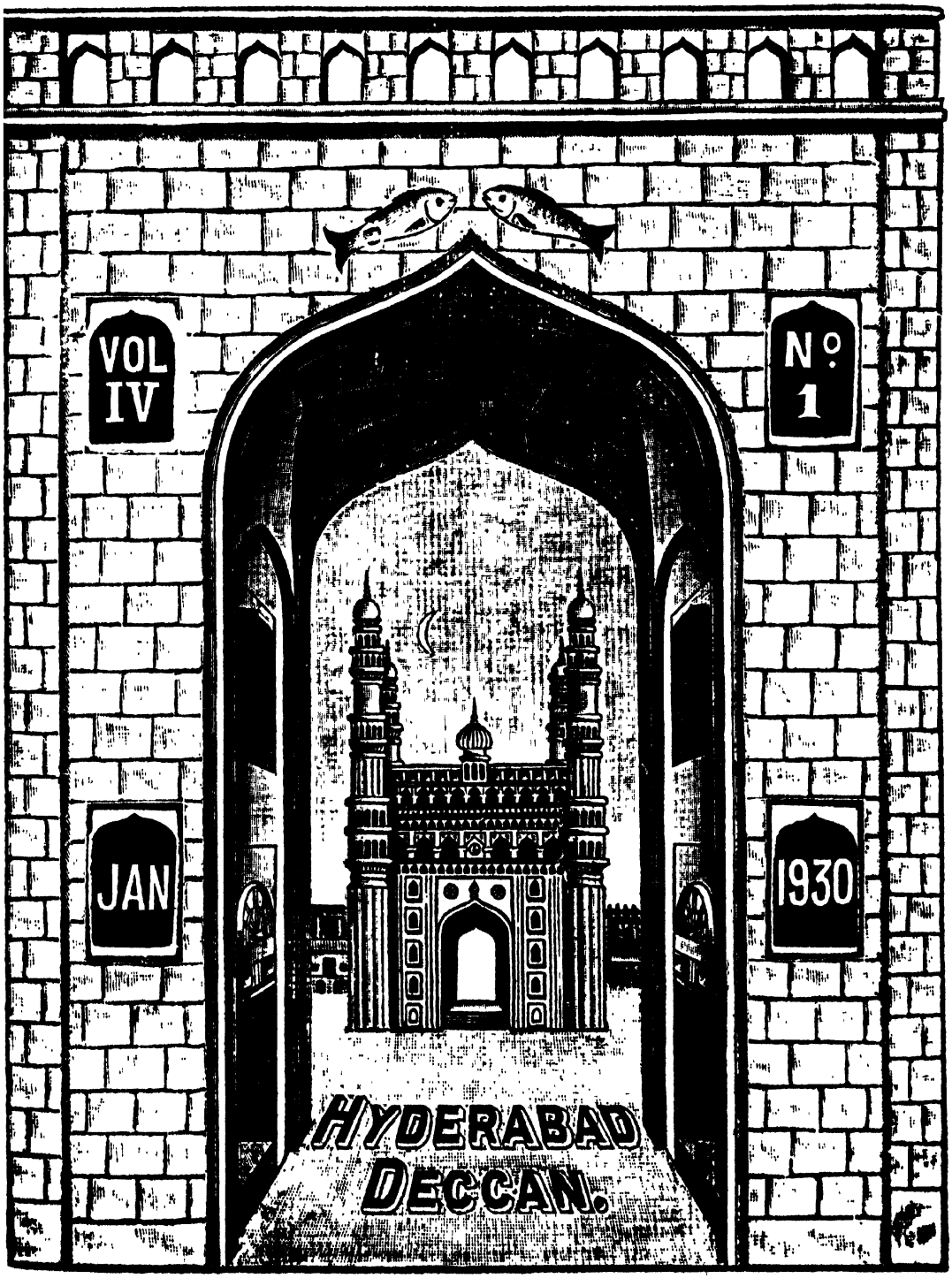
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ISLAMIC CULTURE

THE

HYDERABAD QUARTERLY REVIEW

Edited by

MARMADUKE PICKTHALL

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THE TABLE-TALK OF A MESOPOTAMIAN JUDGE

(*Continued from our last issue.*)

30. I was told the following by Abu'l-Husain. I heard (he said) Abu'l-Hasan 'Alî b. Muhammad b. al-Furât, who at that time was deputy for Abû Nûh 'Isâ b. Ibrâhîm in the Estates' Bureau, narrate as follows. Sâ'id b. Makhlad had a number of guarantees[1], and had dealings with Abû Nûh. Sâ'id was a person of importance at that time, but had not as yet held high office. At the commencement of the Caliphate of Mu'tazz[2] Sâ'id in our presence came before Abû Nûh, who demanded of him certain sums that were due from him. A discussion ensued between them which led to Sâ'id making a vehement reply. Abû Nûh lost his temper and used insulting language, to which Sâ'id replied in the same style. The people present regarded this as improper, and cried out contemptuously "Stupid fool, you have ruined yourself, come away!" and took him away by force, rescuing him from an immediate assault by Abû Nûh, whom they told that the man was mad and did not know what he was uttering. Sâ'id went home bewildered, not knowing how to deal with the situation. He informed his brother 'Abdûn of what had occurred. 'Abdûn said to him: Unless you obey me, to-morrow you will be under arrest, ordered to pay a fine exceeding in amount your whole estate and the estates of your family and acquaintances, and put to death besides out of revenge. Sâ'id asked what his brother's plan was. The latter said: What is the amount of your ready money? Tell me truly about the whole. —Fifty thousand dînârs was the reply. —Could you bring yourself (asked 'Abdûn) to part with them, throwing them away as though they had no existence, to rescue your life, preserve your religion, and whatever property, lands and estates remain to you, and become one of the greatest of

1. Probably this means that he had contracted for the right to extort fines from various officials.

2. 251 A.H.

men ? Or can you not bring yourself to do this, and prefer to let the dînârs be taken from you under the lash, that all your landed and other property should be lost, and your life into the bargain ?—Sâ'id reflected for a long time, and then said : I am prepared to part with the dînârs as the price of my life. —Then (said 'Abdûