingdom in the Deccan which had become enfeebled and disintegrated in course of time. He also speaks of the two Hindu States which exercised independent powers, *viz.*, Chittore and Bijainagar. Of the custom of the succession prevailing in the kingdom of Bengal, which was then ruled by a king of the name of Nasrat Shah, he gives an interesting description.

Although he had conquered India he was not particularly fond of the land and he was full of all the prejudices of a Westerner. The following description is interesting :

> "Hindustan is a country" he says "that has few pleasures to recommend it. The people are not handsome. They have no idea of the charms of friendly society, of frankly mixing together, or of familiar intercourse. They have no genius, no comprehension of mind, no politeness of manner, no kindness or fellow-feeling, no ingenuity or mechanical invention, in planning or executing their handicraft works, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture : they have no good horses, no good flesh, no grapes or muskmelons, no good fruits, no ice or cold water, no good food or bread in their bazars, no baths or colleges, no candles, no torches, not a candlestick. Instead of a candle and torch, you have a gang of dirty fellows whom they call *deutis* who hold in their left hand a kind of small tripod, to the side of one leg of which, it being wooden, they stick a piece of iron like the top of a candlestick ; they fasten a pliant wick of the size of the middle finger, by an iron pin, to another of the legs. In their right hand they hold a gourd, in which they have made a hole for the purpose of pouring out oil in a small stream

and whenever the wick requires oil, they supply it from this gourd. Their great men kept a hundred or two hundred of these *deutis*. This is the way in which they supply the want of candles and candlesticks. If their emperors or chief nobility, at any time, have occasion for a light by night, these *deutis* bring in their lamp which they carry up to their master, and there stand holding it close by his side."

This sweeping condemnation is a generalisation to which expression has been given by many Englishmen. But I fear in both cases it is due to superficial knowledge. Bâbar, though a keen observer and a sympathetic ruler, had little time to cultivate intimate social relations with the people of the country. He wrote his impressions of his new acquisitions without an opportunity of correcting them by longer acquaintance. That his statement regarding the material condition of the country is not altogether correct abundantly appears from the Travels of Abdur-Razak, who visited Southern India in the course of a mission sent to the East by Sultan Abu Sa'îd, the Khakan-us-Sa'îd, grandson of Shah Bukh Mirza the son of Tamerlane, and from the description which has been left by an envoy of Akbar, Bâbar's grandson, to the Court of Bijapur in the Deccan.

At the same time, much of the charge made by Bâbar is well-founded. I myself have seen in my early years in the mofussil districts, in the houses of Hindu Rajas and magnates, the "dirty deutis" employed to fulfil the purpose of lamps and candles on festive occasions.

Bâbar's condemnation of India reminds one of the passage in Shaikh 'Alî Hazin's Memoirs, in which he deplores the necessity of his having to spend so many years of his life in Hindustan. Flying from the Afghans, he had taken refuge in India and yet he could not bear it. He deplores the fate which had condemned him to spend his old age in the uncongenial climate of Hindustan.

Bâbar died before he had completed his work. His successor Humâyûn did not possess either his military genius or administrative capacity. An amiable and kind-hearted king, he was unable to cope with the turbulent elements of the country, and before long had to leave Hindustan to a new Afghan chief of the tribe of Sûr, who, under the title of Shêr Shâh, united afresh his unruly fellow-countrymen and in 1542 made himself the ruler of Northern India. Shêr Shâh and his sons held power for nearly 15 years.

Shêr Shâh's principal reforms were directed to the revival of the rules initiated originally by Firoze for the protection of the agriculturists. The land throughout the country was divided into fiscal units, in each of which he placed five officials, one of whom was a Hindu accountant and another a Musulman judicial officer. These two acted as the mediators between the revenue officials and the ryots. The system of assessment was simplified, and the new taxes that had grown up since the death of Firoze were abolished. Save in frontier districts and jungle tracts, people were not allowed to keep or carry offensive weapons. He caused a highroad to be made from the easternmost districts of Bengal to the Punjab, planted on each side with shady trees, mostly mango or tamarind. This road was regularly patrolled and was provided with police outposts and serais at regular intervals. This road is still in existence. He made three other roads for travellers and merchants as well as the rapid transit of troops; one from Agra to Burhanpur in the Deccan, the other across Rajputana, and the third from Lahore to Multan.

He is said to have been well read in Persian literature and Islamic theology, and men of learning were welcomed to his Court. Shaikh Abdul Kâdir Badâuni refers to his benefactions and the chronicler who wrote the history of Shêr Shâh's times warmly eulogises his patronage of learned and religious men.

Humâyûn, hard pressed in India by his Afghan foes and prevented from entering Cabul by his traitorous brothers, betook himself to Persia. Shâh Tahmâsp the Great was at that time the ruler of Irân and the magnificence and culture of his Court was a revelation to the son of Bâbar. Badâuni says whilst in Persia Humâyûn adopted the Shiah doctrines. This is contradicted by other writers; at any rate on his return from Persia to Cabul five years later he was not only accompanied by a large Persian force to help in regaining his Afghan dominions, but also by a number of men of learning who followed him to India. From that time there was a constant influx of Persian scholars, Persian architects, and Persian adventurers into Hindustan. Persian culture from this reign had a far greater influence in moulding Indian Musulman civilisation than at any previous period of Indian history. And the comparison of that influence with British work within the last century and a half forms an interesting historical study.

The eclectic culture which grew up under Akbar has attracted the attention of many scholars, both in Europe and in India. The latest work on the subject is from the pen of a learned Musulman writer, Moulvi Mohammed Hosain Azâd, and is called the *Darbar-i-Akbari.* It contains a clear and concise account of Akbar's Court, of the learned men whom he had collected round him and of his regulations for the well-being of his people. Of course the best record of his achievements in peace and war is contained in the eloquent pages of his official history written by his friend and councillor, Abul Fazl, in the compilation of Shaikh Abdul Kâdir Badâuni, by no means an appreciative narrator of Akbar's ideals, and in the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* of Nizâm-ud-dîn Ahmed, one of Akbar's officials.

Akbar ascended the throne in 1556 at the age of fourteen under the guardianship of Bahram Khan, a trusted servant of Bâbar. Three years later he assumed the direct rule of his empire. From that time forward the marvellous genius of the young king was employed in suppressing rebellions, consolidating the disintegrated Provinces, evolving order out of chaos, and in creating a nation out of the heterogeneous elements of Hindustan. His attempt to weld together the Hindus and Mohammedans led to the establishment of a new cult which was hoped to bring into one fold the followers of the two faiths.

His rules and regulations for the government are embodied in the remarkable work called the *Ayeen-Akbari* the " Institutes, " or rather " The Ordinances of Akbar. " No detail of administration has escaped notice, while the revenue system, based on Khwâja Ahmed Hasan Maimandi's and Firoze Shah's system,is Akbar's greatest legacy to succeeding rulers—a legacy on which the British Government is still working. The *Ayeen-Akbari* like the *Akbar-nama,* is the work of Abul Fazl, unquestionably the most gifted and far-sighted of all Akbar's councillors. Badâuni, in his jealousy of a successful rival and in his intolerant hatred against the liberalism of a true statesman, has bitterly attacked Abul Fazl. But the fame of this philosopher and patriotic statesman grows greater with the lapse of time and the character of the help that he gave his sovereign is beginning to be really appreciated. Akbar was a genius, but probably his labours for the people confided to his care would have ended in failure but for the support and unflinching loyalty of a man like Abul Fazl and his brother Faizi.

Nothing shows so clearly Akbar's anxiety for the welfare of the peasantry or the necessity of making their burdens as light as possible as the minute instructions embodied in the *Ayeen-Akbari* for the guidance of the collectors of revenue. The village officials of the present day are the titular descendants of the officials of Akbar's time; the *Kanungo* and the *Patwari* still perform the same duties; they still prepare the *Jummabandis* (the Collector's registers), the *Jummawasil-bakis* (the balance-sheets of the village collections); the rate of rent is still the *Sharh*, the standard of land measurements is still the *gaz* and the advance to the *raiyats* is still the *takawi*, the old Arabic word handed down from the Abbaside rule in Mesopotamia.

The influence of the revenue system of Akbar was not confined to the realm under his direct sovereignty: it reached lands so far distant as the Carnatic.

For the purpose of philosophical and religious discussions, at which he was almost invariably present, Akbar erected a special building which was named the *ibadat-Khaneh* or "The House of Devotion," where learned men versed in all departments of knowledge, theologians, scientists, poets, travellers, assembled regularly on Thursday evenings. Although Islâm has no State clergy nor priesthood, the doctors of divinity who appropriated to themselves the title of *'Ulama* came to be recognised by the public as the sole representatives of the true human knowledge and infallible propounders of religious and secular law. Under the Afghans their prestige was unbounded; the tyrant 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Khilji tried to limit their powers and frequently put aside their counsel by the remark "religious law is one thing, political expediency another." But whilst they stood between the tyrant and the people and often tempered the harshness of the rude soldier by quotations from the Koran, in their intolerant dogmatism they refused to liberalise their interpretations or to bring them into conformity with the times. As in Europe, they were the persecuting enemies of non-conformity. Until Akbar broke their power by exiling the most fanatical to distant parts of his empire, they monopolised all judicial offices; *Muftis*, *Kazis* and *Mir-Adls* were selected from their body and they were the keepers of the conscience of the people.

Akbar soon found from the disputations that they were unsafe guides, that they were not such infallible expounders of the sacred law as they claimed to be. Under the Afghan

rule the *Mujtahids* (the expounders) were all-powerful and insisted on the literal enforcement of the law, a good and beneficent rule at the time, but needing modification and relaxation in view of changes in social conditions or the growth of new political, social and economic conditions. Akbar found it impossible to deal with his dominions on the narrow lines laid down by them. He accordingly in 1579 issued a manifesto which curiously was signed by all the leading *Mujtahids* and *Kazis*, including the *Sadr-us-Sudur* and the *Sadr-i-Jahan* (the Chief Justice and Lord Chancellor respectively). It constituted him the arbitrator on disputed legal questions.

Badâuni has preserved a copy of this remarkable and interesting document, which is as follows :

> " Whereas Hindustan has now become the centre of security and peace and the land of justice and beneficence, a large number of people, especially learned men and lawyers have immigrated and chosen this country for their home. Now we, the principal *Ulama*, who are not only well-versed in the several departments of the law and in the principles of jurisprudence and well acquainted with the edicts which rest on reason or testimony but are also known for our piety and honest intentions, have duly considered the deep meaning first of the verse of the Qoran " Obey God—and obey the prophet and those who have authority among you " and secondly of the genuine tradition " Surely the man who is dearest to God on the day of judgment is the Imâm-i-A'dil ; Whosoever obeys the Amir, obeys Me, and whosoever rebels against him, rebels against Me, " and thirdly of several other proofs based on reasoning or testimony ; and we have agreed that the rank of a Sultan-i-'Adil (a just ruler) is higher in the eyes of God than the rank of a Mujtahid. Further we declare that the king of Islâm, Amîr of the Faithful, shadow of God in the world, Abul Fath Jalâluddîn Muhammad Akbar Padishah-i-ghâzi whose kingdom God perpetuate, is a most just, a most wise, and a most God-fearing king. Should therefore in future a religious question come up, regarding which the opinions of the Mujtahids are at variance, and His Majesty, in his penetrating understanding and clear wisdom, be inclined to adopt, for the benefit of the nation and as a political expedient, any of the conflicting opinions which exist on that point, and issue a decree to that effect, we do hereby agree that such a decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation.

"Further, we declare that, should His Majesty think fit to issue a new order, we and the nation shall likewise be bound by it, provided always that such an order be not only in accordance with some verse of the Qoran but also of real benefit for the nation; and further, that any opposition on the part of the subjects to such an order as passed by His Majesty, shall involve damnation in the world to come and loss of religion and property in this life.

"This document has been written with honest intentions for the glory of God, and the propagation of Islâm and is signed by us the principal *Ulama* and lawyers in the month of Rajab of the year 987 of the Hijra."

In spite of this, the Ulâmas were a thorn in his side and Akbar had to get rid of many of them in order to carry out his object of welding the Hindus and Mohammadans into one nation.

Shaikh Abdullah, who had been invested with the exalted office of Shaikh-ul-Islâm with the title of *Makhdumu'l-Mulk* in the time of Sher-Shâh, and had held it without interruption until the issue of the manifesto, was found to have trafficked in the grants of *Aima* land (lands granted free of revenue to learned and religious people for their support), and had amassed an enormous fortune, was immediately relieved of his duties. Others who, inflated with pride and intolerance, barred the road of progress and reform were exiled to Eastern Bengal, the Siberia of the Moguls, where their descendants are still to be found. In many cases the lapse of more than three centuries has effected little change in the hereditary characteristics.

Badâuni has not a good word to say of the work of Akbar. His prejudices blind him to the motives of that great ruler in initiating some of his greatest reforms. Hitherto the king was the servant of the *Shariat*, "The Sacred Law," under which was included not only the simple regulations of the Koran, but also those derived from the traditions of the Prophet called forth by the necessities of the times, and the expositions of the legists. The propounders of the law ignored the dictum of the Prophet that every age has its own needs. Akbar in introducing his reforms kept in view the Prophet's own saying and the pronouncements of the most enlightened *Mujtahids* of earlier days. Among the administrative regulations of Akbar may be mentioned the abolition of

the pilgrim-tax and the capitation-tax on non-Moslems, the prohibition of the burning of widows among the Hindus; of reducing to slavery captives taken in war, of the shooting of monkeys or dogs, and the sacrifice of horses.

In Akbar's time tobacco was first introduced into the Mogul capital. There is a quaint account of its introduction in the *Wikaya* of Asad Beg who was sent on a mission by Akbar to Adil Khan or 'Adil Shah of Bijapur:

"In Bijapur I had found some tobacco. Never having seen the like in India, I brought some with me, and prepared a handsome pipe of jewel work. The stem, the finest to be procured at Achin, was three cubits in length, beautifully dried and coloured, both ends being adorned with jewels and enamel. I happened to come across a very handsome mouthpiece of Yeman cornelian, oval shaped which I set to the stem; the whole was very handsome. There was also a golden burner for lighting it, as a proper accompaniment. 'Adil Khan had given me a betel bag, of very superior workmanship; this I filled with fine tobacco, such, that if one leaf be lit the whole will continue burning. I arranged all elegantly on a silver tray. I had a silver tube made to keep the stem in and that too was covered with purple velvet.

"His Majesty was enjoying himself after receiving my present, and asking me how I had collected so many strange things in so short a time, when his eyes fell upon the tray with the pipe and its appurtenances; he expressed great surprise, and examined the tobacco which was made up in pipefuls; he enquired what it was and where I had got it. The Nawab Khan-i-Azam replied: 'This is tobacco which is well known in Mecca and Medina and this doctor has brought it as a medicine for Your Majesty.' His Majesty looked at it and ordered me to prepare and take him a pipeful. He began to smoke it, when his physician approached and forbade him doing so. But His Majesty was graciously pleased to say that he must smoke a little to gratify me, and taking the mouthpiece into his sacred mouth drew two or three breaths. The physician was in great trouble, and would not let him do more. He took the pipe from his mouth and bid the Khan-i-Azam try it, who took two or three puffs. He then sent for his pharmacist and asked what were its peculiar qualities. He replied that there was no mention of it in his books but that it was a new invention and the stems were imported from China, and the European doctors had written much

in its praise. The chief physician said ' In fact this is an untried medicine, about which the doctors have written nothing. How can he describe to Your Majesty the qualities of such unknown things ? It is not fitting that your Majesty should try it. ' I said to the chief physician ' The Europeans are not so foolish as not to know all about it ; there are wise men among them who seldom err or commit mistakes. How can you, before you have tried a thing and found out all its qualities, pass a judgment on it that can be depended on by the physicians, kings, great men and nobles ? Things must be judged according to their good or bad qualities and the decision must be according to the facts of the case.' The physician replied ' We do not want to follow the Europeans and adopt a custom, which is not sanctioned by our own wise men, without trial. ' I said ' It is a strange thing, for every custom in the world has been new at one time or other ; from the days of Adam till now they have gradually been invented. When a new thing is introduced among a people and becomes well known in the world every one adopts it ; wise men and physicians should determine according to the good or bad qualities of a thing ; the good qualities may not appear at once. Thus the China root, not known anciently, has been newly discovered and is useful in many diseases. '

When the Emperor heard me dispute and reason with the physician he was astonished and being much pleased gave me his blessing and then said to Khan-i-Azam ' Did you hear how wisely Asad spoke ? Truly we must not reject a thing that has been adopted by the wise men of other nations merely because we cannot find it in our books ; or how shall we progress ?"

Akbar revived in his Court the institution of ladies ' Bazaars which flourished in Transoxiana. It was called the *Mina Bazaar*, or the Fancy Fair. In these bazaars beautiful stalls were set up for the royal ladies and the wives of nobles and magnates to sell fruits, flowers, embroideries worked by themselves, jewellery and such wares. These bazaars were naturally not open to the general public, but the Emperor, the princes of the royal family and privileged nobles were admitted. The wares, of course, were sold at fabulous prices and the return went to charity. At one of these fairs Jehângîr, who was then Prince Selîm, met Meherunnissa who afterwards became his consort with the title of Nûr Jehân, " the Light of the World."

Every work in Arabic, Persian, Sanscrit, and the languages of Europe was read to the Sovereign. If he did not understand the language, the work was translated for him. The *Singhasan Batisi*, the story of the legendary Hindu king, Vikramud-atya, was rendered into Persian by Badâuni himself and received the name of Kherad afroz. The Maha-Bharata, the Ramayana and other old Sanscrit works were similarly rendered into Persian.

Badâuni has given in his work a complete list of the lawyers, jurists, physicians, poets and musicians who flourished in this great king's reign. Than Sein and Gobind Das were the two most famous musicians of his time, and the bounties he bestowed on them give some idea of his munificence.

He built Fatehpur Sikri in the 14th year of his reign and there he held the famous conclaves of the learned which gave so much *éclat* to his rule.

Under him India witnessed two remarkable movements for both of which a parallel may be found in Europe. Akbar ascended the throne, as already mentioned, in the year 963 of the Hegira (1556 A. C.). As the close of the century began to draw near a large number of Indian Musulmans began to be agitated at the advent of the millennium at which the promised Deliverer, the Mahdi, was to appear with the Prophet Jesus to redeem the world from sorrows and pain. Several Mahdis, of course, appeared in response to the widespread hope which inspired the masses. They were generally men of virtuous lives and enthusiasts, but suffering from spiritual exaltation.

The Ulama treated them with the rigour which was meted out to heretics in Europe; many were executed and others driven out of the country. The persecution by the ecclesiastical judges of these poor enthusiasts was revolting to Akbar's liberalism and generous disposition and this was one of the main causes which led him to throw off the shackles which had fettered him so long.

The other movement was that of the Roushenia Cult. The Roushenias were the exact counterpart of the *Illuminati* of Europe.

The three great men who deserve prominent notice in Akbar's reign are Abul Fazl, the great Allâmi (the scholar, par excellence), his brother Faizi, and the Rajah Todarmull, the Finance Minister.

The great work Abul Fazl did to make Akbar's reign a success can never be overestimated nor can the value of Todarmull's revenue Administration be overlooked. Abul Fazl and Todarmull are justly regarded as two of the greatest statesmen of any age.

To Akbar, besides Fatehpur Sikri and other cities, we owe the establishment of Allahabad which Badâuni calls Ilahbas, not far from the ancient Hindu city of Pryag. The immense garden which his grandson Khusrû made there is still in existence.

The sketch of Islamic culture in Akbar's time would hardly be complete without some reference to his clever and accomplished aunt, Gulbadan Begum, the sister of Humâyûn, a translation of whose memoirs has been recently placed before the public by the industry of Mrs. Beveridge. Gulbadan Begum and Nawab Salîma Sultan Begum twice voyaged to Mecca, in those days—when the Indian Ocean. was infested by Portuguese pirates— an enterprise attended with extreme danger and difficulty.

Akbar died in 1605 and was succeeded by his son Selîm who assumed the title of Jehangîr. Jehangîr's character was a strange mixture of good and bad. A disobedient son who broke the heart of his mother, a Hindu Rajput lady, and drove her into an early grave, who twice rebelled against an indulgent and loving father, Jehangîr when he succeeds Akbar on the throne expresses unbounded admiration for his father's work, a touching devotion to his mother's memory. He took for his administration the ideal of his father's life. Cruel when in drink, he was generous and even mild when sober. He was a good judge of pictures and could distinguish the work of any that came before him.

His marriage with Nûr Jehân may be regarded as his salvation, for she weaned him from drink. He saw her first when she was a girl of 14 at one of the Fancy Bazaars held in Akbar's time, and it grew into love as he saw her from time to time when she came with her mother to visit the palace. Selîm's infatuation was brought to the notice of Akbar who advised Meherunnissa's father Khwâja Gyâs to marry her off as quickly as possible. She was accordingly married to an Afghan officer who went on duty to Bengal. The story of her husband's death forms a matter of charge against Jehangîr's memory, but one can hardly believe that he could have instigated it, as some historians mention, when we remember that for three years after Meherunnissa came to Delhi to take up her

residence in the palace, she was absolutely ignored by Jehangîr. It was the sight of her at one of the palace functions which revived the old love. At first she refused to marry Jehangîr but at last after great persuasion she consented. She received the title of Nûr Mahal or " Light of the Mahal "—a name which Thomas Moore has immortalised in one of his most beautiful poems " The Light of the Harem." Afterwards the title of Nûr Jahân was conferred on her and she is known in history under that name. This lady, though only a queen consort, exercised a far greater authority than the Emperor himself; the coins bore her name, the nobles attended regularly to make their obeisance to her, and she always appeared seated at the window of the palace when the Sovereign showed himself to his people. The regular appearance of the emperor in the morning at the window to show himself to the public was one of the duties imposed on him. Absence from the window generally awakened a fear that the king was no more. Nûr Jehân was indeed a remarkable woman. A Persian by birth, she not only spoke, but wrote in Persian fluently, she also spoke the vernacular which had grown up in India. The author of the *Ikbal nama-i-Jehangiri* describes in the following quaint language her ascendancy and influence :—

" Day by day her influence and dignity increased. First of all she received the title of Nûr Mahal " Light of the Harem " but was afterwards distinguished by that of Nûr Jahân Begam " Light of the World." All her relations and connexions were raised to honour and wealth. No grant of lands was conferred upon any woman except under her seal. In addition to giving her the titles that other kings bestow the Emperor granted Nûr Jahân the rights of sovereignty and government. Sometimes she would sit in the balcony of her palace, while the nobles would present themselves and listen to her dictates. Coin was struck in her name with this superscription " By order of the King Jahângîr, gold has a hundred splendours added to it by receiving the impression of the name of Nûr Jahân, the Queen Begam. " On all farmans also receiving the Imperial signature the name of " Nûr Jahân, the Queen Begam " was jointly attached. At last her authority reached such a pass that the king was such only in name "....." It is impossible to describe the beauty and wisdom of the Queen. In any matter that was presented to her, if a difficulty arose, she immediately solved it. Whoever threw himself upon her protection was preserved from tyranny and oppression;

and if ever she learnt that any orphan girl was destitute and friendless she would arrange a marriage for her, and give her a wedding portion. It is probable that during her reign no less than 500 orphan girls were thus married and portioned." In archery she excelled many practised archers and was a splendid shot; Jehângîr mentions in his memoirs that once out hunting with him she killed a tiger at the first shot.

The whole culture of India, as a whole, bears the mark of her genius. She and her mother invented that beautiful perfume, the Otto of Roses; she introduced the fashion of long trains (the *Peshwaz*) for ladies' dresses and the table decorations at banquets were the outcome of her extraordinary faculty. Her father, Khwâja Ghyâs, attained a very high rank under Jehângîr and now lies buried on the other side of the Jumna over which the filial devotion of a daughter has raised a splendid structure known to all travellers who have visited Delhi by the title Itimâd-ud-Dowla.

In Jehângîr's time flourished two of the most noted painters that India has produced, *viz.*, Abu'l Hasan, who bore the title of Nâdir-uz-Zamân and Mansûr, whose title was Nâdir-ul-'asr. In his *Wakiat* Jehângîr speaks in the highest terms of their talents. He also gives an enumeration of the rules he introduced in order to improve the administration. Some were undoubtedly new; others appear to be a re-enforcement of regulations made by Akbar. In the first place he prohibited all illegal cesses levied in any form or under any name by the officers of of the State or Jagirdars. He abolished all transit duties on merchandise coming from Câbul to Hindustan or going from one Province to another. He directed that the inheritance of Hindu as well as Musulman deceased persons should descend to their heirs according to their laws. In case no heir was forthcoming, officers specially appointed for the purpose were to take charge of the deceased's property and apply it in building mosques and *serais*, in repairing broken bridges, and in digging tanks and wells.

He prohibited all punishments on criminals by mutilation.

All forcible acquisitions of lands or any other property by Government officers was strictly prohibited. He ordered the erection of hospitals in all towns, at which physicians were to be employed at Government expense to attend the sick.

He also prohibited the public sale of intoxicants.

He set free all prisoners who had been in jail with or without trial for any length of time.

Another beneficent order deserves particular notice. From very early times it seems to have been the custom in Eastern Bengal, especially in the District of Sylhet, for the peasantry to make over their young sons after mutilation to their Raja's revenue collectors in payment of the Government dues. When Jehângîr extended his dominions to these districts he peremptorily forbade this savage custom under the severest penalties.

Nûr Jehân disappears from history on the accession to the throne in 1626 of the brilliant Prince Khurram the heir designate, who assumed the title of Shâh Jehân.

Musulman culture in India attained its zenith under Shâh Jehân. He had been brought up by Akbar's eldest wife, Rukaiya Begum, and since the fifth year of his age till Akbar's death he had been the companion and associate of his grandfather. He had imbibed all the high ideals of Akbar. Of a sterner mould than Jehângīr, immediately on his accession (1628) the Court assumed a more sober aspect than it wore under his more easy-going father. Himself by no means a mean scholar, lavish in his patronage of learning, he gathered round him a galaxy of poets, scientists, littérateurs, and Musulman divines. In his treatment of the Hindus he did not deliberately offend the prejudices of the Musulmans and tried to hold evenly the balance between them, with the result that the best hearts of the empire gave their devotion to him. The history of Shâh Jehân has been written by four contemporary writers ; we have in them a detailed account of the events of his reign. One of the most interesting among these is the work of a Hindu, Rai Bhare Mal, who held the post of *Diwan* under Dara Shekoh, the eldest son of Shâh Jehân. He thus describes the prosperity of the country during Shâh Jehân's reign.—" The means employed by the Emperor in these fortunate times to protect and nourish his people ; to punish all kinds of oppressive evildoers ; his knowledge of all subjects tending to the welfare of his people ; his impressing the same necessity upon the revenue functionaries and the appointment of honest and intelligent officers in every district ; his administration of the country, and calling for and examining annual statements of revenue, in order to ascertain what were the resources of the empire ; his issuing stringent orders to the officers appointed to the charge of the Crown and assigned

lands to promote the increase and welfare of the tenants .....and constantly diverting his generous attention towards the improvement of agriculture and the collection of the revenues of the State—all these contributed in a great measure to advance the prosperity of the Empire."

This writer goes on to add that, owing to the great solicitude evinced by the Emperor towards the promotion of the national weal and the general tranquility, the people had no motive " for committing offences against one another and breaking the public peace." Cases were always tried on the spot by the local authorities " in concurrence with the law officers." If any individual was dissatisfied with the decision he had a right of appeal to the Governor or the Dîwân (Chief Revenue-officer associated with the Subadar for the civil and revenue administration of the District) or to the *Kazi* of the Suba who reviewed the matter and gave judgment " with great care and discrimination." If parties were still not satisfied, they appealed to the Chief *Diwan* or to the Chief Kâzi on matters of law, and the cases were further enquired into. The Emperor's own Court was open every Wednesday for the hearing of plaints. But the chronicler says the Emperor often complained in his presence that in spite of all publicity not even twenty plaintiffs ever came forward to apply for adjudication of their cases by the Imperial tribunal. In his Court, the Emperor presided himself assisted by the *Sadr-i-Jehan, the Sadr-us-Sudur*, and a few other councillors.

Shâh Jehân abolished the ceremony of bending low to the ground which Akbar, in imitation of the Hindu kings, had introduced into his Court, and the usual mode of salutation by bowing was re-established accompanied by raising the hand not once, as was the rule in other Islamic countries, but three times in succession to the forehead.

The Hindustani language attained in this reign its full dignity ; it now received the name of *Zaban-i-Urdui-Mualla*, the " language of the Imperial Camp " (Court) or shortly *Urdu*. *Urdu* is the same word as horde, and means an army or camp. We all have heard of the " Golden Horde " which does not mean that it was a conglomeration of savage Cossacks, but the royal court of the Mongol sovereign.

Shâh Jehân's queen, who lies buried under the beautiful dome of the Taj at Agra, was one of the sweetest women of whom we have any record in Indian history. Her name

before marriage was Arjumand and she was a niece of Nûr Jehân. Prince Kharram had fallen in love with her at one of the Mina Bazars when they were only 16 and 14 respectively. They were betrothed shortly after, and Jehângîr had himself placed the ring on his future daughter-in-law's finger. (The betrothal ceremony is called *Mangni* among the Musulmans of India and is performed among the upper classes with considerable ostentation). They were married five years later when she received the title of " Mumtâz Mahal,"—"The exalted Lady." It was essentially a love marriage, so rarely known in the East. Mumtâz Mahal never left his side through all the vicissitudes Shâh Jehân went through in his father's lifetime, and his devotion to her was an inspiring feature in his character. With her exquisite beauty she combined an incomparable sweetness of nature and gentleness of disposition. She built and endowed several mosques, khânkâhs, colleges and alms-houses. Her charity was unlimited and both Musulmans and Hindus received her bounty. Poor girls and helpless orphans were the objects of her special benefaction. She provided dowries for poor people's daughters. Her charity made her name a household word in the Empire of Shâh Jehân, and Mumtâz Mahal was soon converted or corrupted into Tâj Mahal. And it is by this name that the beautiful mausoleum her bereaved husband raised over her grave is now known. To describe the Tâj is absolutely impossible; it symbolises the poetry of architecture and embodies in marble the undying love of a king.

All Shâh Jehân's children were born of Mumtâz Mehal—four sons and two daughters; of the latter, the eldest, Jehânâra, otherwise called Kudsiya the " venerated " Badshah Begum was a woman of great attainments. Her letter to Aurungzeb to recall him to the duty he owed to their father is a composition of rare merit. She failed. The rest is a matter of history. Aurungzeb, taking advantage of Shâh Jehân's illness, marched against his brother Dara Shakoh who had been nominated by Shâh Jehân as his successor, defeated him, deposed his father and seized the throne of Delhi (1165-7). Shâh Jehân's reign extended to thirty-two years. He lived ten years longer as a state prisoner of his unfilial and ungrateful son.

Ali Mardan Khan, flying from Persia, took refuge in the Court of Shâh Jehân and attained high distinctions. He built under Shâh Jehân's instructions the splendid Bazar at Cabul which was afterwards destroyed under

Lord Ellenborough's orders. He also constructed "a canal from the place where the river Ravi descends from the hills into the plains to conduct the water to Lahore" which brought into cultivation a large tract of country*.

Aurungzeb's reign was a distinct setback to Musulman culture. It meant the revival of all that Akbar and Shâh Jehân had endeavoured to remove. Musulman development flowed back into the old channels. The ultra orthodox historians have lauded his extreme piety, his religious zeal, his implicit obedience to the *Shari'at* (the sacred law), but they have omitted to notice that in fifty years he undid the work of a century; he re-imposed the capitation tax on Hindus, which alienated them from the throne, pulled down many of their temples, and completely estranged the Rajput Rajas, who since Akbar's time had been the great supporters of the Mogul dynasty. He was undoubtedly an able man, astute, clever and unscrupulous. His letters to his father are instructive and show the peculiarity of his nature. His letters to his sons and nobles are regarded as models of perfect style, and with the letters of Abu'l Fazl and Niamat Khan 'Aali, a courtier, satirist and wit of Shâh Jehân's, are still studied as models of a perfect style.

One of Aurungzeb's daughters, Zêb-un-nissa Begum, was an accomplished Persian and Arabic scholar. Her poetry has a pathos which it is impossible to get out of the mind. One couplet I can never forget:—

"I have experienced such cruelty and harshness in this land of Hind,

"I shall go and make myself a home in some other land."

With her assistance and under her directions several works on Musulman jurisprudence and traditions were translated from Arabic into Persian. She is said to have died at the early age of twenty-six.

Aurungzeb died in 1707 after a reign of fifty years. One of his last letters to his son Muazzam, who succeeded him on the throne after a struggle with his brothers, of which Aurungzeb had set the example, shows the mental sufferings of the old Emperor at the collapse of all his ambitions, and the remorse to which he was doomed. Muazzam, who assumed the title of Bahadur Shah, a

* Shâh Jehân built in Delhi the Jumma mosque (the Cathedral mosque), the Pearl mosque (a real architectural gem) the Dewân-i-Khas and the Dewân-i-Am, besides other buildings in the capital and elsewhere.

wise, generous and mild sovereign, tried to undo the harm his father's narrowness of vision had done to the empire but it was too late. Besides, his reign was too short. The balance of power which the Musulman States of the Deccan had maintained in Southern India was broken by the victories of Aurungzeb over the Deccan kings. Their destruction helped the rise of the Mahrattas—the "Huns of India." Aurungzeb must have felt in his last moments that it is easier to destroy than to build. The Mahratta marauders issued from their mountain fastnesses to plunder, pillage, and kill. After Bahadur Shah's death Indian history is a nightmare. Delhi, the ill-fated city, as it is called by the people, was sacked three times : in 1739 by Nâdir Shâh, a second time by the Mahrattas and a third time by the Afghans under Ahmed Shah Abdâli. Whatever of Musulman culture remained was transported to Lucknow, the seat of the Nawab Viziers of Oudh. Towards the close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth Islamic culture began to revive. The success of the British arms against the Mahrattas ensured peace and order in Northern India ; and when Lord Lake in 1802 drove out the freebooters from the capital and the Emperor formally delegated the imperial authority to the East India Company representing the British Crown, the Musulmans felt that a legitimate authority sufficiently strong to protect them in the enjoyment of their rights was in possession of the country and that it was held by the Viceroys of the Emperor. The early English officials showed themselves in sympathy with them, encouraged their literature, were proud to hold the titles granted by the Emperor* and did not disdain their Court ceremonies. Musulman learning, which had gone under the break-up of the Mogul Empire, began to revive. Historians, jurists, poets and other men of accomplishment made their appearance. This patronage of Musulman culture by British officials lasted until the time of Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General who saw no beauty in the Tāj and was with some difficulty dissuaded from pulling it down.

What the condition of Delhi was towards the close of the eighteenth century is best described by the poet *Sauda* who died at Lucknow in the reign of Asaf-ud-dowla. In his *Kasidai-Shahr-Ashob* he bewails the fate of this city,—

* For example, General (Charles) Burt bore the title of Itikâd-ud-Dowla Nâsir-ul-Mumâlik. I forget now the titles conferred on Clive and Lord Lake.

the home of culture, the abode of learning, the shelter of the poor. Apostrophising the city by the name which it bore after Shâh Jehân beautified it with those exquisite architectural works which still delight the eyes of the foreign traveller—"Shâh Jehânabâd"—"The city of Shâh Jehân"—he says.

" Jehânabâd never deserved this cruelty
"But perhaps sometimes this city was the heart of a lover,
"That the lover's image has been wiped out as false."

Sauda, Atish and several other writers and poets figure in Shuja-ud-Dowla's and Asaf-ud-Dowla's time. The Persian traveller, poet and philosopher Hazîn lived in Lucknow and enjoyed the hospitality of Asaf-ud-Dowla. We know something from English writers of this ruler's character and habits, but we learn more of his support of learning from Musulman authors.

The best history of Musulman India after Aurungzeb was written in Persian in Warren Hastings's time by Nawab Syed Ghulam Hosain Khan Taba-Tabai. He was a distinguished scholar and was held in high esteem by his English friends. He wrote also some poetry in the same language. The example, however, of Sauda gave a great impetus to the cultivation of Urdu, and thus, whilst historical and other literary works continued to be written in Persian, Urdu became the vehicle for poetical thought; Sauda's Urdu is more Persian than Urdu—often in one couplet alone you can barely find more than two or three pure Urdu words. His contemporary Atesh was less addicted to this pedantism; Zouk, who followed them, did great service to the Urdu language. In the 'fifties before the dark days of the Mutiny, Delhi also witnessed a great revival. The unfortunate Bahadur Shah II., who died in exile in Rangoon, was a learned man, retiring in his habits, and devoted to the company of scholars and poets. One of the most famous among them was Asad-ullah Khan surnamed *Ghalib* who enjoyed the respect equally of Hindus, Mahommedans and Christians.

In recent times there lived at Lucknow some noted poets and littérateurs—men whom it was both a pleasure and a profit to know—Dabîr, and the three gifted brothers whose poetical appellations were derived from a single root-word *Uns* or friendship. The two eldest were famous as Anîs and Monis. Two accomplished scholars who exercised great inflence on Musulman thought about this period were Moulana Moulvi Syed Kerâmat 'Alî al-Husaini

al-Jounpûri and Shams ul-'Ulama Moulvi Kabîr-ud-dîn Ahmed. The Syed was indeed a remarkable man. He left his home in Jounpur at the age of nineteen to study in Persia. He spent there some eighteen years, studying at various centres of Musulman learning, and meeting various eminent scholars and distinguished men in the course of his travels. He was a friend of Arthur Conolly, the well-known traveller, whose life he saved twice in Turkestan. He enjoyed the friendship of Amîr Dost Mohammad Khan of Câbul. Soon after his return to India, in 1838, he was made Mutwalli or Governor of the Mohsin Endowment at Hooghly, which office he held up to his death in 1876. His Sunday breakfasts brought together some noted Muslim scholars, with one or two English friends. Among these, Mr. Montriou, a well-known barrister, was the most intimate. Whatever knowledge of Arabian philosophy I possess I owe to my revered friend Syed Kerâmat Ali. Moulvi Kabîr-ud-dîn Ahmed is best remembered by his collaboration with Col. Nassau Lees in editing the old Musulman works on law and history.

In our own times Moulvi Zaka-allah has written a comprehensive history of India comprising the Hindu, Mahommedan and British periods. It is a work of great merit and written in a critical historical vein. Happily we have still living amongst us men whose names are honoured among all Musulmans as embodying the culture of Islâm; Moulvi Altâf Hosain Khan Hâli, Moulvi Mohammed Husain Azâd, the author of the *Durbari-i-Akbari*, Moulana Shibli,* my highly respected friend Shams-ul-'Ulama Maulâna 'Ali Mohammed Shâd, whose great merits were not long ago recognised by the Indian Government, are known to many English officials.

The poems of Maulâna Hâli still help to galvanise into some enthusiasm for the learning and culture of his forefathers, the Musulman youth whose blood has been chilled by Anglo-Mahommedan education.

Shiah divinity is still cultivated by learned scholars who inhabit the well-known quarter of Lucknow called *Feringhi Mahal;* whilst Deoband for years past has been the centre of Sunni theology.

No one to whom it has been vouchsafed to have a glimpse of the polished courtesy and dignified intercourse of the Musulman gentry of the old school, that have either

* Alas both Moulana Hâli and Maulana Shibli have died since the article was written.

passed away or are fast passing away, will ever fail to regard it as a privilege. To me it is a memory to cherish. The sight of those dignified men, with their courtly manners, sitting together conversing in well-modulated tones which never rose to a noise, on history, poetry, literature, and Musulman divinity, would be a revelation to many Western critics. Each man was attended, among other servitors, by his own *hukka-bardar ;* the reception of each guest as he arrived was dignified, in cases of intimate friends genial. As he took his seat, the *hukka-bardar* spread first the piece of brocade on which the *hukka* was placed, and bending on his knees handed to his master the gold and silver mouthpiece, with inimitable grace. The assembly, which often contained a sprinkling of young men of a serious turn of mind, with a long row of *hukkas* and their silver *chilams*, formed an agreeable sight.

Poetical assemblies were still held twenty years ago. But now debating clubs have taken their place. In the first half of the nineteenth century the *Mushairas*, as they were called, were often attended by one or two English officials who, with their knowledge of Persian and Urdu, were able to follow and appreciate the poems that were recited. The name of Mr. Douglas, who was Collector of Bankipore in the 'fifties, is remembered with respect.

The results of the change in Musulman culture within the last twenty-five or thirty years remains to be seen. But I cannot help regretting the passing of the old order. Had it been possible to engraft the best part of European culture on the remains of Islamic culture, the awakening of Musulman India would cause no misgiving. We can only watch anxiously the present development and trust that the hopes of helpers will be justified by the fruit borne by Anglo-Mahommedan culture.

AMEER ALI.

WIT AND HUMOUR IN ARABIC AUTHORS.

THE terms " Wit " and "Humour " are difficult to define and difficult to translate. Macaulay's definition of the former as " the power of perceiving analogies between things which appear to have nothing in common " is scarcely intelligible without illustrations, and, wealthy and subtle as is the Arabic language, we might search its vocabulary in vain for any phrase which would convey this idea. To most of us, however, both words suggest the power of raising a laugh, and it is doubtful whether any one has improved on the theory of Aristotle that what excites laughter is some feeling which is not associated with pain. And the nations to whom Arabic authors addressed themselves were no less anxious to be amused than others, and like others were amused by the incongruous.

The theory that this must not be associated with pain breaks down at times when we read of sayings and doings that occasioned extreme mirth. One such may be cited from a work by the great *raconteur*, Jahiz of Basrah[1].

One Ramadan relates as follows :—

I was in a boat with a shaikh from Ahwaz, who was in the bows, while I was in the stern. When it was lunchtime, he produced from a basket a couple of fowls, and commenced his meal without attending to me. There was no one in the boat but ourselves. Noticing that I glanced now at him, and now at his provisions, he guessed that I was expecting a share in the latter, and said to me : Why are you staring ? I am a dainty feeder, and am afraid you have the evil eye : so please divert your gaze. At this I jumped up, seized his beard with my left hand, and his chicken with my right, and hit him on the head with it till the chicken came to pieces in my hand. I then went back to my place. He proceeded to wipe his face and beard, and then said ; " Did not I tell you that you had the evil eye, and that it would do me some mischief ? " I asked him how the evil eye came in. He said " by the effect of the evil eye we mean some mischief that occurs, and your eye has brought the most serious mischief upon me. " I laughed more heartily at this than I had ever laughed before, and we proceeded to converse amicably, forgetting all that had preceded.

1 Livre des Avares, p. 161.

The incongruity in this case was clearly associated with pain.

One who is able to raise a laugh can easily find a market for his wares, and the profession of court-jester assumed various forms at the courts of the Moslem sovereigns. There was a humble type, called *maskharah*, of which we occasionally hear. One employed by the Seljuki Malik-shah was called Ja'farak. Among other performances he mimicked the famous vizier Nizam al-Mulk. The son of the vizier punished him barbarously for this, but thereby incurred the Sultan's vengeance[1].

A more honourable official was the sovereign's entertainer, the style of whose wit naturally varied with the sovereign's taste. It was improper for such a person to repeat a story which he had previously told; but if the sovereign told an old story, he was bound to pretend that he had never heard it before[2].

We find that not only princes and the like had their entertainers, but the same is recorded of some cities. One Ghadiri was the " amuser and entertainer " of the people of Medinah[3]; presently he was ousted by one Ash'ab. Both lived in the first century of Islam. Ash'ab is said to have possessed extraordinary command over his features and limbs, the shape of which he could alter at will[4].

An exhibition of his skill in this direction was what caused him to prevail over his rival. A specimen of the latter's wit is preserved. He was told that a friend of his had been robbed by bandits, and it was suggested that he should make good the loss. " In that case " he replied " not he, but I, will have been waylaid by the bandits[5]."

More specimens are preserved of the humour of his successful rival, but few of them are suitable for reproduction. Two are connected with a magnate who had a kid served on his table, but neither partook of it himself nor let any one else partake. Ash'ab was about to lay hands on it, when the host proposed to appoint him leader of prayer in the prison. Ash'ab offered instead to take a solemn oath that he would never touch goat's meat[6]. In the other story the same kid appears day after day on the magnate's table. Ash'ab observes to his neighbour

1 Ibn al-Athir x-42.
2 Jahiz, Taj, p. 53.
3 Aghani xvii. 101.
4 Nuwairi iv-30.
5 Livre des Avares. p. 228.
6 Ibid. p. 162.

that the animal had a longer life after it had been slaughtered and roasted than before[1].

The entertainment provided by the courtiers was not all of it in the form of humour. Some of them were expected to satisfy their master's curiosity on all subjects; and when they put together their stock in trade in the form of literary monuments, the results were curiously miscellaneous. A work of this sort which awaits publication is ostensibly and probably in fact the material with which Abu Hayyan Tauhidi entertained the Buwaihid vizier Ibn Sa'dan. It contains political scandals, historical disquisitions, lampoons on contemporaries, and philosophical essays. Its author, a man of great talent, though little favoured by fortune, had an elaborate answer ready to any question which his patron propounded. Some of the matter was evidently intended to amuse. An example is the story of the lessons in Euclid taken by the Secretary of State Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Thawabah on the advice of his friends[2]. His first teacher is a Christian, who tells him that a point is without parts. He asks how a thing can be without parts, and is told that such a thing is simple. How, simple? he asks. The teacher replies "like God or the soul." This seems such rank blasphemy that the teacher is expelled without delay. Presently a Moslem teacher is tried. His name Abu Yahya—Davy Jones—seems ominous, and his tablet and stylus both fill the secretary with alarm. He proceeds to draw a line, which he observes is "length without breadth." The secretary is convinced that a sneer is intended at the *sirat* or bridge across the infernal fire, and will hear no more; he orders the teacher of this dangerous subject to be dragged out of the room.

Although the persons who figure in this story are historical, Yakut has little doubt that it is a fiction, in which injustice is done to this Secretary of State, whose style is elaborately parodied; he is not clear whether it emanated from the brain of Abu Hayyan or some one else.

More often the witticisms of the entertainers are casually recorded, being preserved as specimens of smartness. In a recently published work—the Encyclopædia of Nuwairi[3] there is a considerable collection of this sort, taken mainly from the *Aghani*. The Caliphs who patronized these entertainers appear in no favourable light;

1 Aghani I.c.
2 Irshad al-Arib ii. 46.
3 Vol. iv.

possibly the least unpleasing feature of the narratives is the ease wherewith these entertainers could induce the sovereigns to squander the public revenue upon them. Occasionally they made a show of resistance, when the entertainers' demands were constant and excessive; but such resistance appears to have collapsed. Mu'tadid, who had a great reputation for justice and severity, paid vast debts incurred by his entertainer Ibn Hamdûn for fear of losing his society, if he were handed over to his creditors. He suggested, however, that the latter might with impunity have repudiated the debt.[1]

The following is a collection of witticisms attributed to Abu'l-Aina, who had a great reputation for smartness.

One day he was passing by the house of an enemy of his, and asked how the owner was. "As you would wish" was the answer. "Then how is it" said he "that I hear no lamentations?" He had been promised a horse by Ibn al-Mudabbir (Finance-minister of Egypt); when he solicited fulfilment of the promise, the other said he was afraid that if he were to mount Abu'l-'Aina, the latter would ride off and never be seen by him again. "Then promise me an ass besides" said Abu-'l-'Aina, so that I may stick to you in order to dun you for it." Once Ibn al-Mudabbir promised him a mule. Presently, meeting Abu'l-'Aina in the street, he asked him how he was. "Muleless" was the reply. Ibn al-Mudabbir laughed, and sent him the animal. A singing-girl asked Abu'l-'Aina to give her his ring, so that she might have something to remember him by. "You can remember" he replied "that you asked me for it and were refused."

When Sa'id after conversion to Islam was appointed vizier, Abu'l-'Aina paid him a call. He was told that the vizier was saying his prayers. He called again and received the same reply, the vizier was praying. "He is to be excused "said Abu'l-'Aina; "people do so enjoy novelties!"

One day he was visited by Ibn Mukram, who after using offensive expressions said "I assure you, I shall go away at once." Abu'l-'Aina replied: "You are the first person whom I have heard threatening with a blessing." Ibn al-Jammaz the singer asked him whether he remembered their former intercourse. "You mean" he answered "when you kept singing to us, and we implored you to stop." One day when he paid a call on the vizier Isma'il Ibn Bulbul, the latter asked him why he had delayed so long. "My ass" he replied "was stolen." "How stolen?" asked the vizier. "I was not with the thief," was the answer, "so I cannot tell you." "Why not come on another?" said the vizier. "Too poor to be buyer, too proud to hire, to borrow-no desire" was the reply. Some one asked him how long he would go on eulogizing and satirizing. "So long" he replied "as there are benefactors and malefactors. Heaven forbid that I should resemble the scorpion which stings prophet and infidel indiscriminately."

A clerk who met him in the early morning, and was surprised to see him up at that time, said to him "What are you doing out as early as this?" He replied "Apparently you share in the performance,

1 Table-talk of a Mesopotamian Judge. p. 143.

though you monopolize the astonishment." A beggar whom he invited to dine with him consumed every thing on the table. Abu'l-'Aina said to him: "I invited you out of pity, please leave me out of pity." One of the crowd one day stood near near him, and when Abu'l-'Aina (who was blind) perceived his presence, he asked him who he was. "A son of Adam" was the reply. "Glad to see you" said Abu'l-Aina, "I thought the family was extinct."

Once Ibn Mukram entertained him and set a pot before him. Finding it to contain many bones he said "This is evidently a gravy-pot." At the same person's table he was given three cold draughts, and when he asked for more, was given a hot draught. "Your cooler" he said "seems to have quartan fever."

The vizier 'Ubaidallah b. Sulaiman once, when Abu'l-'Aina came to him, asked to be excused, because he was engaged. Abu'l-'Aina replied that he would have no need of the vizier when he was free (*i.e.*, cashiered).

When, with the study of Greek philosophy, attempts were made to familiarize the Arabic speaking communities with Aristotle's theory of poetry, it was supposed that by Tragedy he meant encomia and by Comedy satire. Since the drama was either unknown or had no literary representation, this was a natural inference from the philosopher's statement that the two styles dealt with the good and the bad respectively. The identification was of course infelicitous, and the most prominent feature of Greek Comedy, its power of making people laugh, is to be found to a very slight extent in the Arabic satire. It is ordinarily invective, pure and simple; and owed its efficacy to qualities which have no connexion with merriment. That efficacy, if historians are to be believed, was at times very great. A clan—the Banu Hazm—were deprived of their lands for sixty years because of two lines wherein the poet Ahwas had "satirized" them:

Have no mercy on a Hazmite, who is in distress, even if the Hazmite have been thrown into the fire;

These were the people who stabbed Marwan at Dhu'l-Khushub, and invaded the palace of Uthman.

The lines occurred in an ode addressed to the Umayyad Walîd I, who in consequence confiscated the lands of the clan. They were afterwards restored by the Abbasid Mansûr.[1]

Whether there was any original connexion between magic and satire or not, its effects, when successful, were strictly natural; its victims were rendered infamous. The practice of "redeeming one's honour," by paying a poet to abstain from satirizing, is the subject of many allussions; the ruthless Hajjâj Ibn Yûsuf recommended this

1 Tabari iii, 241.

practice : " If you have to do with a man of repute with a tongue, buy your honour of him " was his advice to a man who, having refused to do a poet some service, was taunted by the poet in some verses with having begun life as a tailor, calling on the man's middle finger to attest it[1].

The Caliph Mu'awiyah restored the goods which had been taken from a poet for fear of his satire[2]. In other cases he punished satirists with a hundred lashes[3]. At other times the offence was punished with banishment[4]. When the satire had been unprovoked, and there was no legal remedy, there was a resort to divine vengeance. Some innocent persons who had suffered in this way invoked divine aid, and the offending poet was mauled by a lion[5].

In spite of these penalties the practice of lampooning continued till the end of the Caliphate and is unlikely to have stopped then. Saladin expelled from Damascus a poet who had circulated an ode called *The Shears of Reputations*, wherein the notables of that city were satirized[6].

At times the satire was less ill-natured, and calculated to arouse merriment rather than indignation or contempt. A good illustration is to be found in the epigram of a poetess, Juhamiyyah, on the vizier Muhammad b. al-Qasim of Karkh, who was so short that his seat of honour had to be reduced in height to enable him to climb up to it[7]. It was the custom of the people of Baghdad on the Persian New Year's Day to dress up a mannikin or doll in bridal attire, and set it on the roof of the house. The epigram of the poetess is based on this practice.

> When New Year's Day came, Muhammad of Karkh
> Desired my advice with his usual smirk ;
> What present, he said, shall we give to the King ?
> Of all I possess what will be the best thing ?
> I answered : All gifts but the one I suggest
> Will compass no purpose but ruinous waste.
> Present him, vizier, with yourself, and when he
> Illuminates, you will his mannikin be[8].

The narrator criticises this epigram as " feminine," perhaps meaning not sufficiently violent.

1 Aghani v. 159.
2 Ibid iv, 139.
3 Ibid xiii, 152.
4 Ibid. xvii. 9.
5 Ibid. xiii. 153.
6 Ibn Khallikan ii. 33.
7 Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate iv. 380.
8 Table-talk of a Mesopotamian Judge, p. 228.

There is more scope for the display of wit and humour in works of art which do not consist of personalities but deal with types. The chief representative of this style is an author of the fourth Islamic century, Abu'l-Fadl al-Hasan of Hamadhan, whose *Makamahs* are the nearest approach to Comedy that is to be found in Arabic literature. They have been rendered accessible to English readers in an accurate translation by Mr. Prendergast. They would correctly be designated by the Greek name *Mimes ;* and, though it is their author's purpose to entertain, by no means all are intended to amuse ; as is the case with the more famous compositions of the author's imitator Hariri. Some are exceedingly serious, and belong to the literature of edification. Probably the most amusing in the collection is one which parodies the style of a character who is not unknown in these days—the man whose geese, are, without exception, swans. In this mime the hero, seeing a dainty called *madirah* served, declines it and even insists on having it removed because it reminds him of an occasion when he had been invited to partake of the like. His host occupied the time in which they were walking to his house with an account of the beauty, the virtues, the talents, and the suitability to himself of his wife ; if you could only see her handling the saucepans and going backwards and forwards in the kitchen ! Moreover what an advantage it is to have a wife belonging to one's own clan, and one who both loves and is beloved ! When they come in sight of the host's house, he proceeds to point out that the quarter is the most desirable in Baghdad; and that his house is in the most fashionable part of it. Besides, the neighbours are all, like himself, business men ; and what could be more convenient than that ? How much do you suppose, he asks his guest, it cost to build one of these houses ? The guest suggests " a large sum," which is stigmatized as a most inadequate reply. The host then proceeds to enlarge on the magnificence of his own residence ; the wood for the door had been selected by the chief expert of the time. The door-handle had been purchased from a famous curiosity-shop, contained six pounds of copper, and had cost three *dinars* of Mu'izz al-daulah's coinage ! When they have entered the house, he proceeds to a fresh enumeration of its beauties, and shows how he acquired it by his extraordinary skill and success in bargaining. Next he calls attention to the beauty of the matting, which, he explains, he had secured at the sale of the goods of the vizier Ibn al-Furat after their confiscation. It had been manufactured by a man

who has since died, but has left a son who keeps up the business, "and I strongly advise you to buy matting of no one else."

The host then remembers the *madirah*, and summons a slave to bring jug and basin; the guest thinks that deliverance is at hand. But no; the beauties of the slave have to be demonstrated, and the history of the jug and basin, which, of course, are unique, narrated. Even the water is shown to be superior to any other. Next comes the history of the towel. The fabric was spun and woven at the most famous factories, twenty ells of it had been taken by the host's wife to make an undergarment, and one piece reserved to make a towel. This had been sent to an embroiderer, and when finished put away, to be brought out only for the benefit of a distinguished guest. He then orders the tray to be brought, and this, of course, leads to a disquisition on the excellences of that article. By this time the guest sees a vista of narrations to which there will be no end, and makes an excuse for retiring. The host takes the opportunity to extol the unique perfection of the suitable apartment in his house, but the guest, retorting that this was not in the bargain, takes to his heels. The host shouts after him *The madirah*, which the street urchins repeat, supposing it to be the guest's sobriquet. The latter flings a stone at an urchin, which unfortunately hits and wounds an unoffending passenger, and brings two years' imprisonment on the thrower. No wonder then that he cannot endure the sight or mention of *madirah*.

The next most amusing of these mimes is one which portrays the manners of the employees in a public bath. The narrator enters the building, when a man appears who stamps his forehead with clay, and retires. Another then comes and commences massaging him with vehemence. Then the first man returns, and assaults the other, declaring that the narrator's head belongs to him; a violent struggle ensues, and the litigants finally put the case before the proprietor of the bath. After hearing their arguments he orders the narrator to be brought to him, to give evidence on the question to which of the two employees his head belongs, and he is adjured to speak the truth. His reply is "This head is *mine*, has accompanied me on my journeys and made with me the circuit of the Kaabah." The proprietor tells him his statement is off the point, bids him hold his tongue, and assures the two men that the head is valueless, and not worth disputing about. Quitting this bath, the narrator orders his slave to fetch him a

cupper. The man whom he brings proceeds to address him in an eloquent but incoherent rigmarole. It is explained that he is a stranger, with whom the local water did not agree, so that it had affected his brain. The narrator makes a vow to avoid the men who practise these trades for the remainder of his life.

Some of the mimes deal with the tricks of thieves, with whose methods the author displays profound acquaintance. The humorous side of their performances is not brought out in these mimes so well as in the *Table-talk of a Mesopotamian Judge* by the author's contemporary Tanukhi. This writer, who was a convinced Mu'tazil, and therefore sceptical about spirits, good and evil, narrates with pleasure certain humorous situations which resulted when thieves posed as angels or demons among members of this community.

In one of these[1] the thief proposed to enter the strong-room of a money-changer, who spent his nights in dissipation, leaving his mother on guard. The old lady remained for hours at the door of the strong-room, performing endless devotions; the thief, growing impatient, uttered mysterious sounds, and when asked by the old lady who he was, replied that he was a celestial messenger, sent to warn her son against continuing his evil courses. He had been divinely commissioned to take his money, to be restored to him when his conversion should have been effected. The old lady thereupon opened the strong-room, admitted the thief, and proceeded to lock him in. When he earnestly implored her to let him out, she alleged that she feared the brightness of an angel might dazzle her, and when he offered to extingish his brightness, pointed out that an angel could easily find his way out of a locked apartment without human assistance.

A briefer anecdote to the same effect is of a thief entering the house of a Mu'tazil, who, observing his entrance, made a search for him. The thief descended into a well that was inside the house, and when the owner took up a stone to drop on him, called out "The night is ours, though the day is yours," to suggest that he was one of the Jinn. "In that case" retorted the Mu'tazil "you must pay half the rent."

A humorous situation is recorded by this author in connexion with an expedient of certain Baghdad thieves for escaping arrest and punishment, when they happened

1 Table-talk p. 284.

to be detected. One of these was to come armed with the counters used in some gambling game, and assure the police that their "swag" was property which they had won from the master of the house in gaming. Another was to profess to be a guardsman, who was paying a clandestine visit to the mistress of the house. The neighbours were apparently very ready to accept such a statement, and would urge the husband to hush up the scandal, and not expose himself to the vengeance of the guards. One of these *chevaliers d'industrie* had ruined more than one home and impoverished others, till he made the mistake of employing his expedient in a house where the mistress was an old devotee aged more than ninety years. Caught by the master of the house he tried to make his usual insinuation; but the age and well-known piety of the lady placed him in a ludicrous situation, which was ended by the intervention of the police.

One of the best stories of imposture is told in the *Revelation of Mysteries* of Jaubari, an author who claims to have exposed vast numbers of frauds, though occasionally he was not above profiting by them. This particular story, which deserves, he thinks, to be written in letters of gold, is an incident in the life of Nur al-din Mahmud, Sultan of Syria 1146–1173. A Persian came to Damascus, bearing a bag, ostensibly of a drug which he called *Tabarmak*, but really containing gold filings disguised by mixture with herbs and other materials. This he sold to an apothecary for a few silver coins, as an ingredient in certain medicines. So far he had figured as a poor man; he now began to make a parade of wealth, and let it be known that he possessed the secret of producing gold. He had, however, made a vow that he would not practise his art for the benefit of any one but a sovereign and only in this case if he received a solemn assurance that the gold would be used in the Holy War. The rumour reached Nur al-din's vizier, who communicated it to his master; both were overjoyed at the thought that they might tap a source of wealth which would enable them to make head against the Crusaders, by whom they were constantly raided. Summoned to the Sultan's presence the professed alchemist confirmed the rumour, and proposed a method which would show how he differed from impostors. Instead of fabricating the gold himself, he would give the Sultan the recipe, would then retire, and let the Sultan make it! The recipe which he produced contained various ingredients, among them 100 pounds of *tabarmak*. At first this ingredient could not be found in the apothecaries' shops;

but the alchemist asserted that there must be *some* in such a city as Damascus, and an official inquiry at all the shops ultimately led to the discovery of the parcel which the alchemist had started by selling, and which was now bought for the Sultan's use at a slightly advanced price. Some of its contents were poured into the crucible with a variety of herbs in quantities mentioned in the recipe. The Sultan himself placed the crucible in the flames, which consumed the other ingredients, leaving an ingot of the finest gold! The Sultan, overjoyed, presented the alchemist with a gift not less in value than the gold which had gone to the *tabarmak*, which gradually was exhausted in a series of successful experiments. The question now was how to secure a fresh supply. The alchemist knew of a cave in a mountain of Khorasan, where there was an inexhaustible mine of this material, and suggested that some one should be sent with credentials to procure a quantity. He was most unwilling to go on this quest himself, but was ultimately induced to do so by the Sultan, who furnished him with the most ample supplies as well as letters to the monarchs through whose territory he was to pass.

After his departure it got about that a man in Damascus had been drawing up a list of fools, wherein he had assigned the first place to the Sultan Nur al-din. The Sultan, hearing of this, summoned the man, who brought his list which proved the rumour to be correct. He asked the man on what ground he had placed his Sultan at the head of his collection of fools. The man replied : " Because you have let that charlatan take you in." " Oh," said the Sultan, " he has only gone to fetch a supply of *tabarmak*, and will return very soon." " If he returns," was the retort, " I promise to erase your name from my list, and substitute his."

A favourite subject for amusing anecdotes was the Miser, who according to *Our Mutual Friend* once gave rise to a considerable amount of literature in English. Collections of these were made by famous authors, and one of them, by the polygraph Jahiz of Basrah, has been preserved and published. Stinginess with food is the subject of several aphorisms in Ecclesiasticus, where it is said to be a cause of unpopularity, and many of the anecdotes collected by Jahiz deal with this theme. A man who missed some meat which should have been in the larder, was told by his wife that it had been eaten by the cat. He weighed the cat, and said : Here is the meat, but where is the cat ?"

Of the Spoonerism—a word recognized in one of the more recent dictionaries—an example is to be found in Ibn Kutaibah's collection of stories[1]. He holds that this transference of letters is due to agitation, such as befalls people in the presence of some alarming individual. A woman had to offer a petition to the second Caliph, Omar, who should have been respectfully addressed as Abu Hafs, "father of Hafs." She began "O father of pardon, may God *hafs* you."

The parody, which with many nations is a mine of witticism, plays a less important part in Arabic humour than might have been expected of a community wherein learning consisted so largely in committing collections of verse to memory. The commentators on the poems of Mutanabbi, which enjoy unexampled popularity, record one case of a parody, not easily reproduced in another language, owing to the rule of Arabic metric, which requires that the same rhyme should be maintained throughout the ode. Mutanabbi was praised for the originality of two couplets in an encomium on Saif al-daulah :

> Among the kings whom I have seen I found
> The rest all crooked, and thee only sound.
> Thou, being of them, dost them all excel ;
> Just as the musk is "blood of the gazelle ."

It was pointed out that *crooked* and *sound* constituted no true antithesis. The introduction of the correct antithesis would necessitate alteration of the rhyme throughout the ode. The process resulted in the substitution for the last line of

> Just as the *egg* is substance of the hen

which provoked the mirth of Saif al-daulah, who rightly held that it was unsuitable in an encomium on a sovereign.

Wit in Macaulay's sense would be represented by felicitous applications of verses, whether from the Koran or elsewhere, with no intention of amusing. Examples of this are without number ; we hear of a woman who for forty years never spoke except in Koranic verses, for fear of saying what was not true[2].

Her style was in consequence somewhat enigmatic. The following is a specimen :

> Wandering in the desert I came across a Bedouin woman by herself on a camel. I said to her : O handmaid of the Almighty, whom seekest thou ? She replied *Whom God guides is led astray by no one, and whom*

1 Uyun al-akhbar, ed. Brockelmann, p. 29.
2 Raudat al-Ukala, p. 35.

He leads astray hath no guide. I inferred that she must have lost her companions. I told her that I supposed her to mean this. She said : *So we caused Solomon to understand it, and unto both gave We knowledge.* I asked her whence she came. She replied : *Praise be unto Him who took His servant by night from the Holy sanctuary unto the furthest sanctuary round which we have blessed.* I inferred that she was from Jerusalem. I asked her why she did not speak. She replied : *He uttereth not a word but there is with him a watcher ready.* One of my companions said : This woman must be one of the Khawarij. She said : *Follow not that whereof thou hast no knowledge ; for the hearing and the sight and the heart every one of these shall be examined.*

The italicised sentences are all from the Koran, and the dialogue continues in the same style. The suggestion that the woman was one of the Khawarij, *i.e.*, one of the puritanical sects which were constantly rebelling against the Caliphs is due to the fact that these sectarians demanded extreme accuracy in references to the Koran. A governor before whom a Kharijite woman was brought cited to her as " the Word of God " a verse in which women were told to trail their robes and leave fighting to the men. She retorted that it was such ignorance of God's Word, displayed by him and other authorities, which had turned her into a rebel[1].

Irshad al-Arib vi. 94.

MARGOLIOUTH.

THE EARLIEST BIOGRAPHIES OF THE PROPHET AND THEIR AUTHORS.

(*Our own translation from the German typoscript*).*

THERE are three domains of Arabic literature, which, as sources for the sayings and doings of the Prophet, have to be considered : *Hadith, Sirah* and *Tafsir.* The ground-element of all three domains is the individual report, which appears in each of them in the same form, that of a pronouncement (*matnu'l-hadith*) introduced by a chain of witnesses (*isnad*). In the order, however, in which they present the enormous mass of individual reports of which they are composed, the works belonging to the three domains differ from one another. Hadîth-collections arrange them either according to inherent points of view (as is the case with the Musannaf-works, to which the six canonical compilations, (*al kutubu's-sittah*) belong) ; or according to the names of the Companions of the Prophet (*ashab* or *sahaba*) to whom they go back in the last resort (as is the case with the Musnad-collections, *e.g.*, that of Ahmad ibn Hanbal). The works of Sîrah-literature present the individual reports in chronological order of the events to which they refer ; while works of the traditionalistic Tafsîr-literature adduce them by way of commentary on the verses of the Qurân to which they relate. Of course, neither all the three provinces, nor even all the works belonging to each one of them, present exactly the same material ; but individual works differ much more in the choice which they make from the vast material—a choice which is determined partly by the special interests which the compilers have in mind and partly by the measure of criticism which they apply to the credibility of the individual reports. Such works, however, of any of the three categories, as are regarded as the fullest possible collections of the entire material in Hadîth, as, for example, Waqîdi's *Kitabu'l-Maghazi* on the one hand and Ahmad ibn Hanbal's *Musnad* on the other, contain in all essentials the same matter ; we shall find but rarely a hadîth in Waqîdi which

* Ed. " I. C. "

Ahmad ibn Hanbal has not cited. A noteworthy attempt to make the whole material collected in the works of Hadîth and Sîrah literature accessible in compendious form is shown in the remarkable " Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition " which has lately appeared, by the publication of which Prof. Wensinck in Leyden has done a notable service. If it were possible, later, similarly to bring together all the *Ahadîth* cited in Tabari's *Tafsir*, it would then be easy to survey the essential contents of all three literatures in so far as they consist of Ahâdîth.

Already in the generation following that of the Companions of the Prophet (*ashab* or *sahaba*), that of the *Tabi'un*, people began to collect the traditions of the sayings and doings of the Prophet which were current at the time. If the data for the ahâdîth of a number of the Companions of the Prophet recorded on leaves (*saha'if*) or in books (*kutub*) is partly of uncertain worth[1], still there can be no doubt but that such written records were no longer a rarity in the generation of the Tâbi'ûn, who derived their knowledge from the Companions. Among the Tâbi'ûn there already existed persons who were deemed especially well informed concerning the *Maghazi* —an expression which means " campaigns " and therefor in a verbal sense should have been restricted to the warlike deeds of the Prophet and his Companions, but was very often applied to the whole life-story of the Prophet (Sîrah). In the sequel we shall have to speak of these peculiar experts in Maghâzi among the Tâbi'ûn, and of their written records ; we shall deal, however, not alone with this side of their activity but shall also bring together all important information we possess concerning them. In one or two further articles we shall treat of the experts in Maghâzi belonging to the following generation, that of the *Tabi'u't-Tabi'in*, and finally of the authors of the earliest regular biographies of the Prophet, Ibn Ishaq and his contemporaries, as well as Waqîdi and Ibn Sa'd.

As the first among the Tâbi'ûn to be known as an especial authority on Maghâzi we must name Abân, son of the Khalîfah Uthmân and of Umm 'Amr bint Jundab[2]. He cannot have been born much later than the year 20 since in the year 36 he was old enough to take part in the

(1) Goldziher has brought together a number of such data, v. *Muhammadanische Studien* Vol. II. p. 9 and *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. 71, p. 439.

(2) Tabarî I, 3056.

campaign[1] which 'Aîsha, Talha and Zubair undertook in order to avenge the murder of Uthmân (in 35 A.H.); in the course of the expedition he was deputed to ascertain the decision of 'Aîshah as to the fate of a prisoner[2]. In the following four decades he seems to have played no part in politics, till in 75 A.H. the Khalîfah Abdul Malik appointed him Governor of Madînah[3]. The initiative in this appointment did not originate with the Khalîfah, however, but resulted from the action of Abân's predecessor who, when he wished to pay a visit to the court of Damascus, without first obtaining the Khalîfah's consent, had left him as his *locum tenens* on his own authority[4]. Abân held the position of a Governor in Madînah for seven years till in 83 A.H. Abdul Malik deprived him of the post[5]. During his time of office he was regularly entrusted by the Khalîfah with the leadership of the Hajj[6], but also when, in 81 A.H., on account of war troubles, the Khalîfah's order failed to come and the Governor of Mecca wished to secure the honour of the leadership of the Hajj for himself, Abân had no difficulty in maintaining his rights on the ground of his origin and by the support of his relations[7]. During his term of office some respected men like Jâbir ibn Abdallâh, the Companion of the Prophet; Muhammad ibn ul Hanafiya, the son, and Abdullâh ibn Ja'far, the nephew of Ali died in Madînah; and on each occasion Abân performed the funeral service[8]. Otherwise, of his official dealings we hear not much more than that he instated a new Qâdi[9], punished false coiners[10], and increased the measure of the bushel[11].

The data for the year of his death—one year before his death he had a paralytic stroke—are defective. Bukhâri in the *Tarikh* puts it in the time of al-Walîd (86-96 A.H.), Ibn Sa'd in that of Yazîd II (101-105 A.H.), some put it at the very end of the latter reign (105 A.H.). Abân is mentioned among the Fuqaha of Madînah[12], and is said to

(1) Tabari. I. 3104.
(2) Ibid. I. 3126.
(3) Ibid. II. 873.
(4) Ibn Sa'd V, 112.
(5) Tabari II, 1127.
(6) Ibid. II, 940, 1031, 1035, 1039, 1046, 1063, 1085.
(7) Aghani II, 104.
(8) Tabari III, 2339, Ibn Sa'd V, 113.
(9) Ibn Sa'd V, 113.
(10) Baladhuri *Futuh* 470.
(11) Waqîdi, Wellhausen's translation, 288.
(12) Nawawi 125; Ibn Hajar *Tahdhib* I, 99.

have been well versed in the legal decisions of his father[1], while other evidences contest[2] that he had heard traditions from his father. Abân is of good repute as a Muhaddith, and, besides his son 'Abdurrahmân, Abul Zinad and Al-Zahri among others are named as among those who took Hadîth from him. While, however, his name is of frequent occurrence in the Isnâds of the Hadîth collections, it is altogether absent from the works of the Sîrah-literature ; neither Ibn Ishâq nor Waqîdi nor Ibn Sa'd (in the part of his work which is devoted to the actual biography of the Prophet) ever names him[3]. It is true that Ibn Sa'd [4] traces a report concerning the capture of 'Abbâs and other Hashimites at Badr back to Abân ibn Uthmân, but the Isnâd—Abân from Muâwiya ibn Ammar from Ja'far ibn Muhammad (who died in 148A.H.) —shows that not our Abân, but the Shîite author, Abân ibn Uthmân al Bajali, is meant[5]. This latter composed a book in which he treated of " the Beginning, the Mission and the Campaigns of the Prophet " (al Mabda wal Maba'th wal Maghâzi), and it is probably he whom Yaqût in his *Mu'jamu'l Buldan*, IV. 55. designates as *Sahibu'l Maghazi*. But our Abân, the son of the Khalîfah, also gave particular attention to the Maghâzi. Of a certain Mughîra ibn Abdarrahmân, it is said in Ibn Sa'd[6] : " He was trustworthy but transmitted only a few ahâdîth except the Maghâzi which he took from Abân ibn Uthmân ; they were much studied before him and he commanded us to teach them." This Mughîra belonged to the army of Maslama[7] which in 96 A.H.[8] set out for Asia Minor and in 99 A.H.[9] received the order to return from 'Umar II ; Mughîra can have received the Maghâzi only from our Abân, the son of the Khalîfah, not from Abân ibn Uthmân al-Bajali, who lived two or three generations after him. In these Maghâzi, transmitted by Al Mughîra after Abân, it is a question not of a book in the proper sense of the word,

(1) Ibn Hajar, Ibid.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Outside the Sîrah Ibn Sa'd mentions Abân once when quoting the last words of Umar, which he (Abân) had heard from his father ; and Ibn Qutaiba (*Kitabu'sh Shi'r*) cites Abân as voucher for the fact that the mantle given by the Prophet to the poet Ka'b ibn Zuhair was afterwards purchased by Muâwiyah and worn by the rulers on the 'Id days.
(4) IV. 29. v. also Tabari, 2340.
(5) J. Fück, (*Muhammad ibn Ishaq*) 8, note 27.
(6) V 156.
(7) Ibn Sa'd, Ibid.
(8) Tabari II, 1305.
(9) Ibid. 1346.

but exclusively of a collection of materials which relate to the life of the Prophet; and even of that collection, which thus would be of a similar character to the above-mentioned *Saha'if* and *Kutub*, nothing seems to have been preserved for us. Anyhow Abân must be named as the first who put into writing a special collection dealing with the Maghâzi. Madînah, it is true, had ceased to be the capital of the Arabian empire after the murder of Uthmân, but it long remained the seat of the highest Arab society, which was composed of the descendants of the Meccan Muhâjirîn, of the Madanite Ansâr and adherents of the family of the Umayyads which had since gained the sovereignty in Damascus. And not religious studies only received zealous attention in those circles of Madînah, but music and poetry also were in high esteem among them. It would be an error to suppose that there existed no points of contact between the two worlds of the learned men and of the poets, and that the theological authorities were, without exception, altogether averse to poetry. There were even in Madînah ornaments of Islamic science who at the same time were eminent as poets, and the most famous example of such a personal union is presented by Ubaidullah ibn Abdallah ibn Utba, a grandson of Utba ibn Mas'ûd who had fought at the Prophet's side at Uhud.

To this Ubaidullah, Abu'l Faraj al Isfahâni dedicates in his *Kitabu'l Aghani* a special chapter with examples of his verse[1], as does also Ibn Sa'd in his *Tabaqat*[2]. He is reckoned among the seven Fuqaha of Madînah, and when he had fallen in love with a fair Hudhailite, he called, in the verses addressed to her, the six other Fuqaha as witnesses to the strength of his love[3].

"I love thee with a love which, without becoming hurtful to thee, is so strong that, if thou knewest a part thereof, thou wouldst be lavish of thine.

"And my love for thee, O Mother of the Boy, robs me of my understanding. For that is Abu Bakr my witness, and I am a witness.

"And al Qâsim ibn Muhammad knows my love-pain and Urwa knows what I have suffered through thee, and Sa'îd. And Suleymân knows, who does not hide his

(1) *Kitabu'l Aghani*, Vol. VIII, 88-99.
(2) V. 186.
(3) *Aghani* VIII 93. The seven witnesses are Abu Bakr ibn Abdurrahmân, Al-Qâsim ibn Muhammad, Urwa ibn ul-Zubair, Sa'îd ibn al-Musaiyib, Suleymän ibn Yasār, Khârijah ibn Zaid, and Ubaidullah himself.

knowledge ; and Khârija speaks of it a first and second time.

" If thou inquirest of that which I tell thee thou wilt get tidings thereof, for verily love with me is new and inveterate."

Others there are of these celebrated Fuqaha who do not indeed themselves stand forth as poets, but are famed as connoisseurs and critics of the poetic art of their time ; as, for instance, one of the other six Fuqaha cited by Ubaidullah as witnesses for his love, Sa'îd ibn al-Musaiyib, the son-in-law of Abû Huraira and a pillar of the science of Hadîth. When Naufal ibn Musâhiq greeted him in the mosque of Madînah in the circle of his colleagues and students, he addressed to him the question whether Abdullah ibn Qais ar-Ruqaiyât or Umar ibn Abi Rabî'a was to be preferred as poet[1], and Abdullah ibn Qais himself turned to Sa'îd with a request for his judgment on his latest verse[2]. As indicating the high value which in these circles was placed on a careful mode of expression in all circumstances there is an anecdote contained in the *Kitabu 'lAghani*[3]. " When I found myself upon the pilgrimage," thus relates Ubaidullah ibn Umar, " I saw a beautiful woman, who, however, in her conversation used obscene gestures. Thereupon I drove my camel near to her and spoke : O handmaid of Allah, thou art on the pilgrimage, fearest thou not Allah therefore ? She, however, thereupon unveiled a countenance which surpassed the sun in beauty and said : " Bethink thee, O my uncle, I am a woman of those of whom the poet Al-'Arji was thinking when he said : " Of those, who undertake the pilgrimage, not for the reward with Allah, but in order that they may slay the innocent one who is forgetful."

" Then I said : Therefor I will pray to Allah that he punish not that countenance with the fire of Hell. Sa'îd ibn al-Musaiyib heard this story and said : By Allah, if it had been one of those detestable Irâq people, he would have said to her : " Get out ! May Allah blast thee !" His answer, however shows the delicacy of the pietists of Hijjâz."

With the introduction of this anecdote we are not so far off from our theme as may perhaps appear, for Sa'îd deserves a short mention at this point, because we have

(1) *Aghani* I, 48
(2) Ibid IV, 162.
(3) Ibid. XVII, 120.

to thank him for a weighty testimony to the fact that the Maghâzi formed a favourite topic of conversation in the aristocratic society of Madînah. In Tabari[1] he relates: "While we were with Marwân ibn al-Hakam"—he is speaking evidently of the time when Marwân was Governor of Madînah, probably 56 A.H.—"the doorkeeper came in and announced Abu Khâlid Hakîm ibn Hizâm, whereupon Marwân gave order that he should be admitted. When Hakîm had entered, he bade him welcome, made him draw near and gave him the place of honour, so that he came to sit between him and the cushion. Then Marwân turned to him and said: Relate to us the history of Badr; whereupon Hakîm began his narrative." In the same way that Marwân turned to a Companion of the Prophet, Marwân's son, the Khalîfah Abdulmalik later had recourse to one of the respected Tâbi'ûn, in order to have information concerning Badr.

To return once more to Abân: After what has been said regarding the inclinations of the learned Fuqaha and Muhaddithîn for the poetic art we shall be no longer suprised to hear that Abân too was a lover of poetry. Abû'l-Zinâd[2] tells us that he was hardly ever in his company without hearing him recite the verses of the Jewish poet of Madînah, Ar-Rabî'a ibn al-Huqaiq, which run:

"Now that I am chained to my bed I am disgusted with the error of my people and their guilt.

"And with the foolish counsel after understanding and with the reproach of the right way, which none hath taken.

"For if my people had but followed the Wise, they would not have transgressed nor would such wrong have happened.

"But they followed the Deceiver, till the folk of blood stung home like vipers.

"And the fool destroyed the counsel of the intelligent and so the cause was lost beyond repair."

And Yazîd ibn' Iyadh[3] states that Abân, as Governor of Madînah only fell in with the wish of Ali's nephew before mentioned, Abdallah ibn Ja'far, to betake himself to the court of Damascus when the latter was ready to send him his flute-player. Abân is also described as a

(1) Tabari I. 1313.
(2) *Aghani* XXI, 62.
(3) Baladhuri, *Ansab*, ed. Ahlwärdt, 209.

man[1] who had a strong turn for joke and pleasantry, and an instance of this propensity is also given in the *Kitab-al-Aghani*.

Only a little later than Abân, Urwa ibn al-Zubair was born, who likewise was an authority on the Maghâzi, and from whose compilations, unlike those of Abân, a very large number of traditions have come down to us. Urwa too belonged to the old Islamic nobility and in reply to a presumptuous remark of Al-Hajjâj—the conversation took place about the year 75 A. H.—Urwa appealed with pride to his relationship with the noblest women of the early days of Islâm[2]. It happened thus: When Urwa once, in conversation with Abdul Malik, mentioned his brother Abdullah not by his proper name but spoke of him as Abu Bakr, which was Abdullah's *Kunya* (pseudonym), Al Hajjâj reproached him for it and said: "Dost thou name a hypocrite by his *kunya* in the presence of the prince of believers? May'st thou have no mother!" "Sayest thou that to me," Urwa replied, "the son of the matrons of Paradise? My mother is Asma the daughter of Abu Bakr as-Siddîq; my grandmother Safiya the daughter of Abdul Mutallib; my aunt on the mother's side 'Aîsha, and my aunt on the father's side Khadîjah." Urwa's grandfather Awwâm was a brother of Khadîjah, his father Al-Zubair one of the earliest Companions of the Prophet; and his brother Abdullah just named, the leader of those descendants of the Meccan and Madani Companions who rejected the Khilâfat of Yazîd, reigned from 64-73 A.H. as anti-Khalîfah in Mecca. Urwa was considerably younger than Abdullah, who received the news of the birth of his younger brother when, in 26 A.H., he returned to Madînah from the African campaign[3]. In the Battle of the Camel (36 A.H.), in which his father met his death, Urwa could not take part; to the boy, then ten years old, in contrast to the somewhat older Abân, participation was not allowed[4]. He remained then in his native city and in 46 A.H. his name is first mentioned in connection with a political event, the revenge which Khâlid ibn Al-Muhâjer, the nephew of the murdered Abdallah ibn Khâlid, took on the latter's murderer[5]. In the last years of the reign

(1) *Aghani* XVII.

(2) Baladhûri *Ansab* 63.

(3) *Aghani* II, 56. also Ibn Abi Khaithama (apud Ibn Hajr *Tahdhib* VII, 184). Urwa is said to have been 13 years old on the day of the Battle of the Camel. He was therefor born in 23 A. H.

(4) Ibn Sa'd V 133. cf. Tabari I, 3103, to 3113.

(5) Tabari II, 82. cf. also Lammer's *Etudes sur le regne de Muawiya Ier* 3,218 seq.

of Muâwiyah(41-60 A.H.), therefor sometime from the year 55 A.H. on, Urwa forgathered regularly every night in the mosque of Madînah with some friends. As a member of that circle, Qabîsa, who afterwards became the confidant of the Khalîfah Abdul Malik, states, Urwa's brother Mus'ab, Abu Bakr ibn Abdur Rahmân, Abdul Malik ibn Marwân, Abdur Rahmân ibn Miswar, Ibrahîm ibn Abdur Rahmân and 'Ubaidullah ibn Abdullah belonged to it besides Qabîsa himself and Urwa[1]. The legend, as Ibn Khallikan[2] has preserved it for us, has taken possession of those nightly gatherings, and in so doing, for the sake of contrast, has imagined the addition to the names of the participators of that of Abdullah ibn Zubair, while leaving out names uninteresting to it. It relates : Abdul Malik ibn Marwân, Abdur Rahmân ibn al-Zubair and his two brothers Mus'ab and Urwa were together in the mosque in Muâwiyah's time. When one of them said : Come, let us utter our wishes, Abdullah said : My wish is to govern both places of the sacred territory and to attain the Khilâfat ; Mus'ab said : My wish is to rule both Irâqs and to marry the two splendid women of Quraish, Sukainah bint al-Hakam and 'Aîshah bint Talha ; Abdul Malik said : My wish is to rule the whole world and to be Muâwiyah's successor ; Urwa, however, said : I want none of the things which you want. My wish is piety in this world and a portion in Paradise in the next, and to belong to those by whom this knowledge is transmitted further. Time fulfilled the hope of each of them and Abdul Malik used to say : Whoever wants to see a man who belongs to the dwellers in Paradise, let him look on Urwa."

Urwa's sojourn in Madînah was broken by a seven years' absence in Egypt, as to which we have a testimony of Urwa himself. " I spent "—so says 'Urwa in Baladhuri[3]—" seven years in Egypt, and married there. I saw the folk exhausted because more burdens were laid on them than they could bear, although Amr had taken possession of Egypt on the basis of a peace treaty and an agreement, and certain imposed burdens." Since we learn[4] that Urwa was in Egypt at the time when his brother renounced allegiance to the Khalîfah Yazîd, and on the other hand the Governor appointed in Egypt by Abdullah in 64 A.H. had to abandon Egypt already in the following year, we may take it that the seven years which

(1) Baladhuri *Ansab* 257.
(2) *Wafayat*, Bûlàq edition, I, 399.
(3) *Futuh* ed. de Goeje, 217.
(4) Jumahi *Tabaqatu 'sh-Shu'ara* ed. Hall, 35.

Urwa spent in Egypt fell in the time from 58-65 A.H. During Abdullah's anti-Khilâfat Urwa stood on his side; when his brother Mus'ab in 72 A.H. fell in battle for Abdullah, the administration of his inheritance devolved on Urwa[1], and even while Abdullah was besieged in Mecca he continued with him[2]. After Abdullah had fallen and his cause was lost (73 A.H.), Urwa straightway betook himself to the court of the now undisputed Khalîfah Abdul Malik, with whom, as we have already seen, he used to forgather regularly in the mosque of Madînah in the last years of Muâwiyah's reign. Concerning Urwa's journey to the court of Abdul Malik we possess several in the main analogous accounts[3], of which that of Abdullah ibn Fa'id may here be given :

" Urwa mounted a camel the like of which could not be outstripped, and reached Damascus before even the messengers of Al-Hajjâj had brought the tidings of Abdullah's death. When he was admitted to the presence, he greeted Abdul Malik as Khalîfah, whereupon the latter embraced him and bade him be seated. Urwa said : We seek to obtain alliance with thee through near kinship, but no kinship is near unless it is brought near. They then conversed till conversation turned upon Abdullah. Urwa said : " Abu Bakr[4] has gone hence. " " What has he done ? " " He has been killed." Thereat Abdul Malik fell upon the ground in worship. Urwa, however, went on : " Al-Hajjâj has crucified his body. Give him the order to restore the body to Abdullah's mother. " Forthwith Abdul Malik drew up a writing to Al-Hajjâj wherein he spoke of the crucifying of Abdullah as a great wrong and ordered him to leave Urwa in peace, to whom he had promised security. Urwa returned to Mecca, which he reached in thirty days. Al-Hajjâj had Abdullah's body taken down from the cross and sent it to his mother, and Urwa recited the funeral prayer. "

Abdul Malik himself treated Urwa with all the consideration that he could possibly expect but, as Urwa's son, Hishâm[5], informs us, his father had reason to complain of the behaviour of some Damascans. When Urwa was sitting with Abdul Malik, some people came in who poured

(1) *Aghani* XIV, 161.
(2) Baladhuri *Ansab* 47.
(3) Waqidi apud Baladhuri *Ansab* 65. Anon. ibid. 61 ; Amir bin Hafs ibid. 63 ; Al-Madani after Abdullah bin Sa'îd ibid 62.
(4) That was Abdullah's *kunya* (pen-name). Al-Hajjâz's objection to its use in conversation with the Khalifah has already been quoted.
(5) *Aghani* XVI, 44.

out insults against Abdullah ibn al-Zubair, whereupon Urwa left the room, saying to the chamberlain: " Abdullah is my brother. When you wish to insult him, it would be better not to let me in." When Abdul Malik heard that, he said : " We did not kill Abdullah through enmity against him, but he coveted a thing which we coveted and was killed in the battle for it. The Syrians, however, are people who insult those they kill. When we have admitted someone who insults him before thou enterest, then thou hadst better stay outside; and if we admit someone while thou art sitting with us, then better go out." Of further visits of Urwa to Abdul Malik we hear nothing, though Abdul Malik kept up a literary correspondence with Urwa after the latter's return to Madînah.

Once again did Urwa betake himself to the court of Damascus after Al-Walîd had succeeded to the realm, in 86 A.H.[1], accompanied by his son and the devoted friend of his house Ismaîl ibn Yasâr[2]. During this second sojourn in Damascus Urwa was pursued by misfortune. His son Muhammad tumbled from the roof of the royal stables, in which he wished to see the animals, and fell among the furious beasts who trampled him to death ; and Urwa himself had to have his foot amputated owing to an eating away of the bone. The poem composed by Ismaîl ibn Yasâr on the death of Muhammad is preserved for us in the *Kitab al-Aghani* [3] and here we find also Urwa's son Hishâm's account of these unlucky events[4]: " When Urwa had gone to Al-Walîd his foot hurt him and they said to him : Cut it off ! He would not hear of it. Only when the wound spread towards the knee and people told him : If it reaches the knee it will kill thee, was the foot amputated, without his clutching his face. Before the operation, people said to him : We will give thee a medicine to drink, so that thou shalt feel no pain. He, however, replied : To that I do not agree ; this wall (on which I can lean) preserves me from harm.....Muhammad ibn Urwa, whose mother was the daughter of Al-Hakam ibn al-'As, fell from the roof into the stable of Al-Walîd's beasts of burden who struck him with their feet until he died. Then a man came to Urwa to condole with him. He, however, said : If thou comest to condole with me about my foot, I hope to be compensated for its loss by Allah. " No " said the man, " I wish to

(1) Ibn Qutaiba *Ma'arif* 114. Urwa died in 94 A.H.
(2) *Aghani* IV, 118.
(3) *Aghani* IV, 123.
(4) Ibid. III, 45.

condole with thee on account of Muhammad." "What is wrong with him ?" Then he related what had happened, whereupon Urwa said: "When the days again brought some dying man to earth I used to say : It is no matter, since it touches not my kindred. O God, Thou hast taken a limb, but other limbs remain ; Thou hast taken a son but hast left other sons behind ; and if Thou hast afflicted me, so didst Thou aforetime keep me whole. When he then returned to Al-Madînah he betook himself to his castle in Al-Aqîq."

A number of other testimonies[1] give the same account of Urwa's amputation, among them the following[2]: "'Aîsa ibn Talha came to Urwa after his foot had been cut off. Then Urwa said to his son : Uncover my foot for thine uncle, that he may see it. When that was done 'Aîsa said : Verily we are Allah's and verily unto Him we are returning. O Abu Abdullah, we have developed thee neither for the tournament nor for the race, and Allâh has left that of thee which we require, thy knowledge and intelligence. Then Urwa said : No one has consoled me for my foot so finely."

Urwa had several encounters with another member of the reigning dynasty, 'Umar ibn 'Abdul 'Azîz, during the years when 'Umar held the office of Governor in Madînah (87-93 A.H.). 'Urwa was one of the ten *fuqaha* whom 'Umar called together[3] after his installation, and a judgment of the Prophet which 'Umar recited in the days when he was building the mosque of Madînah (88 A.H.) is reported by Urwa in Ibn Sa'd[4]. He had, however, a violent disagreement with the Governor when the latter called Urwa's contention, that 'Aîshah, except the Prophet and her parents, had loved no one so much as Abdullah ibn al-Zubair, a lie[5]. Urwa himself had no inclination to exacerbate the internal contentions of the Islamic community, and this saying is ascribed[6] to him : "Ali was too pious ever to have lent support to the murder of Uthmân and Uthmân was too pious for Ali to have killed him." With a great-grandson of Ali, Ali ibn al-Husain (died 92 or 94 A.H.), Urwa used to forgather every evening in the back part of the Prophet's mosque ; and of a conversation which

(1) Ibn Qutaiba *Ma'arif* 114 ; Ibn Khallikan I, 393 : Dhahabi *Tahdhib V.* also Urwa.
(2) Ibn al-Mâjishûn in *Kitabu'l-Aghani* XII, 45.
(3) Tabari II, 1183.
(4) III a 82.
(5) Aghani VIII, 90.
(6) Mubarrad, *Kamil*, 444.

he once held with him, and in which Abdullah ibn Hasan took part, the last-named relates[1] : " As we were talking one night "—the talk takes place in the time of Abdul Malik or Al-Walîd—" the conversation turned upon the tyranny of the Umayyads while they had the power, and no one could do anything to change the state of things. Then spoke they of their fear of Allah's chastisement, and Urwa said : O Ali, he who holds himself aloof from tyranny, and of whom Allah knows that he abhors their dealings, even though he in a certain sense incline to them, for him one can hope that, when Allah punishes them, he will escape what may befall them. Thereupon Urwa left Madînah and went to live in Al-Aqîq[2]. I, however, repaired to Suwaiqah. " The expressions here ascribed to Urwa, concerning the, in the eyes of many pious persons, impious regime of the Umayyads, sound like a defence of his own conduct towards the rulers of Damascus, from whom he did not withhold his homage and with whom even from Madînah he maintained relations. As to the year of Urwa's death we have no certain data ; most of the authorities, however, give their verdict for the year 94 A.H[3]. He died on his estate in Majâh in the neighbourhood of Fur'a. Of his sons, Muhammad and Hishâm are named more than once in the foregoing. Besides them, we know the names of six other sons[4].

Urwa enjoys high renown as an expert in Hadîth and he is one of the seven Fuqaha of Al-Madînah. His relationships alone placed him in the position to obtain numerous accounts concerning the early days of Islâm at first hand ; from his father, from his mother, and above all from his aunt 'Aîsha whom he never tired of visiting and questioning. Mujâhid tells us[5] how he, together with Urwa, questioned Ibn Umar as to the number of the Prophet's Umrahs and how, when his answer did not satisfy him, Urwa turned to 'Aîshah, who then gave in fact another answer. Among those who handed on the traditions collected by Urwa, his son Hishâm and Muhammad ibn Muslim ibn Shihâb Al-Zuhri deserve special mention. We are indebted to his son Hishâm for the statement[6] that Urwa, on the day of the battle on the

(1) Ibn Sa'd V, 135.
(2) In al-Aqîq there was a well, known as the well of Urwa. v. Yaqût *Mujamu'l Buldan* I, 433 : Ibn Qutaiba *Ma'arif* 114.
(3) Ibn Sa'd V, 135 : Ibn Qutaiba *Ma'arif* 114 ; Bukhâri *Tarikh*.
(4) Ibn Qutaiba *Ma'arif* 114.
(5) Tabari I, 1765.
(6) Ibn Sa'd V, 113,

Harra (63 A.H.), in which Yazîd defeated the Madanis, burnt books of Fiqh of which he afterwards much regretted the loss. Concerning other books annotated by him or to be found in his possession we find no indications[1], but he not only transmitted to his scholars the accounts he had collected in the name of the authorities from whom he had obtained them, but also imparted written instruction on the events of early Islamic history. A number of such written answers have come to us in the pages of Ibn Ishâq, Waqîdi and Tabari. In the pieces preserved in Tabari the person addressed is mostly the Khalîfah Abdul Malik, in the others Ibn Abi Hunaida, who lived at the court of the Khalîfah Al-Walîd. Abdul Malik in his early years often sought the society of the Fuqaha[2], and as a young man was eagerly intent[3] to assimilate knowledge. He had the sayings of the Khalîfah Uthmân by heart, and heard Hadîth from Abu Huraira, Abu Sa'îd al Khudri and other Companions[4]. It is therefor not surprising that he turned to Madînah, which he esteemed highly[5] as the seat of Tradition, and sought instruction in the *maghazi* from Urwa, whom he knew already as the best authority from his own sojourn in Madînah, and who after the end of Abdullah's anti-Khilâfat had brought himself into favourable remembrance.

Of Urwa's answers to Abdul Malik preserved by Tabari the first fragment[6] concerns the emigration to Abyssinia and is preceded by a detailed Isnâd of which the conclusion runs : " Abân al Attâr told us, Hishâm ibn Urwa told us of Urwa that the last-named wrote to Abdul Malik ibn Marwân...." In a second fragment[7] we find the same Isnâd except that at the end it puts " the last-named said " and not " the last-named wrote to Abdul Malik." However, there can be no doubt but that we have here before us also an excerpt from the writings to Abdul Malik, for this fragment is by its contents connected with the first ; it goes on from the Hijrah to Abyssinia which was caused by the first Fitnah and adds the story of the Hijrah of the Companions of the Prophet to Madînah, which was caused by the second Fitnah. Urwa uses the expression *Fitnah*

(1) Dhahabi *Tahdhib* (ed. Fisher *Biographien von Gewahrsmanner des Ibn Ishaq*).
(2) Ibn Sa'd V, 167.
(3) Ibid. 174.
(4) Ibn Sa'd V, 174.
(5) Ibid. V, 173.
(6) Tabari I, 1180.
(7) Ibid. I, 1224.

in these passages on the strength of Sûrah VIII, 40, and he refers to the same Coranic verse again in the next instalment[1], which relates the Hijrah of the Prophet himself. There again the Isnâd is the same, except that here also it is " he said " and not " he wrote to Abdul Malik," and all three passages are obviously taken from one and the same screed to Abdul Malik. Further on[2] we find it put more explicitly, after the same Isnâd : " Hishâm ibn Urwa has told us of Urwa, that he wrote to Abdul Malik ibn Marwân : Thou hast written to me concerning Abu Sufyân and his sortie, and askest me how he then conducted himself." Then follows a detailed account of the battle of Badr which begins with the words : " It so happened that Abu Sufyân " and so on. In this also Urwa refers frequently to Coranic verses. Again, in a further fragment[3], the introduction runs : " Hishâm ibn Urwa related to us of Urwa, that he wrote to Abdul Malik : Thou hast written and asked me concerning the conduct of Khâlid ibn al-Walîd on the day of the conquest of Mecca," and the answer begins with the words " It was so with Khâlid, " and so on. When, therefor, in the next following fragment[4], after the same *isnad*, we find only " Hishâm ibn Urwa relates of Urwa, that he said, " and so on, there is here too no doubt but that we have before us a further fragment of the letter in reply to Abdul Malik ; for the last words of the preceding fragment[5] stand verbatim at the beginning of this instalment ; and a later instalment of the same reply to Abdul Malik is obviously before us in a later passage[6]. Finally Tabari has preserved for us also a short answer of Urwa to Abdul Malik's inquiry as to the date of Khadîjah's death[7], as also another to al-Walîd's question whether the Prophet ever married the sister of Al-Ash'ath ibn Qais[8]. While all these communications concerning Urwa's answers to the inquiries of Abdul Malik and Al-Walîd go back to his son Hishâm, we owe to Al-Zuhri the text of the answer which Urwa addressed to Ibn abi Hunaida[9], the familiar friend of the Khalîfah Al-Walîd, who questioned him concerning Sûrah LX, 10,

(1) Ibid. I, 1234.
(2) Tabari I, 1284.
(3) Tabari I, 1634.
(4) Ibid. I, 654.
(5) Ibid. I, 1636.
(6) Ibid. I, 1670.
(7) Ibid. I, 1770.
(8) Ibid. III, 2458.
(9) Ibn Hishâm 754 ; Tabari *Tafsir* VIII, 42.

and to whom Urwa expounded the historical situation to which that verse alludes.

The writings of Urwa here quoted represent the oldest written notes on particular events in the life of the Prophet preserved for us, and at the same time the oldest monuments of Arabic historical prose. Although nowhere in the older sources is it said[1] that Urwa composed an actual book on the Maghâzi it is none the less sure that he collected and set forth a series of the most important events of the Prophet's life. Even from the fragments which have reached us it is clear that Urwa based his written answers on the traditions collected by him ; for though he generally does not expressly name his sources in those answers, he makes an exception in the case of the account of the Hijrah of the Prophet when he designates it as founded on'Aîsha's communications[2]. Moreover he gives us to understand in places where he quotes Sayings of the Prophet, that they became known to him in that way[3]. It is therefore incorrect to say that Urwa was an enemy to the custom of stating his sources ; the letters themselves show that he followed it, even if in those writings he is only very little concerned with quoting authorities. Isnâd in its primitive form was then—somewhere about the year 75 A. H.—already established and one has no right, merely because it appears only incidentally in the letters, to deny to Urwa, without further consideration, those Ahâdîth supplied with statements of authorities for which he stands as sponsor.

Of the importance of Hadîth Urwa speaks more than once[4], and forgets not to remind his sons of the fact that by the knowledge of Hadîth they can render themselves indispensable[5] ; and his son Hishâm informs us that Urwa never counted on his judgment[6] (ra'y) but only on the tradition. Ahâdîth of Urwa have come to us in great number ; above all his son Hishâm and Al Zuhri have transmitted them, and we find them in the Hadîth-collections as well as in the works of Sîrah-literature. Ibn Ishâq, Waqîdi, Ibn Sa'd and Tabari especially have preserved for us numerous traditions of Urwa, and the oldest biographies of the Prophet which we possess derive a very great part of their material from his collections. If some

(1) cf. Hajji Khalîfah.
(2) Tabari I, 1235 : ibid. 1237.
(3) Tabari I, 1287, 1288 , 1635.
(4) Ibn Sa'd V, 133.
(5) Ibn Hajar *Tahdhib* VII, 182.
(6) Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, VII, 183.

of these reports may be wrongly associated with his name, still we have no reason to deny his claim to most of them. In these reports also 'Aîsha is most often quoted as authority, besides her other men and women of the Prophet's time ; there are, however, a great number of traditions for which Urwa gives no authority. Isnâd was, indeed, already customary in his time, but it was not yet an absolute necessity. Besides, Urwa also used written documents as his sources ; thus, for example, he quotes the text of the letter which the Prophet addressed to the inhabitants of Hajar[1]. The reports which are traced back to Urwa concern all periods of the Prophet's life and, over and above that, also events of the time of the first Khalîfahs.

It would be an error to suppose that Urwa confined his attention exclusively to the collection of the Sayings of the Prophet and the reports concerning his life. Though he was a strict faqîh and muhaddith—and we have seen that the same applies to many of his colleagues—he was in nowise averse to poetry. Abul Zinad says of him[2]: "I never saw any one who recited verses more than Urwa. People said to him ; What a lot you recite, O Abu Abdullah ! He, however, replied. What is what I recite compared with what 'Aîshah recites ? Nothing came in touch with her on which she did not recite an ode." Even if the introduction of 'Aîshah's example was unjustified, and only to serve the purpose of furnishing a proof of the admissibility of the use of poetical quotations in the *Maghazi*, there can at least be no doubt but that Urwa was a friend of poetry. He stood in friendly relations to the poet Ismaîl ibn Yasâr[3], whom he took with him when he went to the court of Abdul Malik and al-Walîd, and who composed an elegy on Urwa's son Muhammad. He was also on friendly terms with the renowned love-poet of Quraish, Urwa ibn Abi Rabî'a[4], while he had no good opinion of the personal poet of the Prophet, Hassân ibn Thâbit[5]. Moreover, the taste for poetry extended to other members of the family of Urwa : his brother Abdullah, who was accused[6] of having given out verses of Ma'n ibn Aûs as his own, proves himself a doughty con-

(1) Baladhuri *Futuh* 79.
(2) Dhahabi v, Fischer, *Biographien.*
(3) *Aghani* IV, 118.
(4) Ibid. I, 63.
(5) Ibid. IV, 15.
(6) Mubarrad, *Kamil* 357.

noisseur of poetry[1]; his brother Ja'far was known as a poet and has a special article in the *Kitabu'l-Aghani* in which verses also are preserved which he addressed to Urwa[2]. Of Urwa himself the *Kitabu'l-Aghani*[3] preserves an ironical verse which he wrote against 'Aîshah bint Talha on the occasion of her pilgrimage. But even in the historical reports which go back to him Urwa is not ashamed to transmit verses[4] which are ascribed to those who took part in the events. There is therefor some truth in the statement of Abul Zinâd, and we may take it that Urwa, even in the traditions concerning the life of the Prophet which he transmitted to his scholars, allowed verses of the participants to slip in, as Ibn Ishâq did later.

In contrast to Abân and 'Urwa who both belonged to the Islâmic noblesse, the next name to be mentioned in the history of the Maghâzi literature is that of a slave, Shurahbîl ibn Sa'd, a maula of the Madani stock of the Bani Khatma. He is said to have known Ali[5] (died 36 A. H.), and died in 123 A. H.[6], more than a hundred years old, so it is said. Among the companions of the Prophet from whom he derived traditions are named Zaid ibn Thâbit, Abu Huraira and Abu Sa'îd al-Khudri[7]; and of his sojourn on Zaid ibn Thâbit's estate at Al-Aswâf Shurahbîl himself speaks[8]. Mûsa ibn Uqba attests[9] that Shurahbîl wrote down lists of the names of the emigrants to Madînah and of the men who took part in the battles of Badr and Uhud; and Sufyân ibn Uyaina[10] declares that no one possessed better information regarding the *Maghazi* and the Badr-fights than he. In old age, however, he became confused[11] and because he was needy no one trusted him; that is to say people feared[12] that, if he visited anyone who made him no present, he would say: "Thy father was not present at Badr." Or,

(1) Tabari II, 397.
(2) *Aghani* XIII, 100 seq.
(3) Ibid. X, 56.
(4) Tabari I, 2348, *Aghani*: III, 16.
(5) Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib* IV, 321 seq.
(6) Ibid.
(7) Ibn Sa'd V, 228; Ibn Hajar IV, 321 Dhahabi, ed. Fischer (*Zeitchrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft* XLIV, 12 seq.
(8) Yâqût, *Mu'jamu'l-Buldan* I, 269.
(9) Ibn Hajar X, 361.
(10) Ibn Hajar IV, 321.
(11) Ibn Sa'd V, 228.
(12) Ibn Sa'd V, 321.

as it is expressed in another place[1]: "Shurahbîl was among those best versed in the Maghâzi, but people suspected that he was capable of adjudicating eminence in Islamic history to those who had no claim to it. He was in fact needy and on that account people dropped his Maghâzi." When Mûsa ibn Uqba heard these charges, he said: "People have grown bitter against this man who on account of his great age drags a painful existence." While Mûsa ibn Uqba thus took his part Ibn Ishâq, it seems, behaved towards him with aversion and to the question, what traditions he had taken from Shurahbîl, replied[2]: "Does anyone accept traditions from Shurahbîl?" Elsewhere also the verdicts on Shurahbîl are mostly unfavourable, but not all judge so, and Ibn Hibban quotes him among the *Thiqat*. Neither Ibn Ishâq nor Waqîdi ever mentions him; Ibn Sa'd[3], on the contrary, borrows from him a report concerning the emigration of the Prophet from Quba to Madînah. Shurahbîl in this passage furnishes no isnâd, from which, however, it cannot be concluded that that was his way on other occasions. On the other hand it is clear from this quotation that he did not confine himself to the Maghâzi in the strictest sense.

The three experts in the Maghâzi with whom we have hitherto dealt—Abân, Urwa and Shurahbîl—were of Madînah and spent their lives in their native city; the fourth, on the contrary, Wahb ibn Munabbih[4], who is numbered among the Tâbi'ûn and belonged to the same generation, was a South Arabian of Persian origin. He sprang from one of the Persian families which in pre-Islamic times, under the rule of Khusrau Anoshirwân, had settled in Southern Arabia and were known as Abna; Wahb's great-grandfather bears also the Persian name Uswâr. According to a plainly erroneous statement of Waqîdi[5], Wahb had embraced Islâm in the year 10 A.H., which would presuppose that he was already born before the Hijrah. In like manner the statement of Abdullah ibn Salâm[6] preserved in the Fihrist is unreliable: that Wahb had belonged to the Ahl ul-Kitâb who accepted Islâm. It is much more probable that he was born a Muslim, and

(1) Dhahabi ibid. 487.
(2) Ibn Hajar IV, 321.
(3) Ibn Sa'd Ia 160.
(4) Concerning Wahb v. M. Zidzhurski *De Legendis quae dicuntur propheticis.*
(5) Tabari I, 1763.
(6) Ibid.

perhaps the statement of Waqîdi refers not to Wahb but to his father Munabbih, who might have embraced Islâm in the year 10. There is no real reason to doubt the statement that he was born in the year 34 A. H[1]., which agrees with what we otherwise know of his life. Dhimâr near San'a is named as his birthplace, and of his brothers, Hammâm, Maq'il and Ghailân are mentioned. There is mention in Thalabi of a conversation of Mu'âwiya with Wahb; and the Khalîfah al-Walîd[2], when he found a stone with a foreign inscription on it while building the mosque at Damascus (in 87 A. H.), is said to have sent it to Wahb for deciphering. Wahb held for a time the post of Qâdi in his native city, and Simak ibn al-Fadhl[3] reports an incident of that time : " We were with Urwa ibn Muhammad, the Amîr of Yaman[4], at whose side was Wahb. When people came who complained of their amil and reported ill of him, Wahb gripped a staff which was in his hand and with it smote upon the head of the amil till it ran blood. Then Urwa laughed and said : Wahb blames us for our anger. He, himself, however, allows himself to be carried away by rage. Wahb replied : How should I not be transported with rage, when even He who created the dreams feels anger and has said (Sûrah XLIII, 55) : When they irritated Us, We punished them." That Wahb here designates Allah especially as the Creator of Dreams comes from the fact that he attached peculiar importance to dreams and was reputed to have " true dreams." Later he lost that faculty, as he himself thought, because[5] he had accepted the office of Qâdi. Wahb was not alone in that intuition ; we often hear of pious men who were loth to accept an office in the exercise of which they feared to jeopardise the welfare of their souls. Elsewhere also Wahb is depicted as a man of an ascetic way of life[6] and thought ; for forty years he is said never to have uttered a curse against any living creature, never to have slept on a carpet and to have performed no Wuzu' between the 'Isha and the Subh prayers. Wahb is said to have been for a time an adherent of the doctrine of the Qadar[7], but later to have rejected it as

(1) Ibn Hajar XI, 168.
(2) Mas'ûdi, *Muruj* ed. Bûlâq II, 109.
(3) Dhahabi ed. Fischer 440.
(4) The name of this Amîr of the Yaman seems not to be otherwise known. Perhaps his term of office fell between 57-73 A.H. when we do not know the names of the governors of Al-Yaman.
(5) Dhahabi ibid. 440.
(6) Dhahabi ibid, 439 Ibn Sa'd V, 396.
(7) Yâqût *Mu'jamu'l-Udaba* VII, 232 Dhahabi 440.

contrary to Revelation. In the year 100 A. H. he was in Mecca[1] and there met a number of renowned Fuqaha. Quite in the last years of his life came his imprisonment, of the reasons for which we learn nothing, but which Wahb with his pious character endorsed[2]: "Allah has decreed imprisonment for us, but we are all the more devoted to His service." The imprisonment was evidently the result of an order of the Governor Yûsuf ibn Uman al-Thaqafi who ruled the Yaman from 106 to 120 A. H. and, in 110 A. H., also for unknown reasons, had Wahb flogged to death[3].

Wahb is universally recognised as a reliable transmitter, and he is said to have handed on traditions of Ibn 'Abbâs, Jâbir, Abu Huraira and others. He seems however, in contradistinction to the Tâbi'ûn of Madînah, only seldom to have appealed to his sureties. Al-Bukhâri has indeed preserved a hadîth which Wahb traces back by way of his brother Hammâm to Abu Huraira, but in the numerous quotations which elsewhere in Arabic literature are ascribed to Wahb the isnâd is hardly ever found[4]. Wahb differs from his Madani fellow-countrymen also in this: that he takes especial interest in the traditions of the Ahl ul-Kitâb; and before we go into the subject of the Maghâzi of Wahb we must bestow a glance upon the other writings ascribed to him, which concern in particular the history of the Ahl ul-Kitâb or that of Wahb's South Arabian home. Wahb's intimate acquaintance with the traditions of the Ahl ul-Kitâb is supported[5] by statements that he had read 70, 72, 73, or 92 of their sacred writings. If such assertions deserve no credence, as the lists of the alleged sacred writings show, it is none the less sure that Wahb, by his relations with his Jewish and Christian countrymen, who were found in great numbers in South Arabia, had gained a knowledge of the contents of their holy scriptures. Many of Wahb's data agree, in fact, perfectly with the Jewish and Christian sources, while others differ from them. His statements cover the whole domain of "Narratives of the Prophet, of the Pious and of the Banu Israîl," to use an expression of Ibn Sa'd[6], and were passed on to posterity by his scholars,

(1) Dhahabi 440.
(2) Dhahabi 442.
(3) Dhahabi 442; Ibn Hajar X, 168 f. For the year of Wahb's death see also Yâqût, *Mu'jamu'l-Udaba* VII, 232 and Ibn Sa'd V, 396.
(4) Tabari is an exception I, 416.
(5) Ibn Sa'd V, 396; Lidzbarski 44 seq.
(6) Ibn Sa'd VII c 97.

among whom were found some other members of his family. In particular his grandson Abdul Mun'im has deserved well on account of the preservation of Wahb's collected material, and Wahb's *Kitabu' l-Mubtada*, which, Thalabi, for example, makes use of in Abdul Mun'im's version in his *Araisu' l-Majalis*, is ascribed to the latter as author in the Fihrist[1]. As for the title Al-Mubtada, it refers to Mubtada'l-Khalq[2]; the treatise however envisages not only the history of the origin of mankind according to the biblical traditions, but also the Qisas ul-Anbîyâ and so the previous history of Revelation. Especially for the Qisas ul-Anbîyâ Wahb ranks as one of the chief authorities, but he also, according to Ibn Sa'd, dealt with the 'Ubbâd, the saints who did not reach the rank of Prophets; and when Hajji Khalîfah[3] also ascribes to Wahb a treatise on the Qisas ul-Akhyâr, we may perhaps identify those Akhyâr with the 'Ubbâd of Ibn Sa'd.

Hajji Khalîfah also ascribes to Wahb a *Kitabu'l-Israiliyat*, which does not appear to have been known by that name in older times. Yâqût[4], for example, only says of it that Wahb "took much from the old books which are known as Israîlîyât," and therefor uses the expression only to designate the Israelitish sources of Wahb. Probably the treatise thus named by Hajji Khalîfah is identical with the Kitâbu'l-Mubtada and only received the designation of Israîlîyât in later times. Anyhow, in later writers are found a series of quotations from a treatise by Wahb entitled Israîlîyât, but, as a great deal is attributed to him which does not belong to him, little reliance can be placed on these statements, and anyhow they do not suffice to reconstruct the alleged *Israiliyat* of Wahb—if he ever really wrote a book with that title—as V. Chauvin[5] has tried to do. It is certain that Wahb in his Mubtada used not only Jewish but also Christian traditions, as the numerous quotations in Ibn Qutaiba, Tabari, Mas'ûd, Thalabi and others, indicate. Even the statements ascribed to him in such works of the older time as often as not, to say the truth, contradict each other; evidently his statements must early have undergone all sorts of alterations in the various rescripts, and it

(1) Fihrist 94.
(2) v. Ibn Qutaiba, *Ma'arif* IV where *Mubtada u'l-Khalq wa Qisasu'l-Anbiya* is named as the first *Fann* under *Fununu'l-Ma'arif*.
(3) No. 9436.
(4) *Mu'jumu 'l Udaba* VI, 232.
(5) In "*La recension egyptienne des mille et une nuits* 57 F."

is certain that later there was no hesitation about investing all sorts of tales of questionable origin with the authority of his name. Ibn Qutaiba even points out certain contradictions which exist between certain statements of Wahb and the original text of Genesis, although we see from the quotations in Ibn Hishâm with what accuracy Wahb reproduces the biblical text. The explanation of such contradictions is that either the accounts collected by Wahb were transformed by those who further published them in the sense of the popular story-tellers, or that Wahb himself undertook such a transformation.

In a special treatise[1], "The Book of the Crowned Kings of Himyar and Reports and Stories concerning them and their Sepulchres and their Poems," Wahb treated of the legendary ancient history of his homeland of the Yaman. This treatise has not come down to us. It is, however, evidently that from which Ibn Hishâm borrowed the introduction to his hitherto unpublished Kitâbu't-Tîjân[2]. In the script of Wahb used by Ibn Hishâm, Wahb follows the biblical sources entirely in the presentation of the history of man's origin, and not only quotes the names and figures of Genesis according to the original Hebrew text, but also notes the deviations of the Syrian translation.

The *Futuh* of Wahb, which Hajji Khalîfah mentions[3], seem to be otherwise unknown. On the other hand Ibn Sa'd[4] names the *Hikmah* of Wahb, and the Spanish bibliographer Abu Bakr Muhammad bin Khair [5] (died 575 A.H.) knew a copy of that work of which the *isnad* went back to Wahb's nephew 'Aqîl, who had received it from his uncle. This work contains wise sayings, and of similar import was the *Mau'iza*[6] also, which the same Spanish bibliographer mentions. Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Khair ascribes to Wahb also a translation of the Psalms, "Book of the Psalms of David in the Translation of Wahb ibn Munabbih." For the sake of completeness the *Kitabu'l-Qadar* also, which Wahb is said to have composed according to Yâqût[7], may be mentioned. All the writings of Wahb which we have named hitherto stand rather far

(1) Yâqût, *Mu'jamu'l Udaba* VII, 232.
(2) Lidzbarski 8 seq.
(3) No. 8932.
(4) Ibn Sa'd VII a 97, where it is said of Wahb's grandson that he used to recite the writings and wisdom of Wahb.
(5) *Bibliotheca Arabo-Hispana* IX, 129.
(6) Ibid. 294.
(7) *Mu'jamu'l Udaba* VII, 232, Ibn Hajar XI, 168.

away from the Maghâzi, with which we are concerned in this article ; still if we, as we must, understand the term Maghâzi in its widest sense, in accordance with the use of language in the early days of Islâm, and extend it to the whole life-story of the Prophet, then these writings of Wahb come into consideration for the introduction to the Prophet's biography, in so far as this concerns the bearers of Revelation before Muhammad. Hajji Khalîfah[1] says indeed of Wahb : " He collected the Maghâzi ;" but in the older works of Sîrah-literature he is nowhere quoted as an authority on the life-story of the Prophet. However the statement of Hajji Khalîfah is right. C. H. Becker[2] has discovered among the papyri of the Schott-Reinhardt collection, now preserved in Heidelberg, a volume which evidently represents a fragment of this *Kitabu'l-Maghazi*. The Heidelberg fragment is written in 228 A.H., therefor not much more than a hundred years later than Wahb ; and the first words run : " Muhammad ibn Bakr Abu Talha related to us, he said : 'Abdul Mun'im related to us from his father, from Abu'l-Yâs, from Wahb." This list, which thus refers the contents of the volume back to Wahb, is oft repeated in the course of the text. Wahb, for his part, however, never states to what authorities he owes his information. The Heidelberg fragment confirms therefor what we already know from Tabari among others : that Wahb did not, generally speaking, employ *isnad*. We have already learnt to know Abdul Mun'im[3] as a grandson of Wahb, who elsewhere also handed on the writings of his grandfather as he had received them from his father Idrîs, the husband of Wahb's daughter. Idrîs, however, had not received the writings direct from Wahb but through the intermediary of Abû'l-Yâs[4], the same who, according to Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Khair, transmitted the *Mau'iza* of Wahb also[5]. The Heidelberg fragment shows us that Wahb did not treat of the Maghâzi in the narrower sense, for it contains the history of the great 'Aqaba, the conference of Quraish in Daru'n-Nadwa, the preparations for the Hijrah, the Hijrah itself, the advent of the Prophet in Madînah and the campaign against Banu Khaitham. If we learn from the Heid-

(1) No. 12464.
(2) Papyri Schott-Reinhardt 8.
(3) Ibn Sa'd VII, 1 97, Ibn Qutaiba, *Ma'arif* 261. Fihrist 94.
(4) I can find nothing in the *Kutubu'r-Rijal* concerning this Abu 'l-Yâs. Abu'l Yàs is also the *Kunya* of Wahb's son-in-law Idrîs ibn Sinân, but in the Heidelberg Papyrus it is more generally stated : *Abdu'l-Mun'im 'an Abihi 'an Abi'l-Yas*.
(5) *Bibliotheca Arabo Hispana* IX, 294.

elberg fragment hardly anything new that we do not find in the works of Sîrah and Maghâzi literature which have come to us complete, it is important for this reason : that it establishes the fact that, already in the year 100 A. H. or earlier, the biography of the Prophet was narrated exactly as in later works. From the latter Wahb is distinguished by the facts that he nowhere names his authorities though he adheres to them, and that he also interrupts the prose narrative with poetical insertions, odes which he puts in the mouth of the participators in events or their contemporaries, as has been the custom of the Arab storytellers from of old.

JOSEF HOROVITZ.

PHYSIOLOGY AND MEDICINE UNDER THE KHALIFS.

II

THE WORK OF THE ARABS.

THE science of Physiology and the art of Medicine among the Arabs arose out of the Greek in those Hellenic cities and countries which had passed under Muslim sway, but although in this respect Arabian physiology and medicine may be regarded as an offspring of the Greek, it within a comparatively short period eclipsed it, and the child became greater than the parent.

In addition to Hellenic learning on these subjects, medicinal and other scientific knowledge was introduced into the Arabian Empire from India, China and the Far East. It is noteworthy that nearly all the early physicians were East Indians, most of whom had become converts to Islam.

Some ascribe the dissemination of Greek medicinal and physiological knowledge in the East to the migration of certain Nestorian monks who settled in Persia and Arabia in the sixth century and established many schools of learning in those countries. With the advent of Islam into these lands, and the encouragement given to literature and science by the Muslim Caliphs and Rulers, naturally the " art of healing " and the science of Physiology made great progress. Anterior to the Islamic Dispensation the Arab world, strictly so denominated, confined within the Arabian peninsula and some outlying spans thereof to the north-east and north-west, had shown no signs of intellectual growth. Though poetry, oratory and a species of judicial astrology were subjects of interest to the pre-Islamic Arabs, literature and science had no votaries among them.

The advent of the Prophet Muhammad and his pregnant words, however, roused the Arab people from their previous torpour and showed them the pleasure and advantages of learning.

The Prophet Muhammad's devotion to knowledge and science distinguish him from all other world-teachers and bring him into the closest affinity with the modern world of thought. He ever preached of the value of knowledge. It is recorded that he uttered the following words :—" Acquire knowledge, because he who acquires it in the way of the Lord performs an act of piety ; whoso speaks of it praises the Lord : whoso seeks it adores God : whoso dispenses instruction in it bestows alms ; and whoso imparts it to its fitting objects, performs an act of devotion to God. Knowledge enables its possessor to distinguish what is forbidden from what is not ; it lights the way to Heaven; it is our friend in the desert, our society in solitude, our companion when bereft of friends ; it guides us to happiness ; it sustains us in adversity ; it is our ornament in the company of friends ; it serves as an armour against our enemies. With knowledge the servant of God rises to the heights of goodness and to a noble position, associates with sovereigns in this world, and attains to the perfection of happiness in the next[1]."

Amongst other sayings of the Prophet Muhammad are the following :—

" The ink of the scholar is more precious than the blood of the martyr."

" Seek knowledge, even if you have to travel to China to obtain it.[2]"

" He who leaves his home in search of knowledge, walks in the path of God."

" He who travels in search of knowledge, to him God shows the way to Paradise."

" Seek for knowledge, even from the cradle to the grave."

The 96th Sura of the Quran, " Al-'Alaq " (congealed blood), the first five verses whereof ending with the words " Who taught man that which he knew not," are generally allowed to be the first portion of that Holy Book revealed to the Prophet, are emphatic on the point that in the sight of God, learning and knowledge have a supreme value.

The following *ayat* (verse) speaks for itself :—

1. Tradition from the *Bikar-ul-Anwar* of Mullah Bakir ibn-Mohammed Taki Al-Majlisi, Vol. I. chapter on " Knowledge " handed down by Imam Ja'far as Sadiq; see also Mu'an ibn-Jabal, *Al-Mustatraf* Chap. IV, and Haji Khalifa, *Kashfuz-Zunun.*

2. *Misbah ush-Shariat ; Mishkatu'l-Masabih.*

"Read by thy most beneficent Lord; who taught the use of the pen; taught man that which he knew not."

Commenting on this passage, Zamakhshari says :—

"God taught human beings that which they did not know, and this act of His testifies to the greatness of His beneficence, for He has given to His servants knowledge of that which they did not know. And He has brought them out of the darkness of ignorance to the light of knowledge, and made them aware of the inestimable blessings of the knowledge of writing, and without the knowledge of writing no other knowledge ('ilm) could be comprehended, nor the sciences placed within bounds, nor the history of the ancients acquired and their sayings recorded, nor the revealed books written; and if that knowledge did not exist, the affairs of religion and the world could not be regulated."

The Caliph Ali, the nephew and son-in-law of the Prophet said :—"To him who will teach me one new fact I shall be indebted all my life[1]."

The ardent love of knowledge, and the passionate devotion to the cause of humanity—the spirit of ever looking upwards far above the literalness of common interpretation of the law, of the immediate descendants of the Holy Prophet clearly show not only their own probity and piety, but also the power of Islam. The definition of the Imâm Jaafar as-Sâdiq of science or knowledge conveys the feelings and faith of those poor and humble but truly saintly men and women in the onward progress of humanity :—

"The enlightenment of the heart is its essence; Truth its principal object; Inspiration its guide; Reason its accepter; God its inspirer; and the words of man its utterer."

The Umayyads the descendants of Mû'âwiyah, son of Abu Sufyân, who wrested the Khilâfat from Hasan, the eldest son of Ali (who had been elected thereto by the suffrages of the people of Kufa, the then metropolis, and its dependencies), and established his capital at Damascus, discouraged the peaceful pursuit of mental pleasures.

1. See the *Hadith-i-Ihlilaj*, from the Imam Ali bin-Musa ar-Raza, reported by Mufazal bin-Omar Joufi, *Bihar ul-Anwar.*

The character of Mû'âwiyah and the circumstances which ensured his success are thus summed up by Mr. Robert Durie Osborn in his book, "Islam under the Arabs" (Pub. 1876) :—

> "Astute, unscrupulous, and pitiless, the first Khalîfah of the Omayads shrank from no crime necessary to secure his position. Murder was his accustomed mode of removing a formidable opponent.—The grandson of the prophet he caused to be poisoned ; Malik al-Ashtar, the heroic lieutenant of Ali, was destroyed in a like way, to secure the succession of his son Yezid.
>
> "Muawiyah hesitated not to break the word he had pledged to Hussain, the surviving son of Ali. And yet this cool, calculating, atheistic Arab ruled over the regions of Islam, and the sceptre remained in his family for the space of nearly ninety years. The explanation of this anomaly is to be found in two circumstances. The one is, that the truly devout and earnest Mussulman conceived that he manifested his religion most effectually by withdrawing himself from the affairs of the world. The other is the tribal spirit of the Arabs. Conquerors of Asia, Northern Africa, of Spain, the Arabs never rose to the level of their position. Greatness had been thrust upon them, but in spite of their grandeur they retained, in all their previous force and intensity, the passions, the rivalries, the petty jealousies of the desert. They merely fought again on a wilder field, the battle of the Arabs before Islam[4]."

From the descendants of such a creature as Muawiyah what encouragement could be expected for learning and science* ? On the other hand, the pious descendants of the Prophet favoured learning and devoted themselves to the cultivation of science and learning in all its branches who have been called the "Philosophers of the House of the Prophet." They received with distinction those learned men whom the bitter, fanatical persecution of Justin II, "the younger," and the other Byzantine Emperors who succeeded Justinian, drove to seek refuge in foreign lands. The academies of philosophy and medicine founded by that once large and flourishing sect, the Nestorians, at Edessa and Nisibin had been broken up, their libraries scattered and destroyed, and their professors and students were exiles and refugees in Persia and Arabia. Many of

1. R. D. Obsorn, *Islam under the Arabs*, (Pub. 1876).

* We are not responsible for these opinions of our contributor, which are against the verdict of modern research. Ed "I. C."

these wended their way, as in earlier times, many others of their creed had done during the life-time of the Holy Prophet and the Khilâfat of Abu-Bakr, to the sacred city of Medina ; which after its sack by the Ummayads became the residence of a galaxy of talented scholars, who gathered round the abode of the Imâm Jaafar as-Sâdiq, to sit at his feet, as Saul had done at the feet of Gamaliel, and to treasure in their minds the pearls of wisdom which fell from his lips.

This deeply learned and holy man was one of the twelve persons who, according to the religious doctrines of the Shî'a school of the Islamic Faith, are considered as imâms. He was surnamed as-Sâdiq for his veracity. He was skilled in the knowledge of alchemy, physiology and medicine, and composed a treatise on alchemy, augury and omens and also treatises on medicine and the forms and figures of men and animals ; and that celebrated alchemist whom Europeans call Geber, but whose actual name was Jâbir Ibnu-Haiyam, compiled a work of two thousand pages, wherein he inserted the problems of his master Jaafar-as-Sâdiq, which form five hundred treatises.

Jaafar was born in the year 699 of the common era (corresponding to the 80th year of the Hijrah) which year in Arabian history is generally referred to as " The year of Torrents[1]." He died in the month of Shawal, A. H. 148 (765 of the Christian era), and was buried in the cemetery of al-Baki at Medina[2].

It is related by Abu'l-Fath Mahmud ibn-Hussain, surnamed Koshajim (a celebrated poet and philosopher, contemporary with al-Mutanabbi) in his *Kitab al-Masaid wa'l-Matarid* (book of snares and games) that Jaafar once asked Abu-Hanîfa his opinion respecting a Hajji (pilgrim), wearing the *ihram* (Pilgrim's robe), who broke the canine teeth of a gazelle[3] ; to which Abu Hanîfa replied : " O Son of the Prophet of God : I know not what to say on the subject." On this, Jaafar said : " O brother in the Faith ! You who are a man of keen

1. According to another statement, his birth happened before the dawn of Tuesday, 8th Ramadan, A.H. 83.

2. The same tomb contained the bodies of his father Muhammad al-Bakr, his grandfather Ali Zain ul-Aabidin, and his grandfather's uncle, Al-Hasan, son of the Caliph Ali—" The Lion of God."

3. According to Islamic Laws, a person, who is performing the pilgrimage to Mecca, is not permitted to hunt, fowl, or fish, during the period he wears the *ihram*.

mind, do you not know that gazelles have no canine teeth, but only incisors ?" It is evident from this retort made by Jaafar that he had observed that although camels have incisors, canine teeth and molars, most of the other ruminating quadrupeds only possess incisors and molars. It may be that he addressed the question to Abu-Hanîfa in order to impress that person as well as others present, with a sense of the importance of the study of anatomy and physiology.

So learned was Jaafar that his pupil Abu-Mûsa, it is said, composed a work of two thousand pages containing the problems of his master Jaafar as-Sâdiq. These problems are mainly concerned with legal, theological, and philosophical matters, but it is significant to note that thirty-three of them are connected with physiological or medical questions, one being with reference to the difference in the tones of the voice of man and woman, and what was the cause thereof. From this and other works of that immediate period it is manifest that the influence of medical writings on general Islamic literature was at first but slight. Alchemy, (al-kimiyah) an art cultivated from the most ancient times, was always a favourite study with the Muslims, and in the pursuit of this branch of knowledge they made many interesting and valuable discoveries which served at a later period to form the basis of chemical science.

Harûn al-Kindi is said to have been the first Arab who practised medicine. He belonged to one of the most noble Arabian tribes, that of Kindaj ; his father and grandfather were Muslims and his great-grandfather was one of the *Sahaba* or " Companions of the Prophet." A curious story is related of how he came to practise medicine. It is said that when he was only 14 years of age, a favourite cat belonging to his father fell ill and had several fits. Harûn, out of affection for the animal, nursed it and administered certain medicines to it and thereby ultimately succeeded in restoring it to perfect health. His success with *al-hurairah* (the little cat) became noised abroad and people began to consult him, first with regard to such of their camels and cattle as were sick, and ultimately on their own and their children's ailments. Harûn took every opportunity of acquiring medical knowledge and, it is said, examined the internal organs of any cattle which had died from disease, and ultimately became a very popular and

highly successful physician. Al-Kindi is often referred to by Arabian historians under the title of " The Philosopher of the Muslims."

H. M LEON.

(*to be continued.*)

IBN KHALDUN AND HIS HISTORY OF ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION.

I

HIS LIFE AND WORK.

At the time when the great intellectual activity of the Arab people passes its meridian glory and signs of decay reveal themselves on all sides, it is singular that a bold, independent thinker should rise among them, scanning the progress of civilization and fashioning a conception of history at once original and sublime.

Ibn Khaldun is the name of the distinguished scholar who among the historians of the East holds a position of undisputed supremacy. Not only did he write a history of the Islamic peoples from a new and an independent point of view but he dedicated his special attention to its cultural side. And it is with just self-confidence that he points out that he was the first to write such a work.

The stirring times in which he lived; the influential rôle which he, as a *savant* and statesman, played, may well have helped him much in shaping and attuning his mind to that task.

Born in Tunis in the year 1322 and connected with one of the most influential families of Seville, in his twentieth year he filled the position of Secretary to Sultan Abu Ishaq II., of the Hafaside dynasty, exercising, at least in name, authority over Tunis. But he soon gave up this position and repaired to Fez, the capital of the Sultans of the House of Merynides. Here, in the secretariat of the Sultan Abu Inan, he secured a post, but he soon fell into disfavour. He was thrown into prison, and not until the death of the Sultan in 1358 did he regain his freedom. Once again he played an important political rôle and managed to obtain the private secretaryship of the new ruler. An insurrection, however, overthrew the Sultan and, under the new ruler, his position became one of great difficulty. He then turned to Spain (1362) where Ibn Ahmar, king of Granada, to whom he had earlier rendered

important services, received him with open arms. A year later, as ambassador of his new master, he went to Seville, the town of his forefathers, to the court of Peter, the Cruel, king of Castille, who accorded him a warm reception. The king proposed that he should remain at his court and wanted even to restore to him in Seville the patrimony of his family.

To Granada, however, he returned; where he lived happily until an unpleasantness between him and the Wazir Ibn Khatib induced him to return to Africa (1365). He settled down at Bejaya (Bougie) whither the Hafaside prince had invited him. Not long, however, did he enjoy peace. A neighbouring ruler, the prince of Constantine, conquered the town. Ibn Khaldun, therefore, turned his steps to Telmesan (Tlemsen) where the ruler, Prince Abu Hammu of the family of Abd-al-wad,* appointed him his secretary. In 1370, when a war was impending between his master and the Sultan of West Africa of the dynasty of Merynides, he asked for and obtained permission to travel back to Spain. But, just when embarking, he was arrested, at the instance of the Merynide Sultan, Abdul Aziz. After a short trial he was set at liberty and was admitted to the favour of the Sultan who, knowing the great influence which Ibn Khaldun wielded over the Arab nomad tribes—a very important political element—wanted to make use of him. When Abdul Aziz died he continued in the service of his son Abu Bakr Sa'id who, under the guardianship of the great Wazir, carried on the administration.

In the meantime the king of Granada interfered with the inner affairs of the Merynide State. He declared himself against the minor and set up a pretender to the throne. This led to a war between Granada and the Merynides. The war ended with the deposition of Abu Bakr Sa'id and the enthronement, in his place, of another of the same House.

In these circumstances Ibn Khaldun begged and obtained permission to return to Spain (1374) but suffered the misfortune of being expelled at the instance of his *quondam* patron, the king of Granada. On his return to Africa he found himself in a perilous position. He would not enter the territory of the Merynides and, in the country of the Sultan of Telmesan, whom he had left earlier with defiance and insolence, he did not feel quite safe. He, however, responded to the call of the Sultan and went to Telmesan but sought safety in a cloister of *Derwishes* and

* *Sic.* Ed. "I. C."

availed himself of the first opportunity of leaving the territory of the Sultan. He then settled down with his family at Kal'at Ibn Salama, an out-of-the-way little town in the modern Province of Oran. For four years he remained here in the old castle, the ruins of which may yet be seen, and here he completed his history of the Muslim civilization.

At the end of 1378 he proceeded to Tunis to collect materials for his general History. There, under the Hafasides, lively was the intellectual life and rich the collection of books in mosques and colleges. The Sultan Abul Abbas personally interested himself in the success of his history. Here Ibn Khaldun completed the portion dealing with the Berbers and the Zenata tribes; the two dynasties of the Omayyads and the Abbasides; the pre-Islamic history; and presented a copy to the library of the Sultan. After four years' stay he was compelled to leave by reason of an intrigue carried on against him with the Sultan. He sought permission to make the pilgrimage to Mekka and thus, leaving his family behind, set sail in a ship bound for Alexandria (1382). From Alexandria he went on to Cairo, where he was appointed chief judge (1384) to administer justice according to the Malikite law. In this office he showed great firmness in removing countless abuses and malpractices. He adopted stringent measures against the officers of *Diwans;* against theoretical and professional jurists; against *Derwishes* who under the cloak of piety, mixed themselves up in all affairs temporal. In so doing he made numerous enemies who calumniated him to the Sultan.

To this was added a grave misfortune. His family, whom he had left behind to take ship at Tunis, perished in a storm on the voyage. Thus placed, he longed for peace and quiet, and eventually succeeded in resigning his office. Henceforth he devoted his entire time to study and literary occupations—only once interrupted by a pilgrimage to Mekka.

In the year 1400 he accompanied the ruler of Egypt to Syria on a campaign against Tamerlane. He was taken prisoner but soon managed to effect his release. He then returned to Cairo where, more than once, he acted as judge. On the 15th of March 1406, at the age of 74, he died.

We must know the fateful, eventful life of the man to understand his mental drift and literary activity. He lived at the time of the general dissolution of the old Arab world. Already some time before, the empire had been

replaced by numerous Sultanats and feudal overlordships, constantly at war with each other, hastening on the general wreck of existing conditions. The idea of nationality, strikingly evidencing itself in the wars of the Berbers against the Arabs, showed clearly enough its strength as a state-forming factor.

Relying upon the observations of such events, Ibn Khaldun puts forward his views regarding the rise and fall of States and the influence of nomad and settled elements in national life. He regards history not as an account of political events or a story of successive dynasties but as a portraiture of the intellectual and moral development of peoples.

Says Ibn Khaldun : ' History should aim at shedding light on the social groupings of men ; that is to say, on society and the various stages through which it passes in the natural course of events. It should shed light on its passage from savagery to greater and yet greater refinement of manners and customs ; on the realization of the common interests of family and tribe ; on the various ways in which one nation gains predominance over others, leading on to the establishment of empires and dynasties and, finally, on all the changes, which in the course of natural events, affect the character of society[1].'

To this definition of what he considers the main task of history, he adds his views on historical criticism. He sets down, as the primary and not the least important cause of the manifold errors of historians, a defective understanding of the task of history and the want of knowledge of the nature of the conditions created by the very constitution of the society[2]. This idea he thus develops further : In the study of human society the rule to employ is to distinguish truth from falsehood and to appreciate the possible from the impossible ; to discriminate between that which is of its very nature essential and that which is accidental and of no consequence; finally to seize upon that which should be ruled out from the very beginning[3].

With an almost child-like confidence, which finds its explanation and justification in the lively imagination of

(1) French tr. by de Slane, 1,71. Quatremere's Arabic Text p. 51. Throughout this paper the first reference is to the French translation and the second to the Arabic text.

(2) 1,73 (57).

(3) 1,77 (61).

the Arabs, Ibn Khaldun assures himself of the discovery of an infallible touchstone of truth.

Proceeding on the lines indicated, we have, says he, a sure rule for detecting, in the accounts of events handed down, truth from falsehood and a manifest method admitting of no doubt. When we hear of an event happening in human society, we are thus at once in a position to determine how much we should accept as true and how much we should reject as false. We possess, in this rule, an unerring touchstone wherewith the historian can test facts with precision.

We here see that the Oriental and specially the Arab, standing under the severe discipline of the scholastic-dialectic method, is under a disadvantage compared with an impartial philosopher. He fashions a rule of general application and seeks to judge events *a priori*, according to it, without thinking how difficult it is, in every given case, to ascertain the truth and how impossible it is to fix a general standard, in advance, for all cases and to hold by it as an unfailing formula. But, apart from this weakness, we must acknowledge, in these efforts of the Arab statesman to determine the laws of history, a rare independence of enquiry and boldness of thought which alone suffice to assign him a distinguished place among the philosophic historians of the Middle Ages whose incontestable pioneer he was. We must not, however, forget that, in spite of the deductive method which the above quoted rule implies, Ibn Khaldun carefully cites facts in support of his conclusions. On the whole, he is pre-eminently inductive, and this is abundantly clear from the fact that to establish his general ideas on the philosophy of history, he made extensive researches, the results of which lie before us in his general history. He particularly stressed the comparative method—the comparative survey of facts—and yet that did not preclude him from theorizing and speculating upon the results of his researches[1]. Thus justly he says of his work : ' It is a science by itself, for it sets a very definite object before it ; namely, civilization and human society. It deals with the different questions which serve to interpret and explain facts intimately connected with the essence of civilization. The sections, in which I treat these subjects, contain a branch of science remarkable alike for its originality and utility. They are the fruits of protracted reflection and unwearying research.'

(1) Vol. I. 77 (61-2).

We must not take it as a mere Eastern phrase when Ibn Khaldun ascribes the new direction he had given to historical enquiry to divine inspiration and higher guidance, and concludes with the verse of the Qur'an : 'For God guides with His light him whom he finds pleasing unto Him' (Sura XXIV, *v.* 35).

The acuteness of his historical conception corresponds perfectly with the plan of his work. Man is distinguished from the rest of the creation, says he, by qualities which are peculiarly his own. Among others are the following : (1) Man is distinguished from animals by science and art—products of reflection ; (2) the need of a controlling, restraining authority. Of all living creatures man is the one who cannot exist without this. However much the bees and the locusts show some semblance of government—with them it is the outcome of instinct, not of reflection ; (3) the capacity for work and acquisition which supply him with the necessary means of subsistence ; (4) the tendency towards association which brings him together in towns or in tents. This tendency to society and the pressure of needs give rise to mutual assistance in the pursuit of the means of subsistence ; (5 & 6) The state of association in its two-fold phase, (*a*) nomad life (*b*) settled life. In both these instances the form of society causes changes of capital importance.

In pursuance of this plan Ibn Khaldun divides the first book into six sections : (1) on human association in general and on the differences of race and country ; (2) on association among the nomads, specially in reference to half-wild tribes and peoples ; (3) on the forms of government, the Caliphate, the kingship and the posts necessary in each form of government ; (4) on the characteristic features of the civilization of settled peoples and the importance of towns and provinces therein ; (5) on trades and crafts and the various modes of acquiring wealth and means of livelihood ; (6) on sciences and the means of acquiring a knowledge of them[1].

It is not the object of this paper to pursue Ibn Khaldun any further in his outlined plans. It suffices to indicate the drift of his thought and to give an idea of his conception of history.

From this plan of his work it is apparent that he understands by the history of civilization an account of the entire activity of a people in domains spiritual and

(1) 1,85 (68).

material—not unlike the modern European conception of the science of history.

And if there is anything which astonishes us, it is the fact that, though a Muslim, he does not assign to religion a place of importance as a formative element in the history of civilization. Its importance as a political factor he fully recognises, but ignores its metaphysical and transcendental side altogether. Here, too, Ibn Khaldun is the first representative of an intellectual tendency which manifests itself in the West only five hundred years later.

II

EFFECT OF CLIMATE AND FOOD UPON PHYSICAL AND SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT.

THE author of the cultural history of the Arabs manifestly ascribes to the material conditions of life a great and lasting influence on the physical and spiritual development of nations. This question, illustrated in recent times in numerous ways, was discussed by Ibn Khaldun five hundred years ago. Indeed the idea is expressed, though in a crude way, earlier still by a well-known writer, Jahiz, who discusses the sudden transformation of men into wild animals referred to in the Qur'an. He collects the opinions of philosophers—the most striking being that, though a sudden transformation is impossible, there is a gradual change, explicable by analogous cases observed in nature. It is thereupon pointed out that in course of time, air and water exercise a considerable influence on the development of man, as is best observable in negroes (Zing) and Slavs (Sakalibah) and in the inhabitants of Yagug and Magug (*i.e.*, of Tartary). We observe, adds this author, like phenomena in the Arab colonies settled in Khorasan. Similarly we observe the peculiar features of the Central Asiatic countries and note how the camels, the beasts of burden, and all other animals—tame and wild—adapt themselves to natural conditions. Thus we see all insects, living upon vegetables and flowers, green in colour—though these very insects, in other circumstances, are differently coloured. Take for instance the tribe of Sulaim, living in a volcanic region. They are all of dark complexion, men and animals alike. It is related by many that they have seen men of Nabatæan origin inhabiting the district of Mesene (Maisan) possessing tails, if not quite like that of a crocodile or a horse; yet, like a tortoise or

a mole; they have such developed buttocks that they look like tails. Often have I seen, adds Jahiz, Nabatæan sailors on the Tigris who appear ape-like, and not infrequently we see men from West Africa between whom and the animals there is but scant difference. This must be attributed to contaminated air, bad water, unhealthy soil. The inhabitants of such a locality who, out of sheer attachment, will not leave their homes, become, through mere operation of external conditions, completely transformed in time. They get such growth of hair; such a red-burnt colour; and such ape-like figures as we have described[1].

Ibn Khaldun's view of the influence of local conditions upon men and their culture is not so childish. It is, moreover, in complete agreement with facts. He follows the Arab geographers who have divided the earth from the equator to the North Pole into seven successive Zones. The first two, lying north of the equator, are exposed to the effects of the intense rays of the sun and are of high temperature. In consequence their inhabitants are distinguished by a dark skin, while the last two are distinguished by the low temperature and fairskin of their inhabitants. By reason of harmonious proportion, the inhabitants of the middle zones, the third, fourth and fifth, are conspicuous alike for their physical and intellectual endowments. This evidences itself in their civilization, their mode of living, their science and art, their political institutions. They have had prophets. They have developed kingship, established dynasties, made laws, fostered learning, built towns, etc. The people who occupy these Zones are the Arabs, the Romans, the Persians, the Israelites and the Greeks; and so also the inhabitants of India and China[2]. To justify his views Ibn Khaldun mentions the cheerful, careless character, (inclined to exuberance) of the negroes which he accounts for by the high temperature of their country. The character of the inhabitants of North Africa surprisingly approximates to that of the negroes. The very same characteristics are found in the country called Belad-ul-Jarid which, as is well-known, is extremely hot. Even in the Egyptians, whose country lies in the same Zone as the above mentioned country we find the very same carelessness and easy manners. On the other hand the inhabitants of Fez in West Africa (Morocco) display the very opposite qualities.

(1) Jahiz: *Kitab-ul-Haiwan*, fol. 195—196. Vienna MS.
(2) Vol. I., 173 (153).

Surrounded by inclement, high plains, they are just the reverse of the Egyptians, being serious, cautious, circumspect. Whereas in Egypt no one dreams of laying by provisions for any length of time[1], the people of Fez often store supplies for a whole year.

Whoever intimately knows the countries, the inhabitants, here referred to, will confirm the observations of Ibn Khaldun. As regards the character of the Egyptians I have come to know it by long residence, and I record my entire agreement with Ibn Khaldun. Wretchedly ruled and weighed down with oppressive taxes[2] as they have always been—they yet possess a fount of good humour and zest in life which no oppression or affliction can affect, much less exhaust. The ease with which the indispensable requirements of life are met and the mild climate are responsible for this position of affairs, but how enduring it is, a comparison between the present and the past clearly shows! Although five hundred years intervene between now and the days of Ibn Khaldun there is yet no substantial change noticeable in the Egyptian character[3].

The question of food is the next question which Ibn Khaldun takes up. Above every thing else he calls attention to the fact that the wandering tribes, who depend for their sustenance on the milk and flesh of their flocks, and who hardly use cereals, are far superior in physical and spiritual powers to the inhabitants of settled countries living in comparative comfort and affluence. By better and more healthy external conditions the former are stronger and more highly developed physically. They have moreover a steadier character and keener perceptions[4].

By way of contrast he speaks thus of the[5] townsfolk: In shamelessness they are unabashed. They use indecorous language, and the presence of relatives or females exercises no restraining influence upon them. Very different is the case in nomad life, where the esteem in which women are held will not permit of the use of an improper word in their presence.

(1) 1,176 (156) The Egyptians depend on their markets for their daily needs. (2) This was written many years ago by A. Von Kremer. Tr. (3) The tendency to asceticism, manifesting itself in the first centuries in Egypt, according to my opinion was due to continence enjoined by Christianity. (4) 1, 178 (158). (5) Vol II., 303 (258). Cf. Von Kremer's *Kulturgeschichte*. Here I may also refer to Schweiger Herrschenfeld's *Frauen des Orients* (1904). The chapters on 'Arab women' are brilliant and profound. Tr.

Similar contrasts are shown between wild animals of the desert and domestic animals fed on rich pastures. What a difference between gazelles, antelopes, ostriches, giraffes, wild asses, and tame animals that are closely related to them. The gazelle is the sister of the goat, the giraffe of the camel, the wild ass and the wild cow correspond to the tame animals bearing the same name, and yet how utterly different are they from each other in the smoothness of their skin, in the lustre of their hair, in physical appearance, and in general intelligence[1].

Food also affects physical and moral qualities. Religion and piety feel the effect of abundance of food. Among those country and townsfolk who lead a frugal life and are accustomed to hunger and abstinence from pleasure—the religious sense is much keener and stronger and a life of piety more general and widespread than among those who are lapped in riches and luxury. Thus it is that in large towns few are religious, for men live there in luxury and indulge in flesh, fat and flour ; whereas in the country, where diet is more frugal, the very reverse is the case[2].

This contrast, between the simplicity of nomad life and the refinement and pleasure-seeking of towns, according to Ibn Khaldun is the driving-force in the general historical development of man. The military spirit and the spirit of adventure receive sustenance and support from the simple life of the shepherds ; in settled conditions, notably in towns, they dwindle and decay. But the nomads slowly advance from their primitive simplicity to greater and yet greater refinements. They gradually settle down and form themselves into a political community or take possession by force, of one already in existence and set themselves up as its rulers—bidding farewell to their nomad life[3]. Under the influence of settled life, and the luxury and corruption of morals arising therefrom, they lose the qualities which fitted them for conquest and rule and, in course of time, they become victims to the inevitable processes of degeneration.

This view of the course of history is rather one-sided, for it really applies to certain definite conditions obtaining in some Oriental countries where cultural development has not quite attained its highest stage. At the same time we cannot but confess, that with certain reservations, the principle enunciated by Ibn Khaldun is sound.

(1) 1,178 (159). (2) 1,180 (160). (3) Of the numerous Oriental dynasties which were thus founded, it is sufficient to mention here the latest, namely, the Kachars who are now ruling Persia.

III.

THE IDEAL BASIS OF NATIONAL LIFE.

The characteristic note of Ibn Khaldun's historical conception is that he ascribes to moral, no less an importance, than to material forces, as the ideal basis of national life. Despite the levelling influence of the Muslim outlook on the world, underestimating the linguistic and intellectual diversities of the nations under the sway of Islam, it is amazing that Ibn Khaldun seized upon and clearly expressed the dividing element in differing nations.

Apart from significant differences due to the division of human society into settled, town and country-life, on the one hand, and nomadic life on the other; he finds a purely ideal force which holds individual groups together. This purely ideal force he expresses by a word which may best be translated by 'Communal sense' (Gemeinsinn). He traces its beginnings to the nomad life where it stands out in bold and effective relief[1].

Going back to primitive epochs, when individual groups lead their unstable life, each by itself and for itself, ever in dread of attack, and therefore ever ready to protect its belongings, its women, children, servants and herds, against hostile raids, we find the consciousness of oneness tremendously powerful there as most of the members of the tribe are actually linked together in the ties of kinship. Every one regards himself as part of the whole and the whole stands out for the individual. Such is the case with the wandering tribes of the desert. And this feeling is all the more effective as every individual warrior of a tribe has but one supreme duty, one absorbing thought; namely, to protect his tribe and the members thereof. Hence one without trusty helpers and allies must perish in the struggle for existence[2].

As the 'Communal spirit' and the readiness to mutual help are founded upon a sense of kinship or common des-

(1) The word 'Asabiyyah' which is here translated by 'Communal spirit' is rendered by de Slane by *Esprit de corps*. In many cases it corresponds exactly with the modern expression 'idea of nationality.' Although this word is first used by Ibn Khaldun in this sense, it is not to be found in Ibn Faris (d. 390 A.H.), the author of the 'Mujmal.' On the other hand Jauhari, in the 'Sahah,' has it in the sense of 'Partisan spirit.' It is derived from 'Asabah which means relatives on paternal side. It goes back to 'Asab' which means muscular ligaments. The meaning of the root is to bind, to hold together.

(2) 3, 269 (234).

cent, it follows, as of course, that kinship should be deemed something sacred and be extended to its remotest limit, for through it does the tribe secure influence, respect, importance. Clients and slaves are included in the family, and as such share in its rights and duties. In this light, indeed, we must understand the tradition of the Prophet which says ' Study your genealogy to know who are your nearest kinsmen. ' Obvious, then, is the great importance which, according to unanimous report, was attached to the knowledge of genealogy in Arab antiquity : proof of common descent would forthwith secure to the tribe as to the individual allies and helpers in the hour of danger[1].

Completely cut off from intercourse with strangers, another consequence of desert life is that there people mostly marry among themselves and thus preserve the purity of their race. If intercourse with outsiders gets the upper hand the tribe loses its special features and its sense of kinship. Moreover its sense of unity is thereby weakened, and as a tribe it steadily decays[2]. On the basis of the tribal organization Ibn Khaldun develops his theory of the rise, development and fall of Empires and Nations. The most important element here, as in the case of a tribe, is the ' communal spirit ' or as we should express it, in modern phraseology, *the idea of nationality.* No rule or dynasty can be founded, says Ibn Khaldun, without the support of the tribe (*i.e.*, of the people) and the communal spirit (*i.e.*, a strong sense of nationality)[3]. The communal spirit (or the spirit of nationality) is alone decisive of the duration and vitality of the State for it constitutes its animating force. The stronger it is, the stronger the State and the longer its existence. But this communal spirit is best developed in large masses[4].

According to Ibn Khaldun the next State-forming factor —as important as communal spirit—is religion. Here Ibn Khaldun is faithful to the lessons of Eastern history since the rise of Islam. To make conquests the leader needs strong support and loyal following on the part of a band animated by one and the same feeling of homogeneousness. For such an end religion is the most powerful lever—for does it not silence petty jealousies and introduce a powerful sense of unity between tribes and tribes ?

When a people, united by religious conviction, receives an impetus in a definite direction—it is simply irresistible.

(1) 1, 270 (234). (2) 1, 273 (238). (3) 1, 318 (277). (4) 1, 335 (294).

However numerous the population of an empire whose conquest is aimed at—yet if it has no uniting bond—it must, before such a people, totter to its fall.

In another passage he says : In wars succcess depends generally upon moral qualities which influence the mind and inflame the imagination. The numerical strength of the troops ; the excellence of weapons ; and the fierceness of attack may well, on many an occasion, suffice to ensure victory, but these are really matters of lesser importance than moral qualities[1].

Conquered, the subject races dwindle and disappear with an amazing rapidity because of their degenerate and decaying morals[2].

In dealing with this account we must not forget that, while pointing to communal spirit and religion as most potent elements in the formation of the State, Ibn Khaldun is fully conscious of a great difference in the chronological sequence of the two. While he traces the rise of the primitive State-system exclusively to the communal spirit developed among the members of the tribes, and the resulting realization of the need of mutual help and protection, and designates it as the first cement of this primitive society ; he is only too well aware that in those far off times there can be no talk of religion, and that religion, as a State-forming element, appears much later in point of time. Those people who possess a revelation and follow the injunctions of the Prophets are much less numerous compared to the heathen who possess no such revelation. The latter constitute by far the larger portion of the earth's population and despite the lack of revelation they have had their dynasties and have left memorials of their strength and splendour[3] behind them.

Thus he shows that, however important religion may appear to him, a true Muslim and a student of history, in view of the Idea of Nationality, he can assign to it but a subordinate place, as a State-forming element.

IV.

FORMS OF SOCIETY.

In the geographical conditions, obtaining in the Orient, which are precisely the same in Asia and the North African provinces under Arab rule—society shows itself in two

(1) II., 133 (120).
(2) 1, 307 (268).
(3) 1,90 (72).

essentially different forms; nomadic and settled life. Both are the necessary results of the external conditions in which society has developed there.

A glance at the countries under Islamic rule convinces us that everywhere large tracts of deserts and uncultivable lands interpose between lands actually under cultivation. Apart from Arabia the culturable parts of which appear almost like oases in surrounding deserts, there extended a not inconsiderable table-land between Syria and the region round the Euphrates suitable only for cattle-breeding. On either side of the Nile, Egypt, for miles and miles, is unsuitable for agricultural purposes, hemmed in, as it is, partly by stony and partly by sandy deserts. Despite the fact that, in antiquity, next to Babylon, Persia was the best cultivated of countries, it is now, for the most part, sterile, barren, uninhabited.

Thus since remotest antiquity the Near East and the African coastal tracts have been the home of a peculiar nomadic life which, from the days of the Biblical patriarchs, through the centuries, has continued more or less unchanged up to the present day. And yet, on cultivable lands, often in direct touch with nomads, ancient towns and civic communities grew up which sheltered within their walls settled agriculturists and gave them protection against nomad raids.

This mutual contact, between the nomad elements and the great towns, stretching back to hoary antiquity, introduced and stimulated higher culture among the wandering tribes of shepherds. This is clearly revealed in the oldest records of the Hebrews and is amply proved to have been the case with the Arabs, among whom the cultural life actually attained a high degree of refinement.

The reason is thus apparent why the historian of Arab civilization divides national life into two great classes: nomadic and settled, of which, naturally, to the first he points as the older of the two.

But he further differentiates the tribes belonging to the first class. The nomads of North Africa and Western Asia are exactly the same as they were in the days of Ibn Khaldun. He observed that some carried on sheep, cattle or goat-breeding, and thus needed luxuriant pasturage for their purpose. This accounted for their abstention from wandering far into the desert. Among these Ibn Khaldun reckons the Berbers, the Slavs, the Turks, and the Turkomans allied to them. But quite different,

he found, was it with those tribes who mainly carried on camel-breeding. These were compelled to march far out into the desert; for the camel needs desert plants for food and brackish desert water for drink. In winter these breeders lived in the desert regions where they found not only mild and dry air but also places covered with fine sand needed for rearing the young of camels.

We know how difficult it is to rear the young of the camel from birth to weaning. These nomad tribes, concerned with camel-breeding, lived in the desert which they traversed in all directions. Repelled from the borders of cultivated lands where they were alike feared and hated, they lived entirely in the desert, and were treated by townsfolk as untamed, predatory savages. According to Ibn Khaldun, to this class belong the Arab nomad tribes, the nomadic Berbers of Africa, the Kurds, and some Turkish and Turkoman tribes of the East. But most of all, the Arabs, he says, are addicted to the roaming life of the desert, for they almost exclusively carry on camel-breeding; whereas the others breed sheep and cattle as well.

For the understanding of these countries this division of the peoples into settled and nomadic is of vital importance. Nor should the further sub-division into wholly nomadic and half nomadic be lost sight of, for the latter constitutes the transitionary stage leading to the settled life out of which townships have sprung.

The great influence which the preponderance of the one or the other form of life exerted on the political history of the various countries of the Orient will be shown later.

The stability of the political institutions in the East stands in direct relation to the preponderance of agricultural and town elements over the nomadic.

V.

RISE AND DECAY OF STATES.

It is apparent from what has been said that the philosophic Arab historian, Ibn Khaldun, regards *communal sense* and *religion* as the bases of an empire. His further proposition is but a logical consequence which need not surprise us, namely, that in countries inhabited by many tribes and diverse nationalities it is difficult to establish an empire. In such countries there is a welter of opposing tendencies and aspirations and, for that reason, very frequent are insurrections against the existing Government. And however much the Government may rely on the loyalty of its party, that reliance is vain and idle;

for each tribe possesses its own special communal sense (or as we would say 'sense of nationality ') and is tempted to shake off the yoke and assert its independence.

In support of this proposition the history of North Africa, from the beginning of Islam to the days of Ibn Khaldun, is pressed into service. Its population, says the historian, consists of Berbers who are divided into numerous tribes, each pulsating with a strong communal sense. When the Arabs forcibly reduced them to subjection and converted them to Islam, at every opportunity they rebelled and abjured the faith imposed upon them. To this no less contributory was the fact that the Berbers lived a nomadic life and were organized in tribes whereby a sense of unity was keenly reinforced and fortified[1]. Far different, on the other hand, was it with those countries where no communal sense and feeling of tribal fraternity existed. There the Government had no revolts to fear or provide against, for revolts were extremely rare. And such is the case to-day, continues Ibn Khaldun, in Syria and Egypt, for there the people are not banded together in tribes. Egypt is a striking illustration of this. Its ruler is pre-eminently immune from insurrections, defiance or resistance. Only two parties exist there : the ruler with his entourage and subjects accustomed to unquestioning obedience. The Government, presided over by a Prince of Turkish descent and supported by a band of loyal men of that nationality, passes on peacefully from one ruler to another[2].

In Spain, too, similar conditions now prevail. Its ruler is Ibn Ahmar. At its inception this dynasty was somewhat feeble, possessing but little military support. It originally belonged to an Arab family in the service of the Omayyads which had steadily dwindled numerically. When the Arab Government was supplanted by the Berber dynasties of the Almoravids and Almohades the Arab population of Spain were violently dealt with by the conquering Berbers. This treatment stirred the wrath and resentment of the Arabs against the new *regime*. And thus, when the Almohades were tottering to their fall, the Prince of this House surrendered to the Christian King of Castille many fortifications in the hope of securing his support in winning back Morocco, the capital of the Almohades, which had passed into the hands of the Merynides. The old Arab families, still in Spain, in

(1) 1,337 (296).
(2) 1,338 (297).

whom the national spirit yet burned bright, availed themselves of this opportunity for banding together. Faithful to their traditions and little inclined to town-life or settled habitations, they had retained their passion for military service. Ibn Hud (Prince of Saragossa), Ibn Ahmar (Prince of Granada), and Ibn Mardanysh (Ruler of East Andalusia) were descendants of such Arab families. The first took the lead, proclaimed the spiritual headship of the Abbasid Caliphs, and called upon the people to arm against the Almohades and eventually drove the latter out of the country. But soon the Prince of Granada sought possession of the highest power and, refusing to acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the Abbasid Caliph, he caused Ibn Abi Hafs, the leader of the Almohades in Africa, King of Tunis, to be proclaimed sovereign and also caused prayer to be offered for him as such. It was enough for him to seize the sceptre. His adherents, for the most part, were members of his own family and no other support was needed, for the tribal spirit had no significance among the people of this country. There were only the rulers and the ruled[1].

These observations, on the differences between countries animated by the tribal spirit, and those animated otherwise, are pursued in another direction. In this connection Arabia is first singled out. There tribal organization has taken the firmest hold, and there, for that very reason, no strong government has ever been able to entrench itself for any length of time. But this principle is extended and applied to other countries as well. Where else, except in the splitting up of the peoples into fragments, marked with intense feelings of independence (each fragment retaining its peculiar characteristics), lies the cause of the political and military impotence of Greece against the Romans ? In Gaul the Romans destroyed all tribal differences and, with fire and sword, welded the people into one compact whole ; whereas in Germany the ancient tribal order, with more or less strong individual colouring, has continued up to this day. Only, in consequence of military and political successes, the national idea has recently gained ascendancy.

It is well to take such a survey from time to time in order to refresh our conviction that conditions, existing a thousand years ago, still continue to exercise a determining influence upon the modern scheme of things and that

(1) 1,340 (298).

the entire cultural development of humanity is naught but the result of a process going on for countless centuries—of which the beginnings are dim and the end is in completest uncertainty.

Pursuing the development of the ideas of our author—his views on the course of history must next engage our attention. According to Ibn Khaldun the natural course of development is the following: Rise of society in consequence of man's instinctive social impulses—formation of tribes—predominating influence of one tribe over others and the beginning of kingship—development of kingship—passage from nomadic to settled life—rise of towns—increase of luxury with advancing civilization—decline of the ruling power and fate of the kingdom and the stepping in in its stead of one younger, stronger and more efficient. This process continues endlessly repeating itself.

In various places thus does Ibn Khaldun speak. Its substance may be summarised as follows: According to physicians and astronomers the natural duration of human life is fixed at one hundred and twenty years of what the astronomers call the great lunar year. But this is not an unvarying duration, for duration is determined by the conjunction of stars. Often, indeed, it is exceeded, and not infrequently it falls short of it. Thus some, born under a special conjunction of stars, live up to one hundred solar years; while many drop off at fifty, and yet others go on to sixty or ninety years. For the average man the duration is from sixty to seventy years, and this is confirmed by a tradition of the Prophet. Similarly the duration of an empire varies according to the conjunction of stars, but, as a rule, it never exceeds three generations. The life of a generation is the average duration of the life of a man, that is, forty years. Usually an empire never lasts longer than three generations. The first generation, verily, maintains its character as a nomadic people: the rough habits of a wild life, moderation, bravery, love of plunder, and the customary division of the supreme power. Thus the tribal sense of this generation remains absolutely unimpaired. Its sword rusts not. Its neighbours are kept in awe. Foreign tribes submit to it. Overlordship, and the affluence arising therefrom, affect the character of the second generation. They exchange the manners and customs of the nomadic for those of a settled life: need is forgotten in abundance, and division of the supreme power is lost in autocracy. All power and authority get centred in one, and the populace become too supine or

indolent to wrest them back. Thus we find ourselves face to face with greed of power on the one hand—humiliation and subjection on the other. The communal spirit which once animated the people is now, in some measure, weakened ; but, despite their degeneration, we yet notice in this generation a goodly display of the qualities distinctive of the last generation. It has known their ways, their pride, their love of renown, their passion for fighting the enemy ; and this, indeed, explains the continuance among them of the spirit of their forebears. It hopes some day to attain the excellences of the first generation—possibly it flatters itself that it actually possesses them.

The third generation completely forgets the nomadic life and the simple ways of the desert. It knows no longer the spell of fame and the force of the communal spirit, for it has grown accustomed to bow to the commands of a master and to yield to a life of luxury and ease. Such a populace is a burden to the empire. Like women and children they need a protector. The communal spirit having completely ebbed away from them, they lack courage to defend themselves or to take the offensive, against an enemy. And yet, by outward show and glitter, and by feats ostensibly chivalrous, they delude the masses. They are generally more cowardly than women. When attacked they are unable to defend, and the ruler thus has to fall back upon foreign mercenaries of tried valour and ability. He surrounds himself with freedmen and clients in numbers sufficient for protection of his realm.

Such are the three generations in the course of which the empire ages and decays. In the fourth generation power and glory vanish for evermore. The duration of the three generations is about 120 years—the usual term of a dynasty, unless exceptional circumstances intervene. Should it last longer—the prolongation is generally due to the absence of attack from without. But this is pure good luck. Decay, however, overtakes it ultimately, even if there be no external foe. Had an enemy appeared earlier he would have met with no resistance. However that may be—the time of the fall of the dynasty at last comes ; and no one can hasten or retard it even by an hour.

Empires, like individuals, have an existence, a life which is their very own. They grow, they mature, and then they begin to decay[1]. Only a few adapt themselves to their changing environments.

(1) 1,347 (306).

There are several phases of development through which an ordinary empire must needs pass—phases influencing the character of the ruling party and producing effects seemingly foreign to them ; for human character is moulded by the environments in which it finds itself. In the life of the State, such phases may be limited to five in number.

The first is the phase of victory—of the conquest of oppositions—of the complete possession of the sovereign power, won over from those that held it before. During this phase the prince shares the sovereign power with the members of his tribe. He shares the Government with them and relies upon them for the collection of taxes and for the defence of the State. He enjoys no special prerogative. He is merely *primus inter pares ;* for the communal sense, which led to victory, is still fresh, powerful, untainted.

The second phase is conspicuous for the exclusive possession of the rule by the prince. No longer do the tribesmen participate in the exercise of sovereignty—in fact, any attempt, on their part, in that direction, is resented and resisted. So long as this phase continues the prince, by bestowal of favour, enlists the support of influential men, and gathers around him clients and partisans in such numbers as enable him to suppress any attempt on the part of his tribe or kinsmen to claim or compete for a share in the government with him. He gradually rids himself of all rivals, until the sovereign power becomes exclusively his and of the nearest members of his family. He thus becomes the founder of a dynasty. He then wears out his strength in defence, as much as, perchance more than, his predecessors did in conquest. These only had a foreign people to fight against, and in their fight had the sure support of an entire tribe burning with the self-same fire of unity ; while, in addition, the Sultan now has his own kinsmen to fight, with no other help than a number of foreign mercenaries.

The third is the phase of restoration and consummation. The Sultan now enjoys the fruits of his efforts. As a ruler of an empire he can indulge in all that enables men to accumulate riches and to leave monuments behind, or otherwise to attain renown. In the levying of taxes ; in the control of income and expenditure ; in the granting of rations and pay, he shows insight and economy which make it possible for him to build magnificent palaces, powerful castles, large towns and wondrous temples. He

makes presents, consistent with his royal position, to foreign peoples and chiefs of tribes. Generous he is to his kinsmen, and to his supporters and servants lavish of gifts and honours. He personally inspects his mercenaries ; assigns regular rations to them and, month by month, pays them their salaries. Clear enough is the effect of all this on their uniforms and weapons on festive occasions. Thus he outshines the powers that are friendly and inspires terror in those that are hostile to him.

The fourth is the phase of peace and plenty. The prince, content with inherited glories, lives in peace with other princes and carefully follows in the footsteps of his forebears, convinced that departure from their ways would spell ruin to him.

The fifth is the phase of extravagance and maladministration. In pleasure and debauchery the prince spends the wealth hoarded by his predecessors ; makes rich presents to his favourites and confers high offices on those that are the instruments of his lust and passion. Incompetent, these can but ill discharge the duties entrusted to them.

Thus does he offend the self-respect of the leaders of the people and of those who owe their rank and position to the beneficence of his ancestors, with the result that they are thrust into the background. Finally, even the troops desert him because, having squandered his revenues in debauchery, he has not enough funds to pay his mercenaries. Thus he destroys what has been founded by his sires and pulls down what they have built[1].

From the above passage it is apparent that, according to Ibn Khaldun, history moves in a circle, repeating and ever repeating itself. We can, indeed, positively assert that Ibn Khaldun was not the first to put forward this view ; in fact, it was given expression to long before him by the thinkers of the East[2]. Ibn Sab'yn, a famous philosopher of his time, to whom Frederick II addressed a number of philosophical questions, is said to have expressed himself in a similar strain in one of his works which represents the views of the Eastern mystics known as Sufis. A passage from the work of one of his disciples has come down to us, which says that after blindness and confusion truth and guidance were given through the

(1) 1, 356 (314 ff). (2) In this connection I may refer the reader to Prof. Bury's *Idea of Progress*—specially Chapter I where the views of Bodin and Le Roy are discussed, pp. 87, et sqq. Tr.

medium of prophecy. To truth and guidance succeeded the Caliphate (union of spiritual and temporal sovereignty). This, again, was followed by worldly kingship, which in turn, degenerated into despotism, pride, self-exaltation. And so on.

With one voice the Sufis assert that in God's scheme of things every thing eventually reverts to its origin. Thus prophecy and truth must revive through the mediun of the *walis* (Saints)—then be succeeded by the Caliphate, and the Caliphate, in its turn, be replaced by the sway of the Antichrist (Dajjâl) instead of kingship and sovereignty. On the completion of this cycle there succeeds again a period of 'unbelief' followed by that of prophecy[1]. In the doctrine of the mystics the religious element plays a prominent part, namely, the return of prophecy; but only in the attenuated form of the *wilayah*, *i. e.*, leadership of the saints. With Ibn Khaldun, however, its religious aspect is completely shelved. His theory rests exclusively on political and social processes of development. And yet some influence is not altogether unnoticeable therein of the teaching of the Oriental mystics regarding the return of things to their origin; although, in the Sufistic system, what always is in the forefront is the doctrine of the beginning and return of all things from and into God. In the opinion of Ibn Khaldun, the highest stage in the development of society is civilization, or more correctly stated urban civilization. But as soon as it attains that height it begins to decline—not unlike animal life at a certain age[2].

The fall of the Empire is but a natural process. It offers a complete analogy to decay due to age[3].

Often enough a State, really at its last gasp, evidences strength, suggestive of a halt in its downward course, but, in truth, it is naught but the last flicker of a dying light[4].

According to Ibn Khaldun there are certain clear symptoms which accompany decline. We shall let him speak for himself:—Know that the State rests on two absolutely indispensable foundations; first, material resources and communal sense which reveal themselves in its military strength; and secondly, financial administration, whereby the army is maintained and the needs of the State met. When decay sets in, its effect is first felt in these two directions. We shall begin with material power and communal sense and then pass on to finances

(1) I, 192 (165). (2) II, 306 (240). (3) II, 120 (106).
(4) II, 121 (108).

and collection of taxes. Know that the foundation and consolidation of the Empire, as already stated, depend upon communal sense; nay on that essential, unconditional, higher type of communal sense which unites and vivifies individual efforts into one indivisible unity. *It is naught but a complete identification of the interests of the people with those of the sovereign.* When unlimited power, effeminacy and suppression of individual parties show themselves in a State, the first to suffer by these changed conditions are the supporters and kinsmen of the ruler. They are more easily suppressed than outsiders, for, by reason of intimate touch with the throne, their exalted station in life, their pride, they become surer victims of effeminacy than those less fortunate or more distant from the regal atmosphere. Thus they stand under the bane of two destructive forces : power and effeminacy. And, as in the exercise of power the sovereign not infrequently resorts to capital punishments bitter and bitterer become their feelings towards him. And this tension grows with the growth of sovereign power. On the other hand the anxiety of the ruler for his throne gradually transforms itself into fear for its stability, with the result that he proceeds yet more vigorously against them – executing them, humiliating them, dispossessing them of their property and depriving them of those luxuries which have become second nature to them. Thus they are killed or ruined and the sense of loyalty is dimmed or lost among them. That which held the scattered fragments in one solid block was this very loyalty or, in other words, the communal sense. Now that has loosened and collapsed and with it for ever has perished its unifying power. Instead of upon these kinsmen the ruler now falls back upon creatures of his own making. Out of these he forms a new party. Only it is not so compact or strong as the earlier one ; for it lacks the tie of kinship and the divine strength residing therein. Thus the ruler loses his allies and kinsmen and with them their self-sacrificing love and devotion.

This position of things does not remain unobserved by other parties who adopt a policy of increasing defiance against the ruler and his favourites. The Sultan eventually rids himself of his favourites and appoints others in their places. But even these do not escape the meshes of effeminacy. Thus, enfeebled by luxury, thinned down by the sword, they completely lose the force and fervour of loyalty and become little better than mere hirelings for the defence of the State.

But the decrease in their numerical strength means a corresponding decrease in the defenders of frontiers and provinces. Thus the subject races rise in the provinces against the Government. Pretenders and rebels hasten thereto to make a fortune or set up a dynasty, and the inhabitants thereof, assured of impotence on the part of Government, cast in their lot with them.

Thus do things progress, weakening and narrowing the power of the Government until rebellious conditions threaten the very neighbourhood of the Capital. In these circumstances, the State is often split up into two or even three sections, according to its original strength. A new party takes the lead, but it must needs accommodate itself to the party formerly in power and submit to its influences[1].

As regards financial decay, every State, in the beginning, was formed out of nomad conditions. In its inception, therefore, the Government adopts a policy of fair dealing with its subjects. Moderate is its expenditure ; considerate its attitude towards private property. Such a Government refrains from severity in the collection of taxes ; avoids exactions ; shows consideration to officers of the State. Having no occasions for heavy expenses, it needs no large revenues. But, later, oppression comes into play. Kingship assumes a grand and mighty air ; strays into luxury and license ; multiplies its wants and expenses. The expenses of the Sultan and his officers increase ; even the inhabitants of the Capital follow suit. Thus the need for raising the pay of the troops and the salary of officials presses home ; for the people follow the Government in faith and habits of life. To increase the revenue the Sultan must introduce taxes on wares for sale in the bazar. In doing this he takes account, on the one hand, of the growing prosperity, as evidenced by the augmenting luxury of the populace, and, on the other, of the necessity for increasing the expenditure of civil and military administration. But luxury knows no limit or moderation. It proceeds apace. The old market-taxes no longer suffice ; rigorous measures are, therefore, enforced against the subject population in the shape of either an increase in the market-taxes or the introduction of monopoly[2].

(1) II, 123 (110).

(2) We must mention here that according to the theories of Muslim theologians and jurists market-taxes and monopoly are regarded as illegal.

The mercenaries get out of hand, for they see the Government bereft of strength and national pride. They inspire fear. To forestall danger from them the Government enhances their pay and otherwise increases military expenditure.

Nor are the other departments of the State more promising or less fraught with danger. In consequence of increased taxation larger and yet larger sums of money pass through the hands of tax-collectors. They indulge in display and ostentation, and lay themselves open to a suspicion that they are embezzling public funds. Nor does the voice of hatred and jealousy shrink from mutual attacks and accusations, with the result that, one after another, they are punished and their properties confiscated.

When this source of revenue is, however, exhausted, the Government directs its attention to another quarter. It exploits the well-to-do private citizen. But, despite all this, palpably glaring is the effect of decay on the material power of the Government. No longer has it the strength or confidence to introduce or to enforce a drastic measure.

The Sultan at last seeks to capture and retain influence by money, which he considers more effective than the sword, now fallen on evil times. Thus money is required for other than the regular State charges and the pay of the troops. The weakness of the Central Government grows, and the inhabitants of the provinces become bolder and bolder. The ties of the State thus loosen, until they vanish altogether. Pretenders now try to seize the supreme power. They need but serious effort to attain success. And when this does not happen, the process of dissolution continues until (like the wick when the oil comes to an end) the State flickers and fades.

No Empire can have more than a limited number of provinces. To garrison them it must have a sufficient number of troops and this number will fix the limits of the empire. But this state of affairs only continues so long as the original force of nomadism remains unimpaired. Gradually, however, the height of splendour is reached; revenues flow in copious streams; luxury increases; the town civilization makes gigantic strides, but the military spirit suffers decline, and pleasure and enjoyment sap vitality and bring effeminacy and demoralization in their train. A yet further consequence is the awakening of ambition which spurs men on to contend for honour and influence. The Sultan, however, tries, by violent mea-

sures, to end this state of affairs. The Amirs and magnates perish; dependants and subordinates multiply; the State's power of resistance weakens. And, indeed, this weakness first evidences itself in the weakening of the military strength of the State. Moreover, the unrestrained expenses of the Sultan become far too great for the revenues which the State yields. Thus, weakness on the financial side—the second affliction of the State. Financial weakness, in conjunction with military weakness, leads, indeed, to decline and fall.

Though incompetent to stand out against neighbouring peoples, often, indeed, dissensions divide the prominent leaders one from another. Even the outlying provinces, availing themselves of the weakness of the Government, seek to shake off its yoke. Powerless, the Sultan is unable to bring them to book. Such the conditions, the frontiers steadily contract from where they stood in the heyday of glory. A new boundary, within the old, comes into existence. But the very same forces, with the very same results, operate. The weakness of the troops; their lack of any sense of duty; the shortage of money; the decline in the revenue—these operate upon the narrowed frontier in precisely the same way as they did in the past in pushing back the frontier for the first time.

The Sultan sets himself to work. He begins to introduce changes in military, financial and provincial administrations; to adjust revenues and expenditures; to make prompt payments of salaries; to follow as nearly as possible the procedure of the earlier days of strength and probity. But, all these notwithstanding, the decline continues uninterrupted. History repeats itself. The very same difficulties appear afresh and the very same remedies are applied again, but in vain. Nothing checks or retards the growing ill. Once again the Sultan abandons the outlying provinces, confronted with the very same situation, which earlier had led to the contraction of the frontier[1].

The last phase of a State's existence is generally marked by over-population and its concomitants, famine and epidemic. They become more and more violent and frequent[2] as the years roll on.

Mildness and moderation are the outstanding features of the newly-arisen State. If religion is its genesis—to religion it owes these qualities. Otherwise they must be

(1) II, 127 (114). (2) II, 138 (124).

set down to the credit of lofty sentiments engendered by nomad life. Under a mild and just Government content and prosperity spread through the State. People work with enthusiasm and the population grows, but this increase in population does not generally show itself till after the first or the second generation. With the beginning of the third the State reaches its zenith and the population its greatest numerical strength. Famine and epidemic then appear and become more and more frequent. In its last stage, indeed, the State realizes that famine is but the necessary consequence of the abandonment of agricultural pursuits.

And yet the people will not take to them, for oppressive and grinding are the taxes and imposts; fierce and frequent the unrest and rebellion consequent upon the growing weakness of the Government.

VI.

RETROSPECTIVE SURVEY.

Scarcely has any other religious system exercised so potent and so durable an influence as Islam on the mind, the civic character, the political and historical development of man. It has impressed its stamp on all who have subscribed to its creed and the rolling centuries have, in no way, blurred or effaced that stamp. On this account difficult it is to form a true historical conception of its peoples, independent of their religious standpoint. In Europe theological conception, too, leavened historical activity right up to late in the Middle Ages. But in the processes of intellectual emancipation from the fetters of religious systems there is an essential difference between the East and the West.

While, in the East, particularly in countries of Arabic speech, an exceedingly rich and varied secular literature grew up, which found a warm welcome in the great mass of cultural classes of the nation; in the West, literary occupations, in the first half of the Middle Ages, remained the monopoly of the monasteries. In the Empire of the Caliph literature became the common property of the educated people. To it everyone who had the capacity or the inclination contributed in his own way. In the West it continued to be the privilege of a caste which imported into its literary works theories and prepossessions, born of its particular education and upbringing and

resented every new independent tendency which deviated from or clashed with its inherited or acquired notions.

Early thus the Arabs established a secular literature of their own ; whereas, for many a long day, exclusively religious remained the trend of Europe.

For the first time, the great popular drama of the Crusades, which evoked universal reaction in the shape of fanaticism and intolerance, throughout the East, operated as a lively stimulus in Europe diverting intellectual activities to secular streams. Thus it was that long before a survey of the general history of humanity was so much as even thought of in the monasteries of Europe—the great mystery of life and of humanity was chosen as a subject of serious and fearless study by divers thinkers of Islam. The development of Arab historical studies did much to advance this line of enquiry. Nor were the philosophical speculations of the age without their contribution to this branch of study. Already in the third century universal histories were written in Arabic[1], in which not only histories of the Muslim peoples but also histories of important foreign peoples, such as the Hebrews, Greeks, Persians, Indians and Byzantines were treated. Despite the exclusiveness of Islam, the rapidly extending studies of Greek, Persian and Indian books, in Arabic translations, brought home to the Arabs the conviction of the culture of even foreign, non-Muslim nations. And, indeed, the more they learnt to respect and admire foreign ways and foreign culture the more widespread became the impulse to know humanity as a whole and the keener the yearning to learn the law and purpose in the seemingly confused and planless course of human history drifting insensibly away from century to century.

Islam, in this, as in all other things, had its own definite lesson to teach : What God wills, happens. Vain and fleeting is the earthly life. Only life beyond the grave has value and is eternal.

But, so long as Islam was in its heroic age, conquest and administration of conquered countries preoccupied the attention of the ruling class to such an extent that they had little leisure and less inclination perhaps to concern themselves with the more serious questions of man and his destiny. They lived in the crowded days of national glory without thinking of the future. The

(1) Khuda Bukhsh ; *Studies : Indian and Islamic*, pp. 149 et seq. Tr.

observances of the outward religious duties—such as prayer, fasting, confession of the main articles of Muslim faith—sufficed to ensure admission into paradise.

But scarcely had this period of heroic efforts ended and a halt in the process of development appeared, when Islam produced results which, owing to external circumstances, in the first century, were held in abeyance. The life here below is considered as something secondary and of no consequence.

Thus it is that in the works of Muslim theologians and, under their influence, in those of the poets and literati, the theme of contempt for the world and of the vanity of earthly life recurs with steady and fond insistence. Not infrequently do we come across in the collection of Arab poetry a special class of poems (*Fi dimm-ul-Dunya*) headed 'In censure of the world.' Indeed the more desperate became the political situation of the Arab Empire the more audible became this pessimistic strain.

With the lapse of centuries, however, Islam felt itself in a position to take a wide sweep of the course of history. The times were well documented and a judgment based on facts was possible. But the result of such a survey of even the first two centuries was hardly cheerful or comforting. True, a high, admirable culture, characteristically Oriental in the fullest sense, had developed; true, the victorious *Arabism* had extended its empire far to East and West, to South and North, from the Pillars of Hercules and the great ocean of the West to the Indian Ocean and had come into touch not only with countries actually under its sway, but even beyond; yet the historical survey was neither refreshing nor cheerful.

What was wanting was political stability. Already in the second century, the Caliphate was in process of disintegration. The Governors of provinces were gradually becoming founders of half-independent and, eventually, of completely independent dynasties. Sectarian disputes, even communistic movements were shaking the empire to its foundations, and bold adventurers were carving pieces out of it for themselves. Even the subject races were beginning to rise, and, from among them, dynasties were being formed (Turks, Persians, Berbers). Such foreign rules—so keenly resented by the Arabs—henceforth became, with few exceptions (Arabia) the normal order of things in the Arab Orient. Thus, to take one single instance—Egypt since 868 A. D. (the

appointment of Ahmed Ibn Tulun as Governor), with the sole exception of the period covered by the Fatimides (969-1117-) up to quite recently, has been ruled by Turkish families.

A fugitive survey of these times brings home the fact that the fall of the Arab Empire was steadily consummated and that in its place came in something neither lasting, nor pleasing to the national spirit of the Arabs.

Can it surprise us, then, that, in such circumstances, unrelieved pessimism should be the dominant note of the first Arab thinker of distinction who pondered over the great questions of human destiny, of the aim and purpose of life, of the trend of history and that his philosophy should be nothing more nor less than a philosophy of despair which hoped for deliverance in the end of things terrestrial. For him life was a mystery which no wisdom could pierce or unravel.

Long, indeed, did he abandon the theological standpoint of Islam; but, in its place, he found no substitute which could even approximately satisfy his inquisitive mind. "Nothing endures, everything is doomed to perish, even Islam itself. Moses taught and passed away. Christ succeeded him. Then came Mohamed with his five daily prayers. A new faith will come later, supplanting, outshining this. Humanity is thus hounded to death between yesterday and to-day[1]." Even to the doctrine of the return of things to their origin Ma'arri seems to have subscribed, for in another passage of the same poem, he thus speaks of the world: What sort of fate is always thine in this world?—the light of sun and moon will not fail thee—their end is like their beginning—thus it is ordained —for morning and evening bring many wonders here below.

Even Ma'arri believed in a definite spiritual ascent of man. Here is a passage which supports this view. Says he: three are the stages of creatures: *sublime spirits, men, unintelligent animals.* The exercise of virtue lifts man to the rank of pure spirits (angels) but indulgence in passion drags him down—down to the level of cattle, and that indeed, is the lowest stage of creatures.

He regards the world-history as an unending drama in which combinations are ever fresh and ever new—the

(1) Ma'arri: Lozumiyyat. (Prof. Margoliouth has published his Diwan and has translated his letters. Salhani has rendered his quatrains into English Tr.).

same event never occurs in precisely the same way. Thus, at least, I interpret this poem :

Time, like a poem, eternally rolls on.

But the poet does not repeat the same rhyme right through[1].

Thus did Ma'arri look upon the world : " Perishable is the earth. Its end is not unlike its beginning. To laws of birth and death everything is subject. On and on flows the stream of time ever bringing something new. By the practice of virtue man may be ennobled and, by it, attain the level of the higher beings."

More poetical than philosophical is this view, and it deserves, on that score, notice ; for it entirely abandons the traditional, theological standpoint. From numerous other passages in his philosophical poems it is apparent that Ma'arri taught a cult of moral purity, on a theistic basis, which unmistakably points to the influence of Buddhism with its stern morality and passionate yearning for Nirvana.

Of this, the following passage from a longer poem in which he sets forth his religio-philosophic faith, is decisive.

'Sick in intellect and faith—yet hearken to my announcement of truth. Show yourself not coarse by eating what has been thrown out of water—and adopt not as your food that which has been slain—consume not eggs for their yolks are meant to feed developing chickens and not fair women. Practise not deceit upon birds who cannot defend their little ones, for violence is the worst of misdeeds. Disturb not the honey-combs of the bees which they have diligently filled with the scented nectar of flowers. They have not been gathered for strangers but are intended for presents and friendly gifts. From all these misdeeds I have washed my hands. Ah ! only I wish I had thought of them before I became grey.

'O my contemporaries ! do you know the secret that I know ? But never shall I give that secret away. You follow the path of error. Ah ! Why are you not led by the wisdom of men of Light ? Ah ! whenever the herald of spiritual blindness calls unto you—willingly his call you follow.

(1) The original poem in Z. D. M. G. XXX p. 47 (Newman) says : The past never returns ; the course of events, old in its texture, is ever new in its colouring and fashion. *University Teaching*, p. 17. Tr.

'Were the truths of your religion known to you, you would forthwith discover the infamous misuse of them. Follow Light and accept guidance. Stain not your sword with blood —nor yet plunge your lances in gaping wounds. Delightful unto me are the ways of those that live like monks—only if they do not consume that which others have acquired by toil and effort. Verily, 'tis better to earn an honest living than feed on others.' This poem proves the freedom of the poet from the theological shackles of Islam but, in one respect, he could not quite shake, himself free. Like the theologian, he sets no value on earthly life and greets the release therefrom in the light of liberation. And thus he recommends celibacy. The Buddhistic influence is manifest here.

In the large circle of his contemporaries Ma'arri stands out in conspicuous isolation. There were few who held such beliefs, and none, save he, dared to give expression to them. Between 403-413 A. H. (1,012-1022 A.D.) these verses were composed.

Remarkable it is that, while in Europe, precisely at that time, a bloody war of extermination was being waged against the Albigenses —in Islam the poet was openly allowed to avow and sing his note of free-thinking, without let or hindrance.

In any case the writings of Ma'arri establish and proclaim one fact; namely, how little the old Islamic world-conception satisfied his craving for the solution of the great mystery and how little it served to solve doubts when unquestioning faith once stepped down from its pedestal. However pessimistic his philosophy—it would perhaps have been more pessimistic still, had he lived on to witness the terrible times that followed. The progressive decay of the Muslim States brought in its train many a disenchantment to Muslims.

Devoted to their faith, graver and sadder and more disconsolate than ever must they have felt at the steady retreat of Islam and the growing strength of Christendom.

This became only too painfully striking in Spain. One town after another passed out of Moorish possession: Toledo in 1085, Huesca in 1096, Tudela in 1114, Saragossa in 1118, Cordova in 1236, Seville in 1248. And similar was the fate of Sicily, Sardinia, and the Balearic islands. In the East the Crusaders founded a Christian kingdom in the very heart of the Orient[1].

(1) Conder's *Latin kingdom of Jerusalem* and Stevenson's *Crusaders in the East* may be consulted with interest and profit. Tr.

Upon thinking men these events made a profound impression; for despite the inner decay, people were wont to look upon the Arabs and Islam as under the special care and protection of the Almighty and to fondly entertain the belief in the pre-eminence and high culture of the Muslim peoples. They never seriously imagined that the time was close at hand when foreign nations would, in their turn, humble or humiliate Islam[1]. Greater and greater became this impression as this became a greater and greater reality. In precisely the same proportion as Christianity won back in Spain her long-lost territories from the Arabs, the Arabs receded Whoever could, migrated. Some to the southern portion of the Peninsula or (feeling insecure there) to the African coasts opposite. Thus numerous settlements of Moorish fugitives came into existence in the great towns of Africa. There they cherished the memory of their beautiful Andalusian home and there they mourned the loss of the Moorish * empire which drafted them away to foreign shores. To one such fugitive Spanish family Ibn Khaldun was related. Although about eighty years before his birth, Seville, his native town, had fallen into Christian hands; yet the family traditions had not quite faded from his mind. News of fresh successes of Christian arms in Spain reached Africa. These reports were calculated to draw afresh the attention of the Muslim peoples, specially those of North Africa, to the happenings there. In such circumstances and amid such events Ibn Khaldun grew up. Drawn early into the vortex of politics and court life he obtained first hand information of both. Coming into contact with rulers of the various *Saltanats* and the Muslim kingdoms of Arab Spain, he learnt and realized the deep ill which had overtaken Muslim States. To his own personal observations were added his extended studies of universal history which enabled him to bring a sharp and penetrating vision to the task of a comparative survey of the past and the present. Upon conclusions, drawn from facts and observations, he built his theory of the decay of States at a certain definite stage.

(1) This reminds us of the beautiful pages of Gregorovius (*Rome in the Middle Ages*, Chapter I) where that great savant describes the optimistic confidence of the Romans in the continuance of their rule unto the end of time. Tr.

* The author is here employing a loose European terminology. To speak of the "Arab" empire in Spain would be more correct. Ed.—"I. C."

On the other hand the rapid rise everywhere of new, though in most cases, transient, political structures, led him on to the further assumption of steady and regular changes taking place between the decay and fresh formation of States.

Upon such observations, based throughout on actual facts, Ibn Khaldun developed his theory of political development.

Let us here note the characteristic features.

1. The social impulse is the primary cause of the union of men.
2. Out of this impulse arises the family and out of the family the community and the tribe.
3. The tribe constitutes the basis of political union.

Faithful to his pre-eminently empirical method Ibn Khaldun only cursorily touches upon the origin of States in general. He prefers to devote his attention to those periods when the step forward from the family to the tribe and from the tribe to a political community has been taken. According to him these two, namely, the tribe and the larger political organization grown out of the tribe, exist side by side, each fighting for its own existence.

He does not, however, care to ascend the streams of primitive times or to speculate on the origin of society. He prefers to accept positive facts and to draw his inferences from them. Only on kingship, the rule of one, and the principles of monarchy, does he launch into a theoretical discussion. But this discussion already finds a place in the works of the earlier Arab authors such as Tartushi, Mawardi, and Ghazzali. Ibn Khaldun's theory is as follows : Kingship has its foundation in human nature. It is indisputable that the union of human beings alone can give security and permanence to life. To obtain the means of subsistence and other needs men are compelled mutually to render each other assistance. On the other hand in man, in his natural state, very marked is the tendency to violence and plunder. He will not hesitate to rob, even at the point of the sword, from his fellow-man what he wants. Verily violence and hostility are the common features of all animals. Thus, in repelling an attack on person or property, fight and bloodshed are inevitable. To restrain this natural propensity, to hold it in check, a chief, a commander, is a positive necessity. But such a one has no power unless supported by a strong party. Such is the genesis of kingship. It is verily a

lofty position and must, therefore, be upheld by a strong party[1]. Moreover, kingship (Ibn Khaldun does not forget to distinguish it from the Caliphate which pre-eminently has a religious character) is the natural outcome of man's ambition to arrogate the highest power to himself. This is manifest enough both in the case of a people formed out of a number of tribes and of a tribe formed out of a number of families. In the first instance one tribe will predominate ; in the other one family. In either case the leader wields the supreme power ; for were there several chiefs, vested with equal authority, the world would dissolve into chaos. In this connection apposite is Ibn Khaldun's quotation from the Qur'an (XXI, V. 22) : Had there been in *heaven or earth* any one besides God, both surely had gone to ruin.

IV. In the tribe the sustaining element is the communal sense or the Idea of Nationality. In the greater development, and notably in the greater and greater extension of the power of the tribe over larger and larger human aggregates, this communal sense, or the Idea of Nationality, is all-powerful.

As this communal sense—the feeling of cohesion and oneness—is particularly strong in the inhabitants of the desert—the nomads—Ibn Khaldun specially stresses it, and repeatedly exalts the moral and spiritual excellence of the nomads over the settled population, particularly the townsfolk.

Always warring with wants ; ever ready to repel attack; accustomed to a simple, shepherd life, rich in renunciations ; courage, perseverance, austerity of character—these are the most conspicuous virtues of the wandering tribes of the desert. These qualities enable them to rule the townsfolk, weakened by luxury, enfeebled by the sapping influences of despotism. The townsfolk, though originally of the same nomad origin, rapidly degenerate under a despotic form of government.

A despotic government enfeebles the people, destroys their vitality[2]. In this enfeebling process no less contributory is the system of education which instils servitude and dependence[3]. For reasons such as these a conquered people quickly declines and decays[4].

With a keen, piercing vision Ibn Khaldun portrays the condition of such a people. Yet his account only

(1) I, 380 (388). (2) I, 265 (230). (3) I, 267 (232). (4) I, 307 (268).

actually fits in with the conditions of the Orient in the Middle Ages. But it is apparent that as an accurate observer he has naught but the living reality before him.

When a people lose their independence, says he, they quickly perish. The reason lies in the depression of spirits which masters them. When conquered—through enslavement—they become hopelessly dependent, nay, mere tools in the hands of a foreign people. Hope weakens and languishes; population and riches decline, for these depend upon physical strength and prospects of reward. If, in consequence of defeat, hope wilts, and all that hope implies—no less disastrous is its influence on 'the communal sense' which equally weakens and withers. Thus the life of the subject races shortens; their resources fail them; their desire for acquisition dwindles and disappears. They become unfit for self-defence, for defeat has shattered their spirits and broken their strength. They become a prey to every enemy; sport of all adventurers. Nor is it to be forgotten that man, by his very constitution, is divinely ordained to be the master of his own affairs and, in a certain sense, the ruler of nature. But the ruler, robbed of his rule and divested of his authority, frets and perishes. He even ceases to care for food and drink. Such, indeed, is the nature of man! And something akin to this we even note in beasts of prey. In captivity they do not pair. Thus with subject races strength falters and fails, and dissolution unto annihilation sets in[1].

No less striking are his observations on the general tendency of subject races to ape the ways, to adopt the dress, to follow the fashion, even to echo the very opinions, of their conquerors. Ibn Khaldun points out that the desire of the conquered to imitate the conquerors is noticeable all over the world. But this is not all, he continues. Even neighbouring nations show a marked tendency to follow those that are superior to them in manners and customs. Ibn Khaldun cites the example of the Arab population of Spain and their relation to the Christians of the kingdom of Leon and Castille in support of his proposition. He says: You will, verily, find the Arabs imitating the dress and the ways of the Christians; nay, their very manners and habits. They even imitate their practice of painting the walls of their houses and castles with human figures. He who observes, with a thinking mind, will, indeed, perceive therein the tokens of impending fall (of the nation on the verge of decay)[2].

(1) 1, 307 (268).
(2) 1, 307 (267).

As a natural consequence of his empirical method Ibn Khaldun lays down that half-civilized peoples are more fitted to conquer than those possessed of a high degree of civilization[1].

Of these the history of the East offers numerous examples, and some lay only too close at hand to Ibn Khaldun ; *e.g.*, conquests of the Arabs, of the Berbers, of the Kurds, of the Turkomans.

V. Religion is the second bond of union of various tribes, and therefore an essential factor in the formation and continuance of the State.

In setting forth this proposition, decisive for Ibn Khaldun was the historical example of the foundation of the Arab world-empire by the Arab tribes united by religion and marshalled under the banner of Islam. But he definitely and peremptorily adds that the Arab nomad tribes are incapable of founding an empire except under the guidance of a prophet or a religious leader[2].

This observation is in perfect accord with the verdict of history. No sooner was the Caliphate established and the division of the Arab peoples into townsfolk (now rulers) and nomads effected than the latter rapidly reverted to the old freedom and license of the Beduin life and became a disturbing, destroying element in the State.

When Ibn Khaldun goes on further, and says that every land conquered by the Arab wandering tribes was converted, in a very short time, into a desert[3] and that they showed the least possible capacity for government among the nations of the world ; we must unhesitatingly ascribe this judgment to the recollections, still fresh in our author's mind, of the devastations of the Arab Beduins in North Africa. We are speaking here of the inroad of the Arab hordes from Egypt which took place in the beginning of the 6th century of the Hegira and caused a fearful devastation[4].

VI. In the nomad life the State-forming power of the communal spirit (or the Idea of Nationality) retains its vitality. It vanishes in town life, amid increasing culture. The duration of the political community depends, apart from other circumstances, on the vitality of this communal spirit.

(1) 1, 290 (251), 308 (263). (2) 1, 313 (273). (3) 1, 310 (270). (4) 1, 312 (272). Von Kremer, Gesch. der herrsch. Ideen, p. 404.

After what has already been said on this topic, no further comment is needed here. The rapid overthrow of the small North African dynasties by individual Berber or Arab tribal chiefs and the equally rapid decline and fall of such newly-arisen States offer the best proof thereof.

VII. The highest peak of civilization is generally its turning point. Thence begins the step backward – thence commences the decline of the State.

VIII. States have their definitely allotted time which cannot be exceeded.

IX. Weakness in the army and confusion in finance are the two symptoms of the decline and fall.

The economic decline of the Oriental States manifests itself in certain phenomena which Ibn Khaldun takes pains exhaustively to describe. He sets up certain criteria. An oppressive Government assists in the decline of the general prosperity; for as soon as the taxes and imposts become so high that the tax-payer finds no sufficient remuneration for his labour –his incentive for work is gone. The loss of desire for acquisition naturally brings poverty in its train[1].

Not infrequently when the State is ripe for fall, taxes become insufferably oppressive[2]. But this is not all — the prince himself starts some business or other on his own personal account. In other words he sets up a monopoly. This so prejudicially affects the interests of the subjects that the revenue declines; for the wealth of the Government always stands in direct relation to the prosperity of its subjects[3].

Newly-arisen States generally act with wisdom and moderation; but with the older ones the very reverse is the case[4].

But the richer and more stable the civilization, the longer the rule of one and the same dynasty. Revolutions and changes of Government hinder and thwart steady progress. But once the Empire embarks on its downward course, nothing can stay its fall[5].

We have now before us the historico-philosophical ideas of Ibn Khaldun in their main outline. In the constantly shifting scenes of history he detects the general laws operating upon civic and political life.

To understand these laws; to explain their interconnexion (for he surveys the political and social life of

(1) II ,93 (81); 106 (93). (2) II, 95 (83). (3) II, 300 (355). (4). II, 128 (124). (5) II, 295 (251).

humanity in its entirety) is, according to Ibn Khaldun, the supremest function of historical science. He fully understood and appreciated many of these laws, as effective to-day as they were in his time. But others too, notably those obtaining in the economic activities of man, he dimly apprehended. For these reasons, indeed, he has fully established his claim to be recognised as the first critical historian of civilization. He first studies actual facts, then he deduces his laws from them. Rarely does he stray from the path of dispassionate enquiry into the realm of fancy or conjecture.

But this empirical method, coupled with the observation of dismal, contemporary events, leads him into a denial of the steady advancement of humanity in the path of progress. He regards the historical process as naught but determined by laws of rise and fall, as fixed and remorseless as day and night. Life is hemmed in between birth and death ; and this, in his opinion, is as true of nations as of individuals. Ma'arri's philosophy is poetical ; Ibn Khaldun's positive and scientific.

Scarcely here is the great question, whether humanity is moving in a circle or is making headway in an upward march, touched upon, much less solved. We are left to form our own conclusions or to continue in doubt and uncertainty.

True, the Idea of Progress is treated in a multifarious way, but never with a sure, definite touch. By cultural progress Ibn Khaldun generally understands the progress of man from a lower to a higher level of civilization ; his advancement in spheres material and intellectual but never his ascending moral elevation ; for he contends that, with advancing civilization, simplicity and purity of morals are lost in luxury and license. Be that as it may, the question still remains, whether, in the present state of our knowledge, we are in a position to estimate the cultural movements, at any given period, in relation to the entire cultural history of man.

In the imperfect condition of our knowledge can there really be a talk of a general cultural history ? The answer must only be in the negative. Long and patient researches, in important but hitherto provokingly neglected domains of Eastern history, are necessary to enable us to get a sure insight into the causes of the rise and decline of nations, to form fuller and sounder views than we have

hitherto been able to form on a question of such profound importance.

We shall have to turn more and more to the comparative history of nations ; to probe analogous phenomena of national life in the East and the West and to investigate the causes which lie beneath the seeming uniformity of things.

Indispensable above all things, in this connexion, is the study of the dominant religious and political ideas. To have fully acknowledged and appreciated this need is Ibn Khaldun's great and enduring merit.

We shall not find fault with the negative character of his philosophy : How could we really expect *him* to cherish a belief in continuing progress of humanity who lived amid the crash of the crumbling Islamic States and distinctly saw instability around him glaring him in the face.

Unfortunately his vision never very deeply pierced into the horizon that lay beyond Arab culture. Beyond Arab culture his knowledge was but vague and shadowy. And yet he was entirely free from the prejudices and prepossessions of his people, for he specially calls attention to the fact that in the countries of the Franks—so far as he was aware—learning stood in full bloom[1].

Nor yet should we forget that he does not question the possibility of progress, but he makes it conditional upon the stability of political conditions[2]. And with this remark he hits the nail on the head, for it was the lack of political stability which wrecked Eastern culture.

Had the Muslims had a fixed rule of dynastic succession, culture in the East would have been far more durable and its civilization far more potent and effective.

The destroying influence of Oriental polygamy Ibn Khaldun does not fully realize.

He, undoubtedly, was one of the greatest thinkers of his time, and, as such, deserves greater honour than has been his hitherto in the West. Excepting Machiavelli and Vico he is far above the intellectual stature of the medieval European writers.

For long has the East shown her appreciation of him. Under Sultan Mahmud I his *Prolegomena* was translated into Turkish and since then it has been regarded as the

(1) III, 128 (92).
(2) II, 295 (251).

most important handbook of political wisdom—one indeed which no Turkish statesman could do without. But, despite their study, they never made practical use of it; for under the Government of the last Sultan all the symptoms of decay, noted by Ibn Khaldun, showed themselves in clear sunlight at Stambul. But all is vanity, for has not the Qur'an said: They are like one who kindleth a fire, and when it hath thrown its light on all around him, ... God taketh away their light and leaveth them in darkness—they cannot see! Deaf, dumb, blind: they retrace not their steps from error! (Qur'an, II, 16,17).

S. KHUDA BUKHSH.

JAMI AND HIS AUTOGRAPHS.

Of the great poets of Persia who flourished in or before the sixteenth century A. D., there is no one, except Jāmī, perhaps, whose works are preserved in his own handwriting. We often come across the autograph works of poets and authors of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries but, unfortunately, seldom, if ever, that of any one who flourished before that era. It is not seldom, however, that forged autographs are presented as genuine and, at times, even the experts are led astray. I have myself been shown the works of *Rumi*, *Sa'di* and *Hafiz*, which the exhibitor claimed to be the autographs of the poets, but even a superficial examination of the calligraphy and orthography of the manuscripts revealed the fact that they were only crude forgeries. It is, therefore, a matter of particular satisfaction that we are fortunate in possessing a number of autograph works of *Jami*.

Nūr-ud-Dīn 'Abd-ur-Rahmān *Jami* (1414 A. D.—1492 A.D.), whose autographs I shall describe in the following pages, " was one of the most remarkable geniuses whom Persia ever produced, for he was at once a great poet, great scholar and great mystic." He is, perhaps, the most voluminous writer whom Persia can claim as her own—his only rival being the great *Amir Khusru* of India. In prose he is the author of about twenty-five books and tracts, the more important among them being : (I) *Nafahat-ul-Uns* (composed in A. H. 883=A.D. 1478), (2) *Shawahid-un-Nubuwwat* (885=1480), (3) *Ashi'at-ul-Lama'at*, (886=1481) ; (4) *Bharistan*, (892=1487), (5) *Sharh-i-Kafiya* (897=1491) and (6) *Lawa'ih* ; while in poetry he has left three *Diwans*, known as the *Fatihat-ush-Shabab* (884=1479), *Wasitat-ul Iqd* (894=1489) and the *Khatimat-ul-Hayat* (896=1490) and the *Haft Awrang*, comprising the seven *Mathnawi* poems : (1) *Silsilat-udh-Dhahab* (890=1485) ; (2) *Salaman-wa-Absal* (between 883—894=1478—1490) ; (3) *Tuhfat-ul-Ahrar* (886=1481) (4) ; *Subhat-ul-Abrar* ; (5) *Yusuf-wa-Zulaikha* (888=1483) ; (6) *Laila wa Majnun* (889=1484) ; (7) *Khirad Nama-i-Iskandari*.

After describing, briefly, the more important works, in prose and verse, I propose now to give an account of such of the above works as are extant in the handwriting of Jāmī, or any other work or works which have been copied by him or bear his autograph. I must confess here, that this list of the autographs can hardly be complete as there is every possibility of other autographs of the poet being in private collections or in libraries whose catalogues have not been published or are inaccessible to me. It is not improbable also that there may be many more autographs of the poet in Persia or Turkistān, where valuable MSS. are found in large numbers but, unfortunately, pass unnoticed from one hand to another.

Of the autographs of Jāmī that are known to exist, the most valuable is preserved in *L'Institut des Langues Orientales* at St. Petersburg, the modern Leningrad. The MS. was originally in the possession of one Baron Rzewuski[1] who, perhaps, bequeathed it to the Library. It is now one of the most valuable treasures of the Institute. The MS. comprises 714 pages—each page containing 31 lines in double column. Prof. Browne has stated in his admirable *Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*[2] that the MS. is a copy of the *Kulliyat*, or complete works, of Jāmī which, as a matter of fact, it is not ; it comprises only the poetical works of Jāmī, namely, the *Haft Awrang* and the three *Diwans*, as will appear from the following list of contents, which I quote, briefly, from Baron Victor Rosen's detailed description given in his admirable *Catalogue*[3].

The MS. under notice begins with the usual Persian preface of the *Haft Awrang*, followed by the *Mathnawis* in the following order :—

(1) *Silsilat-udh-Dhahab.*
  (*a*) Daftar I, p. 1.
  (*b*) Daftar II, p. 69.
  (*c*) Daftar III, p 99.
(2) *Salaman wa Absal*, p. 119.
(3) *Tuhfat-ul-Ahrar*, p. 171.
(4) *Subhat-ul-Abrar*, p. 221.
(5) *Yusuf wa Zulaikha*, p. 292.
(6) *Laila wa Majnun*, p. 355.
(7) *Khirad Nama-i-Iskandari*, p. 397.

1. Rosen's *Catalogue des Manuscrits Persans*, Saint Petersbourg, 1886, p. 215.
2. Cambridge University Press, 1920, p. 509.
3. *Les Manuscrits Persans de L'Institut des Langues Orientales*, Saint Petersbourg, 1886, pp. 215-259.

At the conclusion of the *Mathnawis*, there is the following note which shows that Jāmī transcribed the MS. on the 7th Dhulhijja, 889 A. H. :—

تم في ذي الحجة سنة ٨٨٩

This is followed by the prose preface (p. 400) of the first *Diwan*, which begins on p. 401, with the following introductory note :—

الديوان الاول المسمى بفاتحة الشباب شرفه الله تعالى بقبول ذوي الالباب -

The second *Diwan*, named *Wasitat-ul-'Iqd*, begins on p. 575, with the following introductory note :—

الديوان الثاني الموسوم بواسطة العقد عصمه الله سبحانه عن المطاعن اهل الحل والعقد -

and the usual prose preface.

The Third *Diwan*, entitled *Khatimat-ul-Hayat*, begins with the following prologue :—

الديوان الثالث المتسم بخاتمة الحيوة جعله الله سبحانه وسيلة النجاح وذريعة النجاة

followed by the usual prose preface and the *Diwan*.

That the copy is an autograph one is conclusively proved by the following note at the end of the 1st *Daftar* of *Silsilat.-udh-Dhahab*, which unmistakably proves that the author and the scribe are identical :—

راقم الكتاب ناظمه وهو الفقير عبد الرحمان الجامي عفى عنه في الحادي عشرين ذي الحجة سنة ٨٩٠

Photograph.

A Page from *Jami's* Autograph *Kulliyat* in the *Institut des Langues Orientales*, Petrogad.

The MS. is written throughout in learned *Naskh* as was customary in those days —the *Nasta'liq* was just gaining popularity.

Besides its antiquarian and calligraphic value, this copy of the first part of the *Kulliyat* of Jāmī, is of special importance to scholars and lovers of Persian poetry, as it, naturally, contains the best text of the poems of one who has rightly been regarded as the last great classical poet of Persia. Further, it also gives us correct data as to the dates of the composition of several *Mathnawi* poems, about which there has been much confusion and difference of opinion among scholars. Lastly, it may be pointed out that the order of verses in the three *Diwans* varies considerably in even the oldest MSS., which are preserved in the Oriental archives, and, a perusal of this MS. will set at rest many disputed points on the subject.

From the capital of Bolshevik Russia let us now turn to the capital of the province of Bihar—Patna—where two valuable autographs of Jāmī are preserved in the now famous Oriental Public Library, founded by the generosity of the well-known scholar and philanthropist Khudā Bakhsh Khān. Of them, one is a copy of the first *Daftar* of *Silsilat-udh-Dhahab* and a portion of the *Diwan* of Jāmī, which he dedicated, in his 50th year, to *Sultan Abu Sa'id* and, later, embodied in his first *Diwan*, in 884 A. H.[1] The calligraphy of the MS. is exactly identical with the autograph copy in *L'Institut des Langues Orientales* and, therefor, there can be no doubt as to the genuineness of both. As the MS. has been described fully by Khān Bahādur 'Abdul Muqtadir in his excellent *Catalogue*[2]. and also by myself in the *Ma'arif*[3], I would refrain from giving an account, of the contents of the MS., but would only like to draw the attention of the readers to the extremely valuable note of Jāmī, which he wrote on the fly-leaf of the manuscript. It purports to record the date of the birth of his (Jāmī's) son, Dhiyā-ud-Dīn Yūsuf, for whom he wrote his well known *Baharistan* and the *Sharh* of Ibn Hājib's *Kafiya*. Dhiyā-ud-Dīn was born on Tuesday

1. C. *Rieu, Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 644 *a*.

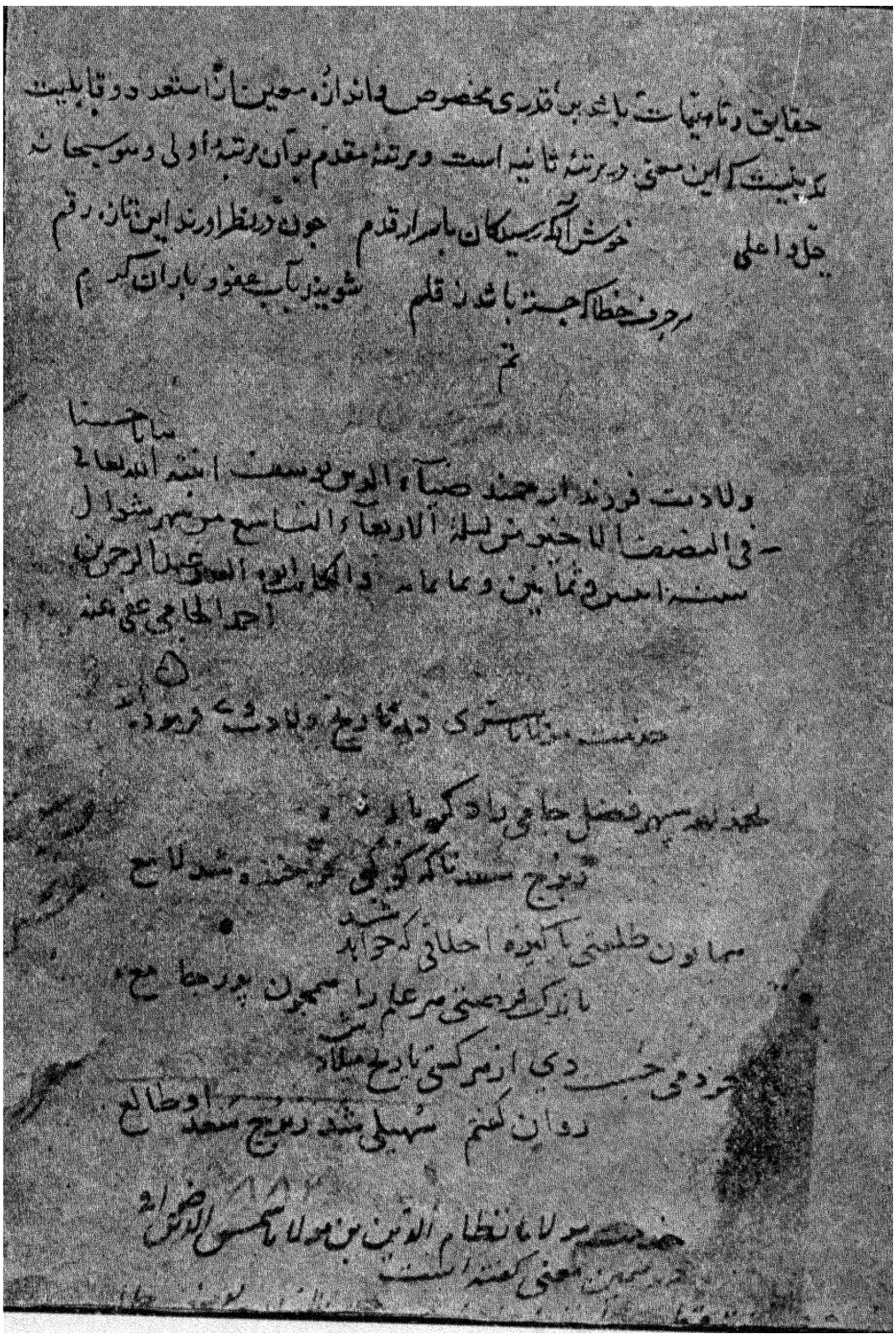
2. Vol. II. pp. 67-71.

3. Vol. 9, No. I, pp. 40-47 ; I wrote this paper as a supplement to Prof. 'Abdul Qâdir Sarfarâz's paper entitled '*Aks-i-Khatt-i-Mawlana Jami* (Ma'ārif, Vol 8, No. 3, pp. 283-285) which was incomplete and inaccurate.

night, 9th *Shawwal*, 882 A. H., as is proved by the following autograph note of Jāmī :—

ولادت فرزند ارجمند ضیاء الدین یوسف انبت الله تعالی نباتاحسنا
فی نصف الاخیر من لیلة الاربعاء التاسع من شهر شوال سنته اثنین و
ثمانین و ثمانمایه و الکاتب ابوه الفقیر عبد الرحمن بن احمد الجامی
عفی عنه.

This note is followed by the *Tawarikh*, or versified chronograms, written by Mawlānā Sirrī, Maulānā Nizām-ud-Dīn, Mawlānā Shams-ud-Dīn Khwāfī and Mawlānā Sabūdī. (See Photograph, No. 2).



Fly-leaf of *Jami's* Autograph copy of *Silsilat-udh-Dhahab* and other poems in the O. P. Library, Patna.

To face p. 612

It may be interesting to mention here that the above autograph note of Jāmī was, in all probability, perused by Mawlānā Fakhr-ud-Dīn 'Alī b. Husain al-Wā'iz al-Kāshifī, poetically called *Safi*, the author of the well-known *Rashahat 'Ain-ul-Hayat*, who writes in the above-mentioned work[1] :—

ا ما فرزندسیم ا یشان خوا جم ضیاء ا لدین یوسف و تا ریخ ولادت وی
چنانکہ بخط مبارک ا یشان دیدہ شد برین وجہ ا ست کہ ولادت
فرزند ا رجمند.... ا لخ -

(Translation) " His (Jāmī's) third son was Khwāja Dhiyā-ud-Dīn Yūsuf, whose date of birth can be ascertained from the following autograph note of his, (*i.e.*, Jāmī's) which I happened to peruse....."

The quotation from *Safi's Rashahat* agrees exactly with the note on the above-mentioned MS., which fact also enhances its importance and value[2].

Another autograph of the poet, preserved in the Khuda Bakhsh Khān Library, is an abridged copy of *Anis-ut-Talibin wa Wa'dat-us-Salikin*. This work, which contains a biography of Bahā-ud-Dīn Muhammad b. Muhammad, surnamed *Naqshband* (d. 791=1389), the founder of the *Naqshbandi* order, was composed by Sālih b. Mubārak Bukhārī, a disciple of the Saint. Copies of the *Anis-ut-Talibin*, which is also called *Maqamat-i-Khwaja Naqshband*, are generally available in India. It is a work comprising about one hundred folios divided into four sections. The copy which is in the handwriting of Jāmī is, however, an abridgment of the above, made, apparently, by Jāmī himself. This MS. is well-preserved and is

1. *Rashahat*, MS. in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. D 180, fol. 92a. Attention to the above extract was drawn, for the first time, so far as I know, by Prof. 'Abdul Qādir Sarfarāz of Poona, in his article, entitled '*Aks-i-Khatt-i-Mawlana Jami*, published in the *Ma'arif* ('Azamgarh), Vol. 8, No. 3, pp. 283-285.

2. It appears that Jāmī had recorded the dates of the birth of three, out of four, of his sons, all of which were perused by the author of *Rashahat*. The first son of Jāmī did not survive more than a day; the second died when a year old. Safī quotes a quatrain from the autograph of the poet, recording the birth of this child. The third was Dhiyā-ud-Dīn; while the fourth, Zahīr-ud-Dīn 'Isā, was born nine years after the birth of the former. Safī has quoted the date of the birth of this child from the autograph of the poet, which runs as follows :—

ولادت فرزند ارجمند ظهیر ا لدین عیسی وسط وقت الظہر من یوم الخمیس
خامس محرم سنہ احدی و تسعین و ثمانمایہ ا نبت ا لله نباتاً حسناً و رزقه
سعادت ا لدارین بمحمد و آله ا لطیبین ا لطاهرین.

in tolerably good condition, although the ink has faded and the paper slightly deteriorated, owing to the ravages of time. The fly-leaf contains the following note in the handwriting of Jāmī : —

انیس الطالبین و عدۃ السالکین المعروف بمقامات حضرت خواجہ بہاؤ الدین نقشبند قدس اللہ اسرارہم -

followed by the Persian text on folio Ib. The first section, entitled در تعریف ولایت و ولی begins on folio 2b., followed by the second section entitled در بدایت احوال حضرت خواجہ ما قدس اللہ روحہ و ذکر سلسلۂ خواجگان نور اللہ مراقدھم The third section on طریقۂ سلوک etc., begins on folio 10b. and the fourth and last chapter, describing the کرامات احوال، مقامات، and آثار of the Khwāja, begins on folio 17b. and continues up to the end of the manuscript, *i.e.*, folio 55b.

The MS. is written in an uniform hand, except folios 7a, 22a, 39a, 50a and the following few pages of each of the above. There are marginal notes, additions and corrections on folios 4a, 5a, 5b, 8b, 11b, 12a, 13b, 15a, 19b, 24a, 43a, 45a, 52a, in the handwriting of Jāmī himself, which show that the MS. was the original draft of the abridged edition made, in all probability, by Jāmī. The MS. is dated 856 A. H., which proves the fact that the abridgment was made only a few years after the composition of the work. It contains the following note at the end :—

علی ید العبد الفقیر عبد الرحمان الجامی تاب اللہ علیہ

In all fairness, I must confess, here, that I could not find time to examine this MS. minutely and compare its contents with the original work of Sālih and note the points of difference, if there were any. I am confident, however, that if the two MSS. are compared carefully the result will prove profitable.

A third autograph of Jāmī, attention to which was drawn for the first time by Mawlānā Sayyid Sulaimān Nadawī[1], is preserved in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. The autograph is on a MS. copy of *Sharh-i-Mulla Jami* which, as appears from a note on the MS., was the third transcription from the draft of the author[2]. It contains the following note, at the end, in

1. *Ma'arif*, Vol. 16, No. 4.

2. I think that this MS. is the same as the one mentioned on p. 2 of the *Alphabetical Index of MSS. in the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras*, 1888.

the handwriting of Jāmī :—

(Translation.) " This *Faqir*, 'Abdur Rahmān Jāmī, finished transcription of this draft at the time of breakfast, on Saturday, the 11th Ramadān, 897. "

Yet another autograph copy of the above-mentioned work is reported to have been exhibited by Rāi Sāhib Wazīr Chand at the Eighth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission, held at Lahore in 1925. We find the following account of the MS. in the *Proceedings* of the Commission[1] :—

" *Sharh-i-Mulla*, in Jāmī's own handwriting, written in 877 Hijra."

But I have grave doubts about the genuineness of this autograph—my reasons being that, in the *first* place, the MS. has not been noticed by Prof,. Muhammad Shafī in his *Notes on Some Persian and Arabic Manuscripts*, in which he has described, along with others, the five valuable manuscripts exhibited by the Rāi Sāhib and that, had the MS. copy of the *Sharh* been an autograph one, the compiler of the above *Notes* would hardly have failed to notice it in his *Notes* ; in the *second* place, that the exhibitor has, there is every reason to believe, been misled by the following subscription which appears at the end of almost every copy of the *Sharh*, whether in print or in manuscript :—

قد ا ستر ا ح من كد ا لا نتها ض لنقل ا لسواد ا لى ا لبيا ض ا لعبد ا لفقير
عبد ا لرحمن ا لجا مى و فقه ا لله سبحا نه عبود ية لله عر ا ض عن مطا لبة
ا ه عر ا ض و ا لا غر ا ض فحوة ا لسبت ا لحا د ى عشر من ر مضا ن المنتظم فى
سلك شهور سنة سبع و تسعين و ثما نما ئة -

Such a note as the above, would naturally lead or mislead a casual observer to suppose the MS. to be an autograph copy. I fear, that the Rāi Sāhib also has been misled by the subscription to suppose his MS. to be an autograph one. Another fact which lends support to my argument is the date which occurs at the end of this supposed autograph, *i.e.*, 877 A. H. which, as we know, is wholly incorrect, for Jāmī composed his *Sharh* some twenty years later, in 897 A. H. Finally, I would like to observe that unless the MS. is subjected to thorough examination by an expert and its calligraphy closely compared with the genuine autographs of Jāmī, it would be difficult to

1. p. 253.

pass a final judgment on its genuineness or spuriousness. I should like to add here that, for the reasons given above, I shall not be surprised, in the least, if I learn that the so-called autograph note of Jāmī on the MS. copy of the *Kafiya*, preserved in the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, displays the handwriting of some unknown scribe who has, in all probability, most inadvertently copied, or rather re-copied, the actual subscription of Jāmī, from the latter's original draft.

M. MAHFUZ-UL HAQ.

THE REALMS OF GOLD.

A Study of Moghul Influences.

" Much have I travelled in the realms of gold
" And many goodly states and Kingdoms seen."

KEATS.

THE well-known adage in the ancient book, which some attribute to the wisest King of Israel, bewails the fact that " Of making many books there is no end." Further the same writer has postulated with equal force that " Much study is a weariness to the flesh." Such was responsible opinion in the year 200 B.C.—or thereabouts. And yet, on looking over a bookseller's catalogue the other day, I was struck by the quotation from a somewhat less ancient authority—Anthony Trollope—which the enterprising publisher had blazoned in seductive prominence upon its cover :—

" With reference to this habit of reading, I make bold to tell you that it is your pass to the greatest, the purest and the most perfect pleasure that God has prepared for His creatures."

While in no way disputing the wisdom of the wise which has stood the wear and tear of more than two millenniums, there is a good deal to be said also for the Victorian novelist's view. For extremes still meet, and doubtless either writer could have made out a very strong case for his own side of the question.

Of all the books that be, those on Indian Art are neither the least numerous nor the least interesting, and of all books on Indian Art those on Moghul painting have become so many that a famous author has been roused to caution us lately that, if this kind of thing goes on, all this interest may serve to defeat its own purpose.*

* " In fact, the study of Indian miniature painting on the whole, if it is taken as representing India's chief contribution to art, as might be supposed from the amount of attention devoted to it in recent years, is hardly likely to lead much further than to add one more subject to the connoisseurs' hobbies and another department to the art dealer's business." E. B. Havell, Asiatic Review, July 1926, page 514.

A comment of this kind suggests the query: *why* there is no end to the making of these books on Moghul Art? Is it because the connoisseur has "cornered" the domain of Moghul painting? I think not. There are connoisseurs enough, but in comparison with the rest of mankind the collector of Moghul paintings is still a *rara avis*. What then is the justification of their wide appeal—for there must be this wide appeal, since even the uninitiated buy and cherish them? Wherein lies the perennial charm of this subject?—seeing that art (in these prosaic times at least) is not a theme likely to "set the Thames on fire," or the Ganges either for the matter of that. Titian and his brother artists cannot reasonably expect to rival Sherlock Holmes and his fellow sleuths of the Law as "best sellers" in the book-markets of the West; so it must be something more than art that makes Moghul painting so comparatively popular with the public of so many countries. There are other fields in literature and art besides fields of study,—open spaces unmarred by the vexatious notice-boards which, (especially in the close preserves of Indian Art) so often warn the would-be explorer that "Trespassers will be prosecuted." And of these free and jocund spaces, what field is more green and fragrant than the gentle domain of Moghul painting? There, not the grandeur, the dignity, and the awe which impress us in that high terrain which Buddhist painting, Hindu sculpture, and Moghul architecture dominate like a triune Presence;—but there, the grace of the Spring-tide, the voices of singing birds and their echoes in singing hearts. Somehow a Museum with its musty atmosphere seems not quite the right place for a Moghul miniature. These joyous things were not painted to be exposed in cut-and-dried frames or cases to a garish publicity; but rather to be reverently stored by cultured men, and refined and charming women, as gems worthy of the chaste portfolios which, when opened, gave up the rare fragrance of their art with the incense of musk and attar of roses. It was *not* publicity that the Moghul artist craved for his work—not a place "on the line" in a crowded Art Exhibition, where so often nowadays pictures painted up to "exhibition pitch" (what a phrase!) seem to shoulder one another, and try which can shout loudest for the suffrage of the public. We feel this when we look at Moghul miniatures and feel the gracious reticence of those artists—their shrinking from the rude gaze of the Philistines

their appeal to the sympathy and discernment of an individual. And then we are led to think of the people who had these miniatures painted for them—the patrons of art of those days. What manner of men were they? And so we enter once again "the realms of gold," and we read of the Moghuls,—their pomp, their palaces, but above all their taste. The Moghul miniatures, though cruelly severed from their retired setting, dragged into "the light of common day," and hung on walls whose ugliness seems often like a profanation of their delicate beauty, are still in general the book illustrations which many of them were meant to be exclusively. One cannot enjoy these graphic records of a unique age—an age of haunting memories—without seeking to explore the past; the Moghul miniature is the epitome of Moghul history; and since no period more *romantic* (to use the crudest of explanations) has ever been sung in words by the poet, and in colour by the artist, we need not look further for the fascination which the book on Moghul painting can exert even over the most modern of modern men.

The relationship between this school of painting and books being a fundamental one, each partaking in part of the other's nature, it is within the natural order of things that the Moghul picture of to-day—or rather a facsimile reproduction of it - should illuminate the page of printed type as fitly as it did of old the antique scroll, whose characters and embellishments vied as works of art with the pictures.

It is no wonder that no class of picture lends itself so well to reproduction as the Moghul miniature; and it must surely be by the working of some hidden scheme of poetic justice that modern science has to-day done tardy honour to these long neglected works of art, which are receiving at the hands of the lithographer the vindication of their merits for every land to see. In a very real sense, the process of colour reproduction has restored these shy products of the sheltered *proteges* of great Kings and patricians to their proper place; for while the originals must often endure the raucous noise of sale rooms, and hardly less apposite encomiums of purchasers who covet them merely for a date and a name which can be converted into terms of hard cash, they still come into their own through multitudinous reduplications. These reproductions in the books find their way more frequently

than do the originals into the hands of those true lovers of the past to whom the purchase of a book (since a picture is beyond their means) is but the satisfaction of the most honest and least earthy of mundane aspirations—

"The desire of the moth for the star!"

So by many a ruddy fireside in frigid old Europe, and by many a shady lattice in radiant India the Moghuls are kept in green remembrance by the printing press and the lithographer's stone. Almost, the musk and the attar of roses have transferred themselves from the jewelled album, or coloured *daftar* to the pages of an octavo volume! We can retrace our steps, with the help of the pictures, which we certainly could not do without them. We can understand the written word, elucidated as it is by the graphic delineation. Thus as we read, the old pageant passes visibly before our eyes, as clearly as the wondrous procession filed across the vision of Britomart (in Spenser's epic), in that enchanted hall on every side of which was inscribed the mystical admonition, "Be bold, be bold, be not too bold!" We may accept the motto (as well as the analogy,) and look, with courage tempered with discretion, upon the sacred persons of the Indian Emperors, and their consorts, their courtiers, their knights, and soldiers. We may steal a glimpse at the lover, garland in hand, repairing by the light of the moon to the terrace on which a maiden awaits him—

"Lock'd up from mortal eye
In shady leaves of destiny."

We may thrill with the gusto of the great elephant fight;—and applaud, as vociferously as the rest, the dexterity and courage of the *Mahouts;* we can march to battle with the armies of Akbar the Victorious, can tread with Jehangir the soft lawns and spicy walks of Shalimar; and wait upon Shah Jehan in the Hall of Audience. Oh, yes,—we know all that Mr. Vincent Smith has to say about Shah Jehan, but none the less here is his picture, more convincing than words, and we bow low before him on his peacock throne, reverencing that consummate artist!

There seems to be no limit to the variety of the ever changing spectacle! Now, the peacock throne and the singing girls have vanished—and we see the austere lineaments of Aurangzeb already stamped with the realisation of the venerable truth, "Vanity of Vanities—all is

vanity and vexation of spirit!" And from this sad comment on the penalties of greatness we turn to the care-free birds and beasts of the jungle, or again to the merry maidens with their *sitars*, or to councillors engaged in graver and weightier matters. After this varied and wonderful induction, the drama itself, unrolled by the old travellers in their books will indeed be understandable. We now know the world *they* are speaking of,—can follow where the garrulous Manucci, the wise Bernier, or the astute Tavernier may choose to lead us. And at long last we can stand sorrowfully in the jasmine tower at Agra, and realise something of the pathos of that final scene that ended "this strange eventful history" of Moghul art, when the imperial prisoner, supported by his faithful daughter, breathed his last, gazing, beyond the river, on his immortal masterpiece—the distant Taj!

It would be easy to dilate on the romantic and historical values of the Moghul School of Painting, and its fascination for the wider public of taste, but insistence upon some of the features which constitute its most catholic appeal should not be overstrained, or suggest—even inferentially—that the fair fame of the works of this School rests upon the august and picturesque subjects with which it chiefly deals. Such a suggestion would be unfair. On the other hand, harm may be done by excessive eulogies of Moghul painting The limitations of this art are very clearly defined. Stated most broadly they are simply those which miniature painting naturally imposes upon the artist. Within these restrictions, the Moghul artists were able to produce some of the loveliest miniatures that the world has ever seen. So Moghul painting must always rank proudly in the comparative scales of the world's Art. Its singularity of style, its originality, and its superb drawing, which some might urge as additional claims to eminence, are of course parts of the same claim. No one would think of comparing a miniature by Cosway, beautiful though it be, with a life-size portrait in oils by Velasquez! In surveying the vast range of Indian and Indo-Persian Art it is better to admire, rather than to resort to facile comparisons. But this much may be said,—that many can walk gratefully in the flowery meads of Moghul painting whose heads would tend to become dizzy among the altitudes of Buddhist Art; —just as many who admire the very human Madonnas of Murillo or Sassoferrato are repelled, rather than attracted, by the remote and superhuman qualities of those of Michel

Angelo; or as, in Greek Art, the sweetness of Praxiteles may charm, where the transcendent power of Phidias may overawe. We are not all born to mount to the foot of those pinnacles on which stand the very greatest of the world's artists in an isolation that is almost as terrible as it is sublime. Nor do all of us feel the desire to do so. True, there is the epic with all its sonorous cadences, its glowing imagery, its crowded fields of action; but fortunately there is also the sweetness of the lyric for the lulling of weary souls. And what the lyric did for the literature of Elizabethan England Moghul painting may be said to have done for Indian Art.

Our brief excursion into the "realms of gold" would certainly be incomplete if it led us to the consideration of the past at the expense of the present. If we have read our histories of Moghul painting aright there will be encouragement in the mere perusal for all of us; and fuller assurance will be obtained when we survey the fields of contemporary talent in India, in the light of these old-time researches. There is little practical use in studying any period of Art unless with the object of applying the lessons we may learn from it. Even the general reader or art-lover will cull some lesson from an intelligent perusal of the methods which *made* Moghul painting. The student of Indian Art, or the patriot anxious to witness its revival, will, however, desire to go further than this, and will not only enquire as to how the old artistic triumphs were won, but how they can be won again.

To make the attempt to rebuild the Taj *without* a Shah Jehan, or to rejuvenate Indian painting without the sensitive guidance of a Jehangir, might at first blush appear as vain an ambition as to produce the play of Hamlet "with the Prince of Denmark left out." There *must* be patronage or there will not be art. And yet, we would fain cling to the belief that the obvious artistic ability of Young India will ere long win that necessary patronage which, to the artists, is no less vital than the sun to the flower! For if the Patron has temporarily disappeared in India, the Indian Artist remains; and if the steadily increasing study of India and its ancient Art tends to direct towards this gifted and most interesting survival the sympathetic rays of public interest, then that study will have been worth while.

W. E. GLADSTONE SOLOMON.

THE OLD PERSIAN LITERATURE AND THE MUSALMANS.

THE Muhammadans had great facilities for acquiring the knowledge of Persian literature. A large number of Persian families had accepted *Islam*. The Abbaside courts were generally filled with Magians and to them was relegated the task of translation and composition. A large number of Persian works were thus rendered into Arabic ; yet it is surprising that in the vast body of Persian literature which has thus come down to us, laborious researches have not succeeded in discovering any noted writers on Logic, Philosophy, Astronomy and Mathematics. The names of Greek philosophers like Aristotle, Plato, Socrates and Galen meet our eyes on almost every page of Arabic literature, but Persian names are rather conspicuous by their absence. Is it to be inferred therefore that Persia had produced no philosophers worthy of the name, or is it rather the result of a destructive process in course of which such works were swept away ? The answer is given in unmistakable terms by Hamza bin Hasan al-Isfahâni who says :—" I did not pay attention to the accounts which took place before the time of the Sasanian dynasty, for many calamities befell them. When Alexander captured Babal and subjugated the people, he was jealous of their arts and sciences, which no nation ever achieved, he made a bonfire of their books, as much as he could lay his hands on, and he slaughtered their pedagogues priests and philosophers."

A short review of the history of Persia is necessary for a right understanding of the view expressed above. From our present sources of information we know that the history of Persian arts and literature dates from the time of Jamshīd, and during this time books on Astronomy, Geometry and Geography were written. It is true that Zahhāk gave a death-blow to the kingdom of

(1) I am greatly indebted to the Rasā'il of Maulānā Shibli for this article.

(2) See Gottwaldt, edition p. 12.

Jamshīd, but the treasures of literature were kept untouched. On the contrary the conqueror founded a new city by the name of *Mushtari* and, in accordance with the number of *buruj*, he built twelve mansions and collected together all the literary treasures in them. From this time down to the time of Alexander, the country had to pass through great changes, and the destruction of the literary treasures was an invariable consequence. But it should be borne in mind that the entire literature could not have been destroyed in this manner. Civilisation was in progress and whatever was destroyed came to be replaced by new, and the stream of literature flowed on as before. Then came the epoch-making conquest of Alexander the Great. It was he who destroyed the literary treasures of Persia, who burnt down libraries, levelled to the ground all the rocks and blocks of stone on which were inscribed historical events. A part of the literary works he caused to be translated into Greek and sent them to Alexandria. After Alexander Persia was divided into several petty kingdoms and remained so for a long time, and in consequence the arts and learning were neglected. The period of the Sasanians came and Ardshīr Babak united the petty principalities into a vast kingdom. Ardshīr revived the arts and learning and he collected literary works from India, Rome and China. He was followed by his son Sābūr who like his successor Nawshīrwan, the Just, gave great impetus to Persian scholarship.

These events will show that when Islam appeared in Persia, whatever literary treasure there was belonged to the time of the Sasanians and it was unquestionably the Muhammadans who tried their best to safeguard this treasure.

It is very possible that, during the conquests and changes of sovereignty, some books might have been destroyed. That was but the inevitable consequence of the war. It must also be borne in mind that so long as the Muhammadans did not pay any attention to their own arts and sciences, it was absurd to expect that they would pay any serious attention to the language and literature of other nations.

A systematic and methodical arrangement of the books began in the reign of Caliph Mansūr and this was the first time when books on Traditions, Jurisprudence and Commentaries on the Qurān were written. There can be no

better proof of the love which Muhammadans had for learning than that they not only devoted themselves to their own arts and sciences, but also paid a similar attention to the literature of other nations.

Caliph Mansūr ordered Imām Mālik bin Anas to collect the Traditions of the Prophet and to put them in the form of a book. He also gave orders for the translation of the famous and comprehensive history called *Sakikin* which is held in as much reverence by the Persians as the Mahabarata by the Hindus. During the Muhammadan ascendency there was a large class of people who were engaged in the translation of Persian works and some of them are mentioned by Ibn Nadīm in his *Kitab al-Fihrist* as follows :—

(1) Fazl bin Awbakht. (2) Abdullah bin al-Muqaffa.' (3) Mūsa bin Khālid. (4) Yūsuf bin Khālid (5) Ali bin Ziyād. (6) Hasan bin Sahl. (7) Ahmad bin Yahya al-Biladhuri. (8) Jabla bin Sālim (9) Ishaq bin Yazīd. (10) Muhammad bin al-Jahm al-Barmaki. (11) Hishām bin Qāsim. (12) Mūsa bin 'Isā al-Kurdi. (13) Zadwaih al-Isfahāni. (14) Bahram bin Mardān Shah. (15) Umar bin al-Farkhān. (16) Muhammad bin Bahrām. (17) Hasan bin Mūsa. (18) Isma'īl bin ' Ali bin Nawbakht. (19) 'Umar bin Farkhān. (20) Shal bin Hārūn. (21) Ishaq bin Ali. (22) Abdullah bin Hilāl Ahwāzī and (23) Sa'īd bin Hārūn.

In short, when the Muhammadans directed their attention to the translation of Persian works, they found works on history, medicine, belles lettres, art of warfare, etc., in the Persian language and some of these works belonged to the time of Ardshīr. The Muhammadans were very fond of history, and any historical work they could get hold of was translated into Arabic. Some of these histories give a general account of the whole country while others deal with particular kings or with particular periods. Some of the more important of the complete histories are mentioned below :—

Khuda-i-Nama—This is a very comprehensive work in which detailed accounts are given from the beginning of the kingdom of *'Ajam*, (Persia) till its last days. 'Abdallah bin al-Muqaffa' translated it into Arabic and called it *Tarikh Muluk al-Furs*. The original book was so popular that Bahram bin Mardān Shah, who was a translator during the time of the Abbasides, wrote that he had collected together more than twenty different copies of the original[1] manuscripts

(1) *Vide* Hamza Isfahāni, pp. 8, 16 and 242 and Ibn Nadīm, p. 188.

A'in Nama—This is a full descriptive history of Persia which 'Abdullah bin al Muqaffa' translated into Arabic[1]. Mas'ūdī writes that " it is a very big book and comprises many thousand pages. The complete copy can only be found with the Parsi Priests[2]."

Kuhan Nama—This is a part of *A'in Nama*. This contains about six hundred names of officers and nobles of the court with a description of their grades[3], etc.

Sair Muluk al-Furs—This is the name of the translation of 'Abdullah bin al-Muqaffa' and not of the original work.

Sair Muluk al-Furs—This again is the name of the translation by Muhammad bin Jahm al-Barmakī.

Sair Muluk al-Furs—This is a translation by Zadwaih bin Shahwaih al-Isfahāni.

SairMuluk-al-Furs—The translator was Muhammed bin Bahram-al-Isfahāni.

Siksaran—This is also an elaborate history of Persia. Mas'ūdi in his Murūj adh-Dhahab says that the Persians valued this book very highly. 'Abdullah bin al-Muqaffa' translated it.

The books mentioned below are concerned with some particular periods and dynasties :—

Tarikh Dawlat-i-Sasani—It gives a full description of the history of the Sasanian dynasty. It also contains in detail the laws and institutions of the country during the period. The historian Mas'ūdi found a copy of this work at Istakhar in A.H. 303.

Tarikh Dawlat-i-Sasani—The translation of this work by Hishām bin Qāsim al-Isfahāni was received and corrected by Bahrām bin Mardān Shāh who was a Magian priest of Naisabūr [4].

Rustam wa Isfindyar Nama—contains a description of the battles of Rustam and Isfindyar. Jabla bin Sālim translated it.

Bahram Nama—this was translated by Jabla bin Sālim.

Kar Nama—Contains an account of Nawshirawān.

(1) Ibn Nadīm pp. 118.
(2) *At-Tanbih wa'l Ashraf* p. 104.
(3) *At-Tanbih wa'l Ashraf* p. 104.
(4) For the last two books see Hamza Isfahāni p. 9.

Sharzad ba Parwiz.

Kar Nama—The author was no less a person than Ardshīr bin Bābak, a very just and wise ruler of Persia who gives an account of his own rule[1].

In addition to the above we find the following books mentioned by Ibn Nadīm[2] in his valuable work.

(1) Kitāb ut-Tāj. (2) Bahrām wa Narsī Nama. (3) Kār Namah—deals with the account of Nawshīrawān. (4) Nawshīrawān Nama[2]. (5) Muzdak Nāma. (6) Sirat Nāma—This was written by Hudahud bin Farrukhzād.

Besides professed histories and biographies, writings and documents indirectly treating of historical events were translated. As instances we may mention the last good counsels which Nawshīrawān wrote for Hurmuz : the agreement made between Ardshīr and Shahpur ; the dialogue between Kisra and Marzabān ; the letter of Nawshīrawān to the chiefs of his army ; the correspondence between Nawshīrawān and Jawasp.

Besides history, religious books were also translated into Arabic. The first noted religious leader in Persia is Zoroaster. The "Heavenly Book" said to have been revealed to him is the *Awasta* which is written in old Pahlavi language. Zoroaster himself translated it and called it *Pazand.*

Again the Zoroastrian priests wrote commentaries on this translation. The followers of Zoroaster thought them to be divine revelations. The commentary was entirely destroyed by Alexander, but copies of the Awasta, Zend and Pazand were preserved at certain places, and these came into the possession of the Muhammadans. There were 21 chapters in the Awasta and every chapter covered nearly four hundred pages. One of these chapters was called *Justarsht* in which there is a description of the beginning and the end of the world. One chapter was called Hādukht which contained advice and admonitions. In short, all these were collected together by the Muhammadans and they guarded the treasure very carefully. The historian Mas'ūdi writes that, till the beginning of the 4th century, the complete copy was in existence and in Sistan a person knew the whole book perfectly by heart. It may be presumed that all these books were translated into Arabic, but it is certain from clear evidence that the

(1) *Muruj adh-Dhahab* .p 162.
(2) p. 805.

Awasta was translated into Arabic and copies of it could be found for a long time. Hamza Isfahāni flourished in the 4th century A. H. He refers to the Arabic translation of the Awasta in many places in his history. In the *Tarikh-i-Kabir* he clearly points out that he had verified the accounts in his book by comparing it with the Awasta[1]. Besides Zoroaster there were other claimants of prophethood and founders of religion, among whom the most famous were Marqayūn Ibn Dīsān, Mazdak and Māni. Marqayūn lived during the time of the twelfth Cæsar of Rome. Ibn Dīsān was born 30 years after Marqayūn, Māni flourished during the reign of Shāpur bin Ardshīr. Muzdak was the contemporary of Qubād. Marqayūn was of opinion that the world arose out of light and darkness. God himself did not create the universe, for the universe is not free from evil and God cannot be the creator of evil. Marqayūn wrote a book on the fundamental articles of faith and called it *Ingil*, which was literally translated into Arabic. The religion of Ibn Dīsān is nearly like that of Marqayūn, or rather it is a branch of Marqayūn's religion. Among the books which he wrote, the following were translated into Arabic :—Kitāb un-Nūr wa'z-Zulmat, Kitāb Ruhāniyat al-Haqq, Kitāb ul-Mutaharrik wa'l Jimād. Māni claimed to be a prophet and thought himself the Comforter of the World. He composed an *Ingil* which was quite different from the existing one. Slaughtering animals and spoiling fire, defiling water and destroying vegetables are forbidden according to his teaching. His compositions are numerous, among which seven seem to be the principal. One is in the Persian language and the remaining six are in the Syriac language. They are : —Safar ul-Asrār, Safar ul-Jabâbira, Farā'iz us-Samā'īn, Shāpūrgān, Safar ul-Ahya and Farqamatiya.

Shapurgan besides being a religious book was also historical in its character. The learned Abu Raihan Bīrūnī has quoted the authority of this book in many places in his al-Athār al-Bāqiya and says that after the time of Ardshīr this is the most reliable of all the Persian works as regards historical events.[2]

The works of Mānī existed for a long time. Abu Raihan Bīrūnī writes in a pamphlet which is published

(1) For Awasta, Zand and Pazand, see Kitāb at-Tanbih wal-Ashrāf pp. 91, 92 ; Tarīkh Hamza Isfāhani p. 64 and al-Athār al-Bāqiya of Biruni p. 105.

(2) *Vide* Al-Athār al-Bāqiya p. 118.

with al-Athār al-Bāqiya, that he had to make a careful search for Mānī's works which he got from a friend. They are as follows :—Faraqmatiya, Safar ul-Jabābira, Kanz ul-Ahyā, Fash al-Yaqin Ingil, Shāpūrgān, Safr ul-Asrār.

Besides these books Mānī wrote many short pamphlets which were all translated into Arabic. Ibn ul-Nadīm has given their names in detail[1].

The writings of Mānī became current in Arabic to such an extent that his beliefs and theories became widely promulgated among the Muhammadans, so much so that many people were supposed to be the disciples of Mānī. We know from Mas'ūdī that Ibn Abil Arjā' Yahya bin Ziyān and others wrote books in support of Mānī. Ibn ul-Nadīm mentions many other Muhammadan learned men who were notorious as the followers of Mānī. But this we believe is a false charge. Liberal views and orthodoxy existed side by side among the Muhammadans. People of liberal views used to discuss and enquire about the creeds of different nations. The mere mention of the people of other religions was considered an act of heresy by the orthodox section. This is why the liberal *Ulama* who discussed the principles of other religions in any way, seemed to the orthodox to be the followers of those religions.

The last of all founders of religious sects in Persia was Muzdak. He flourished during the time of Nawshirwān's father, Qubād, who was a convert to his faith. According to him every person had a right to the property and reputation of every other person. It is not known that Muzdak wrote any book but it is certain that his beliefs, principles and doctrines were all translated into Arabic. Balkhi wrote a book on his principles and named it *'Uyun al-Masa'il wal-Jawabat.* The life of Muzdak was written in Persian before Islam. 'Abdullah bin al-Muqaffa' translated it into Arabic.[2]

The Muhammadans liked literature very much though in a lesser degree than historical and religious writings, so that whatever they could get of Persian literature was translated into Arabic. In this connection the *Kitab Hazar Afsanah* (Book of Thousand Nights) which was very excellent and interesting was translated into Arabic

(1) An account of the writings of Mānī, Marqayūn and Ibn Dīsān is found in detail in Ibn ul-Nadīm ; Kitāb 'at-Tanbih wa'l Ashrāf and Al-Athār al-Bāqiya.

(2) Al-Fihrist p. 118.

and went popularly by the name of Alf Laila, 'Thousand Nights.' This book was originally composed for the amusement of the Persian Kings. This contained the stories of a thousand nights, which were less than two hundred stories. It was translated literally. But it was not the source of the present Arabian Nights.

Besides Alf Laila, many Persian novels and stories were translated into Arabic but it is a matter of regret that their Arabic names have been so changed from the original as to be no longer distinguishable. However among these which Ibn ul-Nadīm mentions are the following :—Kitāb-i-Busfās, Marman, Khurāfa wa Nuzha, Khars wa Khargūsh, Ruzbah, Sag Zamanah, Shāhzamān, Namrūd Namāh[1].

Besides these, many books which might be classed under belles lettres were translated into Arabic. Among these *Yatima* is a rare and unique book. The excellence of this book was acknowledged so universally that the heretics challenged comparison with the Qur'ān. Bāqilāni had to refute it in his *Ijaz al-Qur'an*. Another book of the rank of *Yatima* was *Ahd Namah* of Ardshīr and its translation exists in Arabic. Ibn-ul-Nadīm writes that the books which are universally thought to be excellent are the following :—Ahd-i-Ardhishir, Kalila Damana, Risāla 'Umāra bin Hamza, Mahāni Jah, Yatīma, Risāla-i-Hasan for Ahmad bin Yūsuf al-Kātib[2].

Books on morals were translated in a large number. Some of them are mentioned below :—

Nama Farrukhzad—This was written for the admonition of Farrukh's child

Nama Mihrad wa Hasis—Mihrad and Hasis were two Magians and they wrote this book for Buzurch Mihr, the minister of Nawshirwān.

Kitab-i-Mubid Mubidan—a work on ethics.

Kitab Ardshir fi't Tadbir—This book is mainly comprised of selections from philosophical books and was written at the orders of Ardshīr.

Kitab bin Mardbud—written for Hurmuz bin Kisra[3].

Tawqi'at-i-Kisra—These were the farmans and royal mandates of Nawshīrwān.

(1) Al-Fihrist. p. 305.

(2) Kitāb ul-Fihrist p. 126.

(3) *Vide* al-Fihrist pp. 315-316.

Adab-i-Kabir and *Adab-i-Saghir*—deals with morality and was translated by 'Abdullah bin al-Muqaffa'.

The following are some of the works on the art and science of warfare translated into Arabic :—

Kitab-Adab-al-Harb—contains a detailed account of the arrangement of troops in the battlefield, the manner of besieging cities, fortifying frontiers, etc. This book was written for Ardshīr.

Kitab Ta'biyat al-Hurub wa Adab al-Asawirah—contains special instructions for the arrangement of troops on the battle field and rules for the drill of cavalry.

Kitab ur-Rami—This is a treatise on Archery and was written by Bahrām Gor.

Chaugan wa Gu—This is a book on the game of polo.

Besides these we find the names of books on various subjects, such as veterinary science, hunting, physiognomy, augury, etc., in Kitāb ul-Fihrist by Ibn Nadīm.

M. HIDAYET HOSAIN.

ISLAM AND PARSIS.

THE arguments and evidences, both of a negative and a positive character, to refute the age-long assumption, so unjust to Islam and unfaithful to history, that the Parsis are in India owing solely to the eruption of sustained and unbridled fanaticism on the part of the conquering Arabs of Persia in the early seventh century, are overwhelming in Arabic records. And it is easy to prove that these sources of our information are far from one-sided. Most of our historical writers like Tabari were Persians, who prided themselves upon their nationality. The late Professor Browne has familiarised us with the fact of the pre-eminent rôle played by Iran in Islamic culture. The annalists always quoted the semi-legendary ancient Persian sages like Buzurchemehr with approval and respect. The wisdom and justice of Noshirwan is universally cited and eulogised. Masoudi saw, and described in his Kitāb-at-Tanbīh, illustrated Pahlavi histories with admiration. The Uyūn-al-Akhbār of Ibn-Qotayba revels in citations of the sage dicta of the Sasanian monarchs. Goldziher has demonstrated how Persia of the past was generally looked upon as a model in administration and culture. He has exposited with fascinating illustrations how Persian superiority was aggressively asserted and things Arabian were derided by an organised community called Shuubiya. Very convincing material regarding the relative religious freedom is already before the unbiased student in the researches of Sir Thomas Arnold, Browne, Horn and Huart. The latter proves that al-Balkhi was acquainted with the Zoroastrian scriptures which he quoted. More illuminating information can be drawn from modern professedly pro-Parsi authorities like Gobineau ; while Miss Menant, the historian of the Parsis, gives a revealing account of the liberal terms accorded to the Magians, as the Zoroastrians are usually termed, under the Khalifas. It will be very hard indeed to outmatch the instances of fair-mindedness in the conduct of the Moslem rulers who punished severely an Imam and a Muezzin

for the desecration of a temple. This was first pointed out from Arabic sources by Chowlson seventy-five years ago. Now that Tabari has been edited it is the common property of seekers after truth. Spiegel, who was one of the early investigators of Zoroastrianism and whose "Iranian Antiquities" still remains a mine of information, was surprised at the persistent tradition of the persecution of Zoroastrians when he met in his studies the mention of innumerable fire temples down to comparatively recent times. His articles in the journal of the German Oriental Society have been used by me on former occasions. Westergard, the first editor of the Parsi Scriptures, who was in Persia in the early part of the 19th century, refuses to believe the tradition which drove the Zoroastrians into Hindustan exclusively through the fanaticism of the secular rulers. A single Arabic historian, reproducing the covenants entered into between the Arabs and the Persian governors or marzbans of successive provinces as they subjugated them, suffices to establish the fact of religious liberty. Some of these treaties were published by me long before Belazori was accessible in English.

I shall now adduce cursorily certain proofs from the records which are still extant in the Pahlavi language, the semi-sacred tongue of the Parsis which has preserved the characteristic and exegetical literature of our faith. They contradict the tradition of coercion and the fable of the alternatives of the Quran or the sword. It will be shown that religious freedom was enjoyed by the Zoroastrians under the Khalifas in accordance with the terms prescribed for the Ahl-i-Kitāb by Kazi Abul Yusuf in his "Kitāb-ul-Khiraj" and further elaborated by Mawardi and others. It would be idle to deny occasional outbursts of religious fanaticism on the part of the Musalmans. But in the case of Persia it was usually some mundane objective which gave rise to the ostensibly creedal turmoil. And the disturbance was quelled by punishment of the transgressors as in the incident at Shīrāz recorded by Ibn-ul-Athīr for the year 979. Religion was invariably made the instrument for profane ends. One would be hard put to it to quote examples of wanton destruction even of fire temples as pleasing in the sight of God. On the other hand, unprovoked molestation of the Zimmis entailed legal retribution. The rules governing these protected communities are ably exposited by my friend and preceptor, the late Maulāna Shibli. He satisfies us

that ordinarily the practice of the agents of the Khalifa did not deviate widely from the principles laid dowh by the jurisconsults.

The loss of the Parsi sacred books is due more to the neglect of the Mobeds (priesthood) and the everlasting mutual recriminations, jealousies and quarrels amongst the Parsi holy men than to the excessive zeal of the Arabs. My venerable friend, Mr. M. P. Madan, testifies to the dissensions among the high priests of Kerman on the authority of the Epistles of Manushchihr, and the secular power wielded by the Zoroastrian ecclesiastics. Dr. E. W. West gives as his judgment :

> " The survival of so much of the sacred Zoroastrian literature, during three centuries of the Muhammadan era indicates that the final loss of nearly all this literature was not so directly attributable to the Arabs as the Parsis suppose. So long as a considerable number of the Persians adhered to their ancient religion they were able to preserve its literature almost intact even for centuries ; but when, through conversion and extermination, the Mazda-worshippers had become a mere remnant, and then fell under the more barbarous rule of the Tartars, they rapidly lost all their old literature that was not in daily religious use. And the loss may have been as much due to their neglecting the necessary copying of manuscripts, as to any destructiveness on the part of their conquerors .. .. "

Only one exception I make to the rule of general tolerance. It is with reference to those new converts from the ranks of the Zoroastrians to Islam. Religious persecution was their *forte*. They were the blood descendants of those religious maniacs who were responsible for the persecutions of the Christians under the Sasanian monarchs like Shahpur. If to any community, the ruin of Persia, political and moral, spiritual and intellectual, is to be attributed with fairness, it is to this class of godless worldings, the ignorant and bigoted Mobeds, and their spiritual progeny the Mullas, now happily shorn of their mischievous potency. These Zoroastrians had sold without compunction the faith of their fathers. They adopted another creed rarely because they found Islam superior by faith or reason, but because it ensured them complete safety from the vexations of petty officers exacting the Jizya tax, or procured their promotion from their new rulers, or the hand of a Musalman maiden.

One of the causes of the wholesale conversions was an inequitable enactment according to which the son, turned Moslem, of a Zoroastrian father was the favoured heir in the eye of the Shia law. It was negative compulsion.

The Parsis continued to use the Pahlavi language, or to make additions to some of the Pahlavi treatises, like the "Bundahesh," till the end of the 11th century. The Parsi priests who migrated to India in the 8th century had probably very few manuscripts and most of these they had lost before the end of the 12th. They received a copy of the *Vandidad*, one of their sacred books, in the original Avesta with the Pahlavi rendering, only in 1205. Although they had migrated to India in the 8th century, by the 15th these "pilgrim fathers," who are presumed to have sacrificed their home and all "for the sake of religion dearer than life," had grown ignorant of Pahlavi in the land of their chosen refuge. They were compelled to seek information and religious instruction from their brothers of Iran, whom they had abandoned to be "persecuted" by Islam. The correspondence between the Indian and the Parsi Zoroastrians of Persia is preserved for fourteen different occasions down to 1673 A.D. The letters are technically called "Rivayats." It appears from them that a manuscript of the Visparad and the Vishtasp Yasht were sent to Surat from Kerman in 1627. These transactions tell a two-fold tale: the extinction of religious knowledge on the part of the refugees in happy India and the continued flame of sacred lore among the oppressed Zoroastrians of Iran.

One of the most important books in Pahlavi is the *Dinkard:* and both Persia and India were ignorant of its existence till it was discovered, of all places in the world, in Baghdad in the year 1020. The discovery represented only books III to IX. The first two were hopelessly lost due to ignorance or neglect, or both, on the part of their hieratic custodians. The Dinkard is a collection of information regarding the doctrines, customs, traditions, historical and literary, of the Zoroastrians. Its compilation was commenced by a high priest who had a religious disputation with a person, whose name is transcribed as Abalish, in the presence of the Khalifa Mamūn (813-833). It is needless to emphasise the inferential liberty of religious conscience under the Abbasides.

The *Shikand Gumanik Vichar* belongs to the latter half of the 9th century. The author points out the logical

in consequence of faiths other than the Parsi. He replies to questions addressed to him by a friend at Ispahan. He seeks to refute the authorities of atheists and materialists and Mani's heresy, as well as the Jewish and Christian scriptures and even dares to hint in a veiled manner at inconsistencies in the Quran. This important work has also come down to us as a torso. The original Pahlavi too has been lost. We have a Pazand-Sanskrit version of the 12th century made in India.

The *Madigan-Yosht Frayano* shows that there were Zoroastrians in Nishapur down to the year 1269.

The *Madigan Gujaste Alabish* is a most important work from our standpoint. It professes to give an account of a religious disputation between certain heretics and a Zoroastrian priest called Adar Frobag, in the presence of the Khalifa Mamūn in the year 829. It is the same priest who commenced the compilation of the Dinkard. The arguments of the Parsi priest are reported to have given satisfaction to the Khalifa. Similar disputations of a learned Greek and a learned Hindu with a Zoroastrian priest have survived—all pointing to the precursors of our " parliaments of religions " and doctrine of tolerance.

A very curious treatise in Pahlavi deals with the coming of the future Messiah who will have an army with elephants and the support of the Hindus, who will help the Zoroastrians in establishing Persian rule in Iran as against the Arab tyranny. The point to observe is that such books were written and permitted circulation, if among the *gabrs*. The Zoroastrian priest used to employ the Avesta character in writing Persian, when he wanted his communication to be secret.

The most important book of all which attracts us is the one known by the words with which it begins, *viz.*, Ulama-e-Islam. It is a tract regarding the supreme high priest and the Dastūr of those days and men of pious erudition belonging to the Mahomedan faith. It is a controversial work in which the Zoroastrian doctrines are explained and vigorously upheld. The existence of such a tract outweighs as proof of comparative liberty, all loose allegations about enforced conversions and disabilities imposed on Zoroastrians. The treatise is in Persian and has been studied by Blochet and much more profoundly commented upon by the late Dr. Bartholomae. It merits study by enlightened Moslems in collaboration

with my co-religionists in the land of liberty which Persia is to-day.

Another discourse between a Dastūr and a Musalman of an uncertain age is still preserved in a manuscript.

A third book called *Ahkam Jamasp*, whose author was an astrologer, casts the horoscopes of celebrities like Moses, Alexander, Jesus, Zoroaster, Muhammad and others. He mentions Sultan Mahmūd and his son Mas'ūd of Ghazna.

The later Persian literature likewise evinces religious freedom. One of the collections of the *Rivayats* comprises "A tale of a prince of Iran and the Khalifa Omar" composed by Zarthosht Behram Pazdu. Then there is the tale of Sultan Mahmūd of Ghazna in 1,083 couplets. A wonderful account is preserved in 113 couplets of a mendacious accusation against the Parsis of Herat before Shah Abbas. Appreciative European scholars have carried away a mass of our manuscripts, preserved with greater practical solicitude than the sanctimonious piety which condemned them to darkness and the industrious "silver-fish" in Persia and India. When they are all published and translated they will yield history as against the traditional legends current in my community. A single catalogue like that of the Munich Collection by Bartholomae is an index to the wealth of unused information.

The first mission to Iran from India for the purpose of religious instruction was sent in 1478. The Parsis, therefore, who migrated to India in the 8th century with a view *inter alia* to preserve their sacred books had either brought none with them or lost them in their securer asylum in India. At any rate the religious exiles in India did not expect extinction of their religion and the sacred literary treasures in the homeland of Iran from whence, according to a late and picturesque romance, the *Kissa-e-Sanjan*, fanaticism drove them to the hospitable kingdom of a Raja of a fanciful name in Gujarat.

I maintain that the conquest of the luxurious and enervated Parsi empire was accomplished with relative ease by the hardy and impoverished Musalman Arabs on the fields of Kadiseya and Nehawand and subsequently in minor engagements with local chiefs, because the masses in Iran were ripe to embrace any faith which promised emancipation from the severities and intolerance of the Mobeds; that the Arabs treated the Magians as a People of the Book, exempting them from military service and

placing them in a position analogous to that of the Christian Armenians under the Turkish Sultans; that many more conversions to Islam were effected voluntarily than otherwise, the Parsi law of the period, as embodied in the Riwayats, making special provision for remarriage of women whose husbands had gone over to Islam; and that the outburst of intolerance which is occasionally observed in the backward adherents of Islam as of any other faith, and which probably urged the ancestors of the Parsis, whose pride of noble ancestry revolted against the payment of the Jazya or any taxation to the "lizard-eaters of the desert," to seek a milder political atmosphere in India, is an inheritance from the Sasanian ecclesiastics, who imported into Islam the physical revulsion against non-Muslims. The tradition of the alleged causes of Parsi immigration into India is very old, but not universal. Its adherents have ignored, or not cared to study the weighty verdict of unbiased historians. Gibbon, for example, solemnly repudiated it long before we took to the study of the non-Parsi sources. His judgment needs to be reproduced in that is it confirmed in its essentials by independent records:

> "In the extensive provinces of Persia and Africa, the national religion has been eradicated by the Mahomedan faith. The ambiguous theology of the Magi stood alone among the sects of the East: but the profane writings of Zoroaster, might, under the reverend name of Abraham, be dexterously connected with the chain of divine revelation. Their evil principle, the demon Ahriman, might be represented as the rival or as the creature of the God of light. The temples of Persia were devoid of images; but, the worship of the sun and of fire might be stigmatized as a gross and criminal idolatry. The milder sentiment was consecrated by the practice of Mahomet and the prudence of the Caliphs; the Magians or Ghebers were ranked with the Jews and Christians among the people of the written law; and as late as the third century of the Hegira, the city of Herat will afford a lively contrast of private zeal and public toleration. Under the payment of an annual tribute, the Mahometan law secured to the Ghebers of Herat their civil and religious liberties, but the recent and humble mosque was overshadowed by the antique splendour of the adjoining temple of fire. A fanatic Imaum deplored, in his sermons, the scandalous neighbourhood, and accused the weakness or in-

difference of the faithful. Excited by his voice, the people assembled in tumult; the two houses of prayer were consumed by the flames, but the vacant ground was immediately occupied by the foundations of a new mosque. The injured Magi appealed to the sovereign of Chorasan; he promised justice and relief; when behold! four thousand citizens of Herat, of a grave character and mature age, unanimously swore that the idolatrous fane had never existed; the inquisition was silenced, and their conscience was satisfied (says the historian Mirhond) with this holy and meritorious perjury. But the greatest parts of the temples of Persia were ruined by the insensible and general desertion of their votaries. It was insensible since it is not accompanied by any memorial of time or place, of persecution or resistance. It was general, since the whole realm, from Shiraz to Samarchand, imbibed the faith of the Koran; and the preservation of the native tongue reveals the descent of the Mahometans of Persia. In the mountains and deserts, an obstinate race of unbelievers adhered to the superstition of their fathers; and a faint tradition of the Magian theology is kept alive in the province Kirman, along the banks of the Indus, among the exiles of Surat, and in the colony, which, in the last century, was planted by Shaw Abbas at the gates of Ispahan. The chief pontiff has retired to Mount Elbourz, eighteen leagues from the city of Yezd; the perpetual fire (if it continue to burn) is inaccessible to the profane; but his residence is the school, the oracle, and the pilgrimage, of the Ghebers, whose hard and uniform features attest the unmingled purity of their blood. Under the jurisdiction of their elder, 80,000 families maintain an innocent and industrious life: their subsistence is derived from some curious manufactures and mechanic trades; and they cultivate the earth with the fervour of a religious duty. Their ignorance withstood the despotism of Shaw Abbas, who demanded with threats and tortures the prophetic books of Zoroaster; and this obscure remnant of the Magians is spared by the moderation or contempt of their present sovereigns."

The days of religious inequality, however, have definitely come to an end in the Persia of Riza Shah.

G. K. NARIMAN.

SUFISM AND ISLAM.

EVEN a cursory study of the history of the great religions of the world demonstrates, beyond a shadow of doubt, that the prophets, the lawgivers, and the promulgators of the Faiths have invariably been beset with one very serious difficulty. It is the conflict between knowledge and ignorance, the heart and the head, science and superstition, which, at times, becomes irreconcilable. The upward and downward movement of thought has in its elusiveness, been the despair of many a preacher of religious truths.

The educated, the intelligentsia, struggle hard to raise the Faith to a higher pedestal of intellect, and endeavour to impart a philosophical setting to it, while the uneducated, equally persistently, try to drag it down to its pristine plane. No religion, known to history, has been immune from this "internal conflict." That Sûfism, like all other philosophical and mystical schools of thought in Christianity, Hinduism and Buddhism, owes its origin to this universal tendency of the human mind, will be apparent if we study the genesis of this highly interesting and important school of thought in Islam.

European writers, who always try to show that all good ideas emanate from the West, identify the word "Sûfi" with *sophos*, which means a wise man in Greek. In the beginning, the term was applied to those persons who used clothing of wool (Ar. Sûf), *i.e.*, coarse clothing, the cotton fabrics of Dacca and Calicut being the monopoly of the nobility in those days, and avoided every kind of luxury and ostentation. The name of "Pushminaposh" was, therefore, given to Sûfîs in Persia. Some writers are of opinion that the word is derived from the "Ahlu'l-Suffah," or the "people of the bench." However, the popular conception is that it is derived from "Safa," which means purity.

We all know that the Prophet of Islam (peace be on him) preached his Creed to the simple sons of the desert, whose intellectual horizon was confined to the oases,

dotted here and there in the midst of their parched homeland. They were a plain folk, real children of nature, who occasionally came in contact, in the course of their commercial peregrinations, with learned men among the Christians and the Jews inhabiting the fertile plains of Palestine and Syria. This contact had but helped to distort their notions of religion and confirm their faith in the worship of "Lât" and "Manat." That period was also an epoch of disintegration—national, social and religious. "The holy flames kindled by Zoroaster, Moses, and Jesus had been quenched in the blood of men. A corrupt Zoroastrianism, battling for centuries with a still more corrupt Christianity, had stifled the voice of humanity." The never-ending wrangling of warring creeds and rituals had converted some of the simplest faiths into an eternal labyrinth of sacerdotal speculations. Never in the history of the world was there greater necessity for the promulgation of a simple creed. The message delivered by the Arabian Prophet was meant alike for high and low, peasant and prince, learned and unlearned, and, therefore, consisted of a set of simple formulas that could be understood by the most ignorant. But the great Prophet fully realised that no faith can claim homage from the intellectual section of its followers unless it is given a philosophical turn. For this reason alone, to satisfy the cravings of the intellectuals, the school of Sûfism came into existence. Hazrat Ali, who was the most intellectual among the Companions of the Prophet, received the teachings direct from his Master. Though one of the four premier schools of Sûfism traces its origin to Hazrat Abu-Bakr, there is a consensus of historical opinion on the point that Hazrat Ali, alone, is the founder of all the four schools into which the Sûfîs are divided.

It will be abundantly clear from the above that Sûfism is not a sect in Islam, but only a philosophical aspect of that great Faith. It has simply sought to interpret some of the most fundamental principles of Islam on the higher plane of thought, and is nothing but its intellectual foundation.

Knowledge, Love, and Renunciation, form the keynote of Sûfism. Owing to the abstruseness of its principles, its teachings have always been kept exclusive, and the institution of the Preceptor and the Disciple has become its permanent feature. In spite of these precautions, the masses have always tried to abuse some of its most important precepts. Light, according to the Sûfîs, can

only come with knowledge. Real knowledge is the knowledge of God, and knowledge of God connotes retirement into the innermost recesses of one's soul, which alone contains the Light. It further connotes, says the Sûfî, complete surrender to God and—as its necessary concomitant—the shutting out of all knowledge except that of God. This process of concentration should, after laborious training, end in the extermination of the Self and complete absorption in the Light itself, in Him " Who dwells and works everywhere and Whose home is the human heart. " This object (Fanâ fî'llâh) can be attained, first, by the surrender of the Self to the Shaikh (Fanâ fî'sh-shaikh), and, then, surrender to the Prophet (Fanâ-fî'r-rasûl). The shutting of the bodily eyes and the opening of the spiritual eyes was thus the be-all and end-all of a Sûfî's life. This belief in the all-pervading God naturally originated the theory of the Universality of Love. If God is Omnipresence, the whole creation is nothing but the manifestation of Him. Therefore, the creation must be identical with the Creator. If the creation is believed to be identical with the Creator, nothing but love should pervade the creation itself. Everything in this universe should be loved, and by loving the handiwork of the Creator, we can love the Creator ; and the complete surrender of Self is nothing but this Universal Love. The Sûfîs argued, that Love must be the First Cause, as it alone has real existence and is self-sufficing, whilst everything else is unreal and has only a dream-life. " O my God ! I invoke Thee in public as Lords are invoked, but in private as loved ones are invoked. Publicly I say, ' O my Lord, ' but privately I say ' O my Beloved, ' " cries a Sufî-philosopher in ecstasy.

Once this doctrine had taken root, as against the schismatics, the Sûfîs began to believe that there is truth in every religion and, as truth is always originally one, all the religions were originally one. Only they were altered by men to suit their purposes. This attitude led to the sympathetic study of the different religions of the world, and the mystic teachings present in them did not fall on deaf ears. It should be remembered, however, that the Sûfîs never forgot to search for sanctions for their acts in the Qurân and the " Ahâdîth. " This also inevitably led on to asceticism, self-sacrifice, or self-renunciation, and mortification of the flesh thus became one of the most important doctrines of their creed. The 'ulama had become immersed in outward forms and practices. The

conquest of the Middle East and Persia had opened the coffers of the "Kaisars" and glutted Arabia with untold wealth, which, in its turn, had given rise to untold evils. The Prophet himself and his immediate Companions lived a very simple and austere life. Asceticism, therefore, soon took firm root in Sûfism. "Ahlu'l-bait," the members of the Prophet's family, were confirmed ascetics. . The Caliph 'Alî, both by precept and practice, taught self-renunciation, without which salvation was not to be attained. We find from his famous sermons, collected by Imâm Sharîf Razâ, in "Nahju'l-Balāghat," that complete abstinence is the only means of true Knowledge and Love.

The pure, we may say, the sublime and exalted side of this philosophy was subsequently developed by Imâm Ghazzâli, Ibn Tufail, Maulâna Jalâluddîn Rûmi, and Farîd-uddîn Attâr, and, in course of time, certain platonic conceptions became a part and parcel of it. The doctrine of evolution and progressive development began to be adhered to most tenaciously. The doctrine may be summarised thus :—

"In the region of existing matter, the mineral kingdom, comes lowest, then comes the vegetable kingdom, then the animal, and finally the human being. Above him is God. The lowest is linked by a chain of progress to the highest. The human soul perpetually strives to cast off the bonds of matter, and, becoming free, it soars upwards again to God from Whom it emanated." The theory has found expression in the world-renowned "Mathnavi" of Maulana Rûm, and the beautiful couplets are often recited by the "Darvishes" in their "halkâs," during transports of ecstasy. The incorporation of this philosophy in the "Mathnavi," a book which is called the "Qurân in Persian" by the Sûfîs, (Mathnavi-i-Maulvi-i-Manwi hust Qurân dar zaban-i-phalwi), is an important landmark in the history of Sûfism.

A comparative study of Sûfism and Vedant brings into relief many striking points of contact, on account of which certain bigoted 'ulamâ have not been slow to pass strictures on Sûfism and condemn it as an unwarranted innovation in Islâm. They erroneously infer, from certain well-known affinities, that the doctrines of Sûfism must have been borrowed from Vedant. Human nature being what it is, unconscious coincidence of doctrines is one of the commonest features of the development of the great religions of the world.

We find the idea elaborated both in Sûfism and Vedantism, that the spirit of man, when completely purified by contemplation, religious fervour and love, becomes that of God from Whom it is an emanation. One, who makes a deep study of contemplative and mystical theology and aspires to His Communion by spiritual means, is the "Sannyasi" of Vedantism and the "Darvish" of Sûfism. "Bodh" of the Brahmin is "'Ilm" (knowledge) of the Sûfî. Both equally vehemently declare that the emancipation of the soul is impossible without knowledge. A class of latterday Sûfîs, the "Baktashîs," hold that the soul, after separation from the human frame, may enter into the body of an animal or a man. This belief, which is not shared by the generality of the Sûfîs, is, more or less, in conformity with the theory of "Avagawan," or Transmigration of the Soul, and they call it "Tanāsukh." The "Isma'îlîs," the followers of the Agha Khan, had borrowed the doctrine from the "Baktashîs," before their flight from Persia, their homeland. "Uppadhi" is nothing but the "nafs," and the 'Alam-i-Misâl (the world of illusion) is almost identical with the "Maya" of the Vedantic philosophy.

These parallels between the Semitic and Aryan schools of contemplative philosophy, which could easily be multiplied, are the most enthralling study of the universality of the human mind, which is essentially one, despite the differences of creed, climate and country.

Sûfism, which was founded by the revered and learned son-in-law of the Prophet (Peace be on him), and perfected by Muslim mystic-philosophers like Imam Ghazzâli, Maulâna Rûm, Faryâbi, Ibn Sîna, and great saints like Hazrat Abdul Qâdir Jilâni, Hazrat Khwâja Moînuddîn Chishti of Ajmîr, and Hazrat Nizâmuddîn, has undergone considerable detericration, at the hands of self-seeking men, the bane of all religions. But even the most virulent critic of Sûfism cannot gainsay the fact that this mystical and contemplative element in Islam has bettered the lives of thousands of devout Muslims, and has added a great idealism to their Faith. The idylls of that Universal Divine Love, which pervades nature from the lowest type of God's creation to the highest, sung in rapturous strains by Maulâna Jalâluddîn and Attâr, are among the most beautiful productions of our Prophet's followers.

S. M. Rahman.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE.*

To the lay reader this comely volume will recall much of the glamour with which the medieval architecture of the Near East has clad her ancient streets, especially those of Cairo. The illustrations are numerous, mostly from excellent photographs excellently reproduced ; author and publisher alike are to be congratulated on the real beauty here displayed. For those who have not had the good fortune to see the actual buildings the plates, as a whole, convey as good an impression of them as can be looked for in a volume of these dimensions. Some of them are under-scaled, for example, fig. 42—the Citadel of Aleppo—with the minute human figures in the foreground, almost too small to be recognized, renders but inadequately the impression of magnificent immensity with which most visitors are seized. Again, the illustrations of Sultan Hasan's College-mosque, held by many to be the greatest manifestation of the art here discussed, scarcely show its real majesty ; on the other hand the pictures of the more ornate of the latest Mameluke buildings do indeed express their great charm, more jewel-like and perhaps more easily expressible. We must be grateful to the author for adding some typical street scenes, hackneyed though they may be, because they make us realize the setting which, seemingly so casual, yet signally enhances the beauty of the jewel.

The text is full and thorough ; it contains not only all the data of first importance but most of the details which, smaller in themselves, yield us nevertheless valuable indications necessary for the complete understanding of the architectural development. But the student will have to dig out these data for himself and may perhaps find in that exercise some of the zest of adventure, for the text, though easy, does not sufficiently convey an orderly sense of development such as we should like in histories. The facts of religious uses and of political and

**Muhammadan Architecture in Egypt and Palestine.* By MARTIN S. BRIGGS, F.R.I.B.A., Clarendon Press vi+255. 252 illustrations.

religious influences are duly stated, but some of them almost casually; a preliminary outline of them and of the various technical innovations and their sources, in their chronological order, would have added much to the book's usefulness.

The origins of most features of Muslim architecture are generally treated of with thoroughness, with some exceptions, such as the pre-Muslim use of the pointed arch and the cusped window, which is not made clear enough: again, no mention is made of the origin of the open-work windows in stucco or stone, first mentioned in connection with the mosque of Ibn Tûlûn, which surely are derived from the pierced marble slabs filling windows in Byzantine churches.

The author, like Saladin, takes a wide view of the origins of Muslim architecture, compounded as it is of many elements from the countries conquered by the Arabs, but the great debt in special to the Byzantines hardly receives its due meed of recognition. It may be noted here that the paintings in the palace of Kosayr 'Amra, noticed on p. 168, belong to true Byzantine art, as heir to the Hellenistic, and not to Persian or Sassanian; the building itself seems to show Mesopotamian origins. The palace of Mshatta, of which the most important remaining parts have been transferred to Berlin, is not described nor its relations with Muslim art discussed, presumably because its date has been disputed and some consider it later than the Arabic conquest. But the weight of probability is on the other side and, in any case, the interesting mingling of pure Byzantine and late Sassanian ornament was well worth describing and its probable effects on Muslim art. Another omission concerns the College-mosque and mausoleum of Sâlih Negum-ud-dîn Eyûb, mentioned on pp. 85-6 and probably not described because they have been illustrated in Mrs. R. L. Devonshire's last book.[1] But the Eyubid period is important, showing a rapid transition in both architecture and craftsmanship from the coarser Fatimid to the later glories of the Mameluke period; Sâlih's buildings, it is true, are much dilapidated but, according to Herz Pasha, bear marks of European influence, which he thought was then coming in. The author illustrates this transitional period rather insufficiently. Nor does he bring into sufficient account all the influences from Muslim countries outside those under review; for example,

1. *Some Cairo Mosques and their Founders;* London, Constable, 1921.

the Seljucide, of which Herz Pasha found several traces in the Mosque of Sultan Hasan. Again features new in Syria and Egypt are often found in Persia a century or more earlier, a circumstance of great import. Lastly, we should like to have had a fuller account—it needs not much space—of the lovely Saracenic domes; they have been passed over by the author as outside the scope of the book, although they form an outstanding feature of the buildings, causing Lane Poole felicitously to dub the Mamelukes "the Dome-builders." In a second edition space could be found for them without enlarging the book, for, in view of the good manuals of Saracenic history that are available (notably Lane Poole's), a considerable proportion of the historical notes might be eliminated, leaving only what is essential for the understanding of chronology and the influence of political events on the current of art. Another branch of architecture, similarly excluded, that of public baths, is certainly worthy of description. Justice is done, p. 108, to the great porch of Sultan Hasan, but some account of porches in general and their development would have been welcome, for they constitute a feature of great importance in Saracenic architecture, in which the treatment of them is highly characteristic. Nothing has been said of the rooms and offices pertaining to college-mosques; in most cases they are in such a ruined state that description is well nigh impossible, but some account is desirable for without it the reader's view of such colleges must be incomplete. As students in thousands still live in the Azhar mosque and receive food rations, the teaching and living arrangements for them and their officers might have been described in relation to the congeries of buildings composing El-Azhar, whereas the quarters devoted to each nationality of students are not even mentioned. The great mosque of Sayyid Ahmed el-Bedawî at Tantah receives large numbers of students and could have been used as a subsidiary illustration, though not of course as a guide, for it is completely modernized.

The author, p. 199, notices the ignorant, clumsy way in which the Saracens treated the pillars and capitals which they tore out of Christian buildings throughout the Near East; it may be added that capitals are sometimes inverted and often used as bases for pillars; it is a strange freak that artists so keenly alive to beauty should have spoilt their work by this persistent error, which might have been easily corrected; we are justified in deducing that Coptic artisans had no voice in the matter.

With regard to joggle-stones (pp. 188-9), it appears impossible that the extreme examples of seeming stereotomy, with their re-entering curves, can be indeed what they seem, and close examination would most likely show that they are mere veneers. The author recognizes this for the prayer-niche shown in fig. 96, and Gayet (*L'art arabe*, p. 151) points to veneering on monolith lintels and shows that the cut-out sides of excessively joggled voussoirs break up in spite of the fact that they are often protected from superincumbent weight by hidden arches built above them. These complicated patterns in variously coloured stones were doubtless meant to strike the eye as one enters and to give, as it were, the keynote of the sumptuous decoration to be found within, and so they find a true place in the general plan; but they inevitably suggest structural weakness and the amateur of good architecture may be excused if he takes austerer views and prefers more sober work, finding in this too much display, too jewel-like a scheme.

It is pleasant to find place given to domestic architecture, of which Chap. IX provides a good account, sufficient to explain its main features and their meanings. The houses of Damascus, however, receive too succinct a treatment (pp. 161-2); there are many fine ones, spacious and comely, as a visit to the gallery of the 'Issa minaret will show, and some of them are splendid indeed (v. figs. 168-70). May we hope for a fuller account in the next edition?

With regard to Egyptian houses the following notes may perhaps be useful. The brick ornamentation mentioned on pp. 160-1 and 185-6 is not uncommon in towns of Upper Egypt; its extreme manifestation is perhaps found in some small tombs on the eastern Nile-bank a little south of Fua, in the Delta, which are worthy of illustration. (It may be noted that the mud from the Nile-banks near its mouth is renowned for brick-making qualities, and the best brickwork is found in towns of these districts). The origin of this decoration is given by Professor Lethaby as Persian.

The remains of domestic buildings found, up to 1920, at Fostât (p. 154) show much use of arched windows and vaulted roofs, quite un-Egyptian in style and pointing, it seems, to Mesopotamian origin—of course other styles may be discovered. In Upper Egypt may still be seen traces of the Ancient Egyptian style; in many places the

outer walls of the higher houses, built of sun-dried bricks, take the slope, natural for mud, that is noticeable in the monuments of Ancient Egypt, and the conspicuous tower-like dovecotes show the same lines, but with greater slope. The Khân Khalîlî (p. 162) was built in 1400 A.D. by Gerkas el-Khalîlî and not by Sultan Ghûrî, who rebuilt it, and so his name is still held in honour by the older merchants of the Bazaar who call him affectionately "Baba (=papa) Ghûrî" and believe that he treated their predecessors with special consideration[1].

The chapter on Saracenic ornament is of great interest but would be improved by omitting descriptions of objects outside the scope of architecture[2]; the treatment of them is necessarily brief, and, in view of the many difficult points impossible to discuss in a book like this, inconclusive. With it may be grouped the chapters on crafts; were they confined to the application of crafts to architectural objects, more room could be advantageously made for the discussion of notable buildings not now described, as well as for more detail in some that have been.

It may be noted that carved wood panels of the kind mentioned at the head of p. 215 have been found in "Old Cairo" and several are exhibited in the interesting Coptic Museum, attached to the Church of the V. Mary, for which we are much indebted to the enlightened energy of Morcos Pasha Simaika. Some of them display human figures drinking, playing musical instruments, etc., similar to

1. It may be of interest to record that the bazaar name for celadon porcelain is *ghuri*, this sultan, it is said, having shown great predilection for it; it is held by the merchants that he caused the Cairo potters to make the earthenware imitations of it still to be found. The tradition may perhaps be incorrect; it is recorded by Ibn Eyàs that at the time of the Turkish conquest, a few years after Sultan Ghûrî, blue-and-white Chinese porcelain was in great fashion with the rich; from other Arabic sources we learn that "green porcelain," which must be celadon, was most esteemed, and later, brilliant white porcelain. Certain magical operations, described in chap-books of to-day, can only be carried out in a green vessel—a relic of the medieval notions about the magical virtues of celadon.

2. One of these objects is the famous brass griffin of Pisa, of which the author (p. 169), following Gayet, conjectures that it was an idol for Sultan Hàkim's new religion (the local guide-book used to call it a "Mahometan idol"!), but if we may judge from the practice of the Druses who follow, as they believe, his teachings, he was a true mystic, probably of atheistic tendencies.

The author also attributes mythical beasts in Saracenic art to China, but they are really the offspring of Mesopotamia, always prolific of such creatures.

that on the ivory plaque in the Bargello, Florence, shown in Miegon's *Art Musulman*, II, fig. 132, and to many figures in Môsul brass-work, Rhages polychrome pottery and Persian lustred tile and vessels, dating from the end of the 12th to the beginning of the 14th century.

Much mention is made of bronze on doors, etc., but a close examination of the objects themselves will show in most, if not all, cases that they are really of brass. This is clearly stated by Herz Pasha in the *Catalogue of the National Museum of Arabic Art, Cairo*, and the author himself, p. 222, first describes the door-plates of the mosque of Talâ'î us-Sâlih as of bronze but a few lines further, following the *Catalogue*, says they are of sheet brass. Similarly, in the translation of Nâsir-i-Khosran's description of the plated doors of the great Jerusalem mosque (p. 220) "copper" should be "brass" (there is confusion between the two in French as in Arabic, and doubtless Schefer's French version has been used).

With regard to the manufacture of glass (p. 225), its history in Egypt begins very early and is continuous to the Coptic period; it cannot have stopped at the Muslim conquest, for many fragments have been dug out from the ruins of Fostat, and the remains of a kiln have been discovered there by an amateur and specimens from it given to the British Museum.

Glazed earthenware, like glass, has a very long and continuous history in Egypt and the question of first origin in medieval times (p. 230) does not in fact arise. This is not so, however, with the much disputed lustred ware (pp. 229-30); it seems now that priority must be yielded to Mesopotamia, since the discoveries of Dr. Sarre at Samârrâ; typical examples found by him and dated to the 9th century A.D. are now in the British Museum. The remarkable bowl found in Upper Egypt and now in M. Kelekian's loan exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum, with its Christian subject and the cross looped at the head in the ancient Egyptian style (*conkh*), shows that the art soon came to Egypt.

The mosaics of the great mosque of Damascus are discussed by the author, but the panel discovered over the prayer-niche in the Cult-mosque of Kalâûn during the restoration mentioned on p. 101 has apparently not been seen by him. It is of Byzantine glass mosaic, rich in gold and floral scrolls; a second edition will doubtless give some account of it.

The treatment of Saracenic influences on European art (p. 239) is in some particulars not full enough; the value, for example, of Kufic lettering for decorative purposes was widely known by medieval European artists—many examples have been published by Mr. A. H. Christie in recent numbers of the *Burlington Magazine*. We may also refer to the remarkable examples of early faience found in the last few years at Orvicto and the earlier kinds of Florentine faience, full of Saracenic reminiscences.

An interesting detail omitted is the carving on the porch of Sultan Hasan's mosque, where, on the right hand side, are low-reliefs remarkably like those of Europe at the end of the 13th century. They represent churches, and as one of them has a dome like that on the great mosque of Jerusalem, the work has been attributed to a Syrian; Herz Pasha considered these panels as a kind of sign-manual of the chief artist, but Captain K. A. C. Creswell has shown that they were pieces looted from Palestine when taken from the Crusaders, as were the little Gothic columns flanking the main prayer-niche; he has also found fragments of the same origin in other buildings[1].

Some notes on architects and craftsmen may be of interest in connection with the author's remarks on pp. 92-3. We must be careful not to take too seriously the words of the later chroniclers such as Makrîzî, for, unlike the earlier ones, notably the admirable Ibn Gobayir, they delight in all things marvellous and excessive and are ready to perpetuate almost any floating story if only it bears those qualities. Makrîzî's report of the lash, etc., under which the common labourer doubtless suffered, shows what struck him as an outstanding circumstance of the building, and he takes no account of the artistic craftsman. We have, however, good evidence that the Mamelukes in their artistic zeal not only encouraged native experts but attracted foreign ones from abroad. The contemporary chronicler Ibn Eyâs, describing the dire deeds of the conquering Turks, relates[2] that the Sultan Selîm, greatly struck by the magnificence of the recently built College-mosque of El-Ghûrî, sent away many hund-

1. *Bulletin de l'Institut Francais d'Archeologie Orientale*, XXI (1922), 51-4.

2. Vol. III, pp. 116,—118,122, 126 of the Bûlàk edition, 1311, A.H. (1893-4, A.D.), the only one, now out of print, but the part containing the Turkish conquest has recently been translated. A serviceable digest of these passages may be found in Vol. IV, pp. 1-32, of *L'Egypte Contemporaine* (Cairo; Impr. de l'Institut Francais de l'Archéologie

reds of workmen, of many crafts, to Constantinople to build him a similar monument, but they never arrived. It is specially noteworthy that they included Persians, Syrians, Moors, Copts and Jews, and even Arabs of the Hejâz—Cairo must indeed have been a hive of artistic activity. Even straw-mat makers came there from Abadan in Persia, a town famous for that industry (the popular Egyptian name for fine straw-mats is still *abadani*). Ahmed Pasha Zeki's library in Cairo, which was, and still probably is, open to students, contains a petition dug up from the ruins of Fostât a few years ago, asking that two Persians from Abadan should be exempted from poll-tax, for they had come to Cairo to establish their craft.

The methods of architects and craftsmen are discussed by the author (pp. 92-3 and 177-8; cp. Gayet, pp. 147-8 and Saladin, pp. 13-14): a comparison with modern practice in Egypt will perhaps throw some useful light on the subject.

In Egypt to-day the commemorative mosque is entrusted to a master-builder with a knowledge of old traditions and reputed for active intelligence; he dresses as a superior workman and carries in his pocket a large and well-worn note-book filled with designs of architectural details, floral scrolls, geometrical patterns, etc.: he has come under the influence of Herz Pasha[1] and knows where the best work, especially the decorative, is to be found in the old mosques of Cairo. For the ground lay-out he goes to a European versed in the mysteries of modern sanitation and the requirements of the Public Health Department, which are beyond his ken. The stones to be used are brought to the site rough-hewn, there to be dressed by the masons with that universal tool of Ancient Egypt, the adze, under the direct supervision of the master. The decorations are laid out by him as the building proceeds, he marks out in charcoal lines the designs of the sculptured work, to be executed by his carvers in stone;

Orientale, 1913), written by Ahmed Pasha Zeki, an ardent amateur. It is interesting to note that, according to Diodorus Siculus (bk. I, ch. 46), Cambyses deported artisans from Egypt to Persia for a similar purpose. The story at least points to the early existence of this practice in the East.

1. Formerly Director of the Service of Preservation of Monuments of Arab Art, whose services, backed by the responsible Committee, have been of the greatest value; it is pleasant to find that they are recognized by the author, as by most other lovers of this art.

the finer work he may perhaps do himself. He does not prepare in advance a complete finished drawing of his design, but keeps it in a somewhat fluid state in his head, with frequent recourse to his note-book. Thus the art of building is here indeed a " mystery," as in older times all such processes were termed, and its products are very personal ; should a master die, not leaving his knowledge and note-books to a successor, the loss to his art might be great.

These methods, which still produce some really pleasant results, were doubtless those of the medieval masters, for they fit in wholly with the few records on the subject left by the chroniclers, with the exception, of course, of the part played by the Public Health Department. Further, the bag of plaster derided by Gayet becomes not only intelligible but natural, when one considers how the modern Egyptian acts when having a house built for him. He sits on a chair before the growing building, an umbrella over his head, and gives directions for changes or additions as they come to his fancy, of course consulting the master-builder. In towns this way is now mostly impossible, owing to the exigencies of the Street Service (*tanzim*), but not in open country. Very commonly a part only of the house is finished and then inhabited ; the rest may, or may not, be finished—thus 'Abdul-Latîf's account is well vindicated (p. 93). Again, the traditional story of the architect whose hand the jealous tyrant cuts off, though probably a mere folk-tale applied to various splendid buildings as it has been to Sultan Hasan's mosque,[1] gains point, for our master-builder, if thus mutilated, would be struck helpless, while to-day European training and office methods might conceivably allow a handless architect, though handicapped, still to engender meritorious works.

As for the patron Mamelukes, they were the Renaissance princes of their times, turbulent, vicious, careless, but eager lovers of the arts they had. Certainly, if Arabic chronicles be true, the Mamelukes in their excesses outdid the Italians, but the reason may well be that while the former ruled a people alien to them and abundantly submissive before cruelty, Italian princes had to deal with the hardiness and subtlety of their own race. In both cases the eminently vicious might still be great promoters of the arts and it seems unnecessary to give the credit

1. Some chroniclers relate that the Sultan treated his architect with proper generosity.

of Sultan Hasan's mosque to his ministers, as the author (p. 107) and others have done.

Of the minor crafts some have been revived and good workmen trained in the shops by European cabinet-makers, notably in brass-work, fine turned lattice-work (*mashrabiyah*), and the making of the fine polygonal panel-work found in old pulpits. The last good example of a pulpit in the old tradition is that of the great mosque of Tantah ; it was finished about fifty years ago and was the work of an old man who took several years over it ; the joiners of to-day, who honour it much, ignoring the work due to Europeans, say that it is the last specimen of the old type. Pierced plaster windows (*kamariyah*) are still made, but not in the old way (pp. 227-8), for stencil-like patterns are cut out of thick wood and the liquid plaster is poured into them, giving straight walls to the plaster when set ; chamfering may be done afterwards but the effect, like the work, must of course be mechanical and in beauty far inferior to the originals.

However, Cairo possesses a vigorous School of Arts and Crafts, some of whose professors are fully alive to the old craftsmanship ; Egyptian hands and brains for such work are still very keen, as a turn round the bazaars will show—nor must we forget the forged antiquities of Upper Egypt—and so, if the more wealthy public will give practical support, Egypt may again produce even monumental things of beauty. We may perhaps hope that a national government will give its aid in a matter of such really national interest.

Considering the highly technical character of much of the book and the many words in Arabic, so uncouth, the freedom from misprints is remarkable ; we may note, p. 48, 1884 for 884, and p. 67 (end of the Fatimids) 1711 for 1171. On p. 45, while muëzzin is spelt, after the system of the British Academy, *mu'adhḍhin*, the call to prayer is termed *adan*, though by the same system it should be *adhan*. The pulpit is spelt throughout *mimbar*, but should be *minbar*, the former representing colloquial pronunciation.

The Arabic words used are nearly all correct, but it should be noted in the glossary that the proper term for minaret is *midhanah* (colloquially *madnah* ;=the " place for calling to prayer "), *manareh* meaning " the place for lights " and indicating a secondary purpose of the minaret.

On p. 8 the usual translation of *Fostat* as "tent" is given, but it has long been shown that this word is derived from the Latin *fossatum* and originally meant a "military camp" and derivatively a "multitude of persons," "tent" being a still later derived meaning (cp. *sirat*, "a street," from *stratum*). On p. 124, l. 11, the loggia-like *kuttab* of Kait-Bay's mosque is called a *sebil*. *Zayyat* (p. 226) is the "oil-man," not "cleaner." The word *mashrabiah* (pp. 147—9), commonly used by Europeans and bazaar men to denote window screens of turned lattice-work, never means that in good Arabic but, as the author says, the little niche in the screen in which porous earthenware jars (*kullah*) are placed to cool the water they contain; it is derived from *mashrab*,="a drink," and not, as has been suggested, from *mashrabah*, "an upper chamber" (as being that in which people drink), nor *ishrab*, "to stretch the neck to look," as one does to drink.

As to history, Shagar-ud-durr (p. 93) reigned alone only three months, when she married her second husband, the Mameluke Eybek; she was a figure of romance and her name has eclipsed his, but he was not a mere fainéant. On p. 70 the restoration of Hâkim's mosque after an earthquake is first given as in 1303 A.D., and a few lines later in 1309; according to Lane Poole the earthquake took place in 1303 and the restoration in the next year.

Finally, as this book should certainly find its way into the hands of many students and amateurs unacquainted with Arabic, it would be an improvement in later editions to make as little use as possible of the terminology of that language, nor is it necessary; why should we call a pulpit a *minbar* or a prayer-niche a *mihrab*; cannot a *sahn* be rightly termed a central court, a *liwan* (strictly *iwan*) an arched recess, *maksurah* a sanctuary, and so on? Even the common *mashrabiah*, being incorrect, might be dropped for "turned lattice-work." And in English, why write "lintol" for "lintel" a spelling used by some architects, but with no authority (*v.* the *New English Dictionary*), and "style" for "stile" (an upright in carpentry), a very modern corruption?

A last improvement would be to delete the allusions to our troops and their operations scattered throughout the book, for, where they occur, they produce an almost journalistic air derogatory to the dignity of the subject and of the work itself.

But this is a small blemish, easily effaced; let us conclude with real thanks to the author for his painstaking presentment of a fascinating theme.

G. D. HORNBLOWER.

KITAB-UL-HUDA BY YAQUB HASAN. VOL. I.

We hope to publish a full length review of this most interesting and important work in our next issue. Ed.—"I. C."

PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS,
HYDERABAD DECCAN.

ISLAMIC CULTURE

PRESS COMMENTS.

" It is a unique production of its kind."
TIMES OF MESOPOTAMIA.

"The journal is sure to breathe a new life into the lethargic Muslims." *ISLAMIC REVIEW.*

"A periodical of this kind in the English language has long been a great want. Islamic Culture will be a most important addition to Indian periodical literature." *THE INDIAN DAILY MAIL.*

"The journal is of a really high standard.....the get up is good, and the matter is excellent. Hyderabad may well be proud of this production." *THE INDIAN NATIONAL HERALD.*

"There is no doubt that the journal will be occupying an honourable place in the list of periodicals which save humanity from stagnation. Not merely Muslims but everyone interested in human progress will find much food for study and thought."
THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE.

"This journal will do a great deal in bringing Islam into line with modern thought. It is tastefully got up. *THE HINDU.*

"The journal is undoubtedly a most precious addition to literature in general and to literature on Islam in particular. The Review is certainly a great enlightening and uplifting force and no educated man can afford to be without it." *THE LIGHT.*

"In general get-up and style the magazine is on a par with its British contemporaries, but the choice of subjects and the co-operation of brilliant Muslim and non-Muslim contributors, makes it the most interesting periodical published in India."
THE MUSLIM OUTLOOK.

" Islamic Culture is in every way up to date and can be compared with the first class magazines published in England, France and Germany. The magazine is unique of its kind."
THE MUSLIM CHRONICLE.

" Is excellently got up and well printed on high class paper. The organ presents the cultural and the enlightened side of the Islam and as such it should be welcomed not only by Muslims but also by men of other religions who wish to see a united India by allowing followers of each religion to study the best of other religions."
THE INDIAN DAILY TELEGRAPH.

"There is great need for such journals in order to dispel ignorance and misunderstanding and uphold the real significance and truth of every religion and culture. The magazine is very well printed on good paper." *THE RANGOON MAIL.*

"The magazine is a laudable attempt to present Islamic Culture in its proper perspective.... it is well got up and is quite readable." *SIND OBSERVER.*

"A noteworthy feature of this production is that it is well printed and carefully "read." *THE PIONEER.*

"Represents the best Islamic thought of the day. To the Muslims it will certainly be invaluable and even to the non-Muslims it may be useful in removing certain misconceptions about Islam." *UNITED INDIA AND INDIAN STATES.*

"Its printing, paper and get-up is excellent and leaves nothing to be desired." *THE ALIGARH MAIL.*

"The periodical bids fair to be a model one in the English language." *JAM-E-JAMSHED.*

"An invaluable guide to the acquisition of a true knowledge of Islamic Culture and civilization." *KHILAFAT DAILY.*

"A first noble effort to serve Islam." *RAHBER-I-DECCAN.*

Wit, Humour and Fancy of Persia

A delightful book of Poets' Repartees, Bon-mots, Epigrams, Parodies, Humorous Stories, Play on Words, Enigmas, etc., with the original Persian verses.

" A book to possess and to keep handy as a cheering antidote against the worries of life." *Modern Review.*

" A veritable treasury of Wit and Humour. Open it where one may, the alluring fare beguiles the unwary reader on and on." *Praja-mitra.*

" A judicious, tasteful and comprehensive collection." *Calcutta Review.*

332 pages. Cloth-bound. Rs. 5, Post-free.

From Author : M. N. KUKA,
Bombay House, Bruce Street, Fort, BOMBAY.

To Let

THE REVIEW OF NATIONS

Edited by

FELIX VALYI

No. 5. (October 1927.)

1. THE INDIAN REFORM QUESTION.
LORD OLIVIER OF RAMSDEN.
2. THE PROBLEM OF DISARMAMENT.
CHRISTIAN L. LANGE.
3. THE RUSSIAN INTELLIGENTSIA AND EUROPE.
PAUL MILIUKOV.
4. PERSONALITY IN HISTORY.
WILHEIM SCHUBART.
5. MEXICO AND AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION.
DEXTER PERKINS.
6. THE CHINESE REVOLUTION : A CHINESE VIEW.
KUNG CHEN KOO.
7. ABSOLUTISM IN SOVIET RUSSIA.
B. MIRKINE-GUETZEVITCH.
8. CENTRAL ASIA, THE CROSS-ROAD OF CIVILISATIONS.
RENE GROUSSET.
9. THE REFLEX ACTION OF COLONIALISM.
K. M. PANIKKAR.
10. THE INDIAN ART RENAISSANCE.
W. E. GLADSTONE SOLOMON.
11. THE PROBLEM OF OVERPOPULATION.
IMRE FERENCZI.
12. ORIENTALS IN AMERICA.
GEORGE WARREN HINMAN.
13. BIBLIOGRAPHY : RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

FOUR NUMBERS PER YEAR.

Subscription Price : Four Dollars (Postage Extra).

THE REVIEW OF NATIONS PUBLISHING Co.,
117, RUE DE LAUSANNE, GENEVA,
(SWITZERLAND).

ISLAMIC CULTURE

THE HYDERABAD QUARTERLY REVIEW

PUBLISHED JANUARY, APRIL, JULY AND OCTOBER.

Scale of Advertisement Charges

Single Insertion.

		Rs.
Per ordinary page	..	20
Per half page ..	..	11
Per quarter page	..	6
Second page of cover	..	50
Third page of cover	..	50
Fourth page of cover	..	80

Annual insertions.....10% Discount.

Annual Subscription: Inland Rs. 10, foreign £1-1s including registered postage. The price of single or specimen copy is Rs. 2-12-0.

Purchasers of specimen copies for the current year can become annual subscribers by paying Rs. 7-4-0 additional.

Subscribers are not registered for less than one year and the subscription in all cases must be paid in advance. Notices of change of address, should be sent before the date of issue.

Subscribers when communicating with this office will please mention their respective Subscriber Numbers. Intending subscribers are requested to send their subscription by M. O. as the V. P. P. causes delay and extra expense. All business communications to be addressed to the Manager.

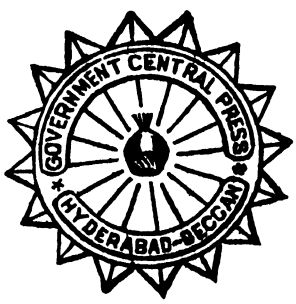
Agents :—

Great Britain ..PROBSTHAIN & Co., 41, *Great Russell Street, London, W. C. I.*
LUZAC & Co., 46, *Great Russell Street, London.*

France ..LIBRARIE ERNEST LEROUX, 28, *Rue Bonaparte, Paris.*

Germany ..OTTO HARRASSOWITZ, *Leipzig.*

India ..D. B. TARAPOREVALA SONS & Co.
THACKER & Co., *Ltd., Hornby Road, Bombay.*
THACKER, SPINK & Co., *Calcutta.*


GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS
HYDERABAD-DECCAN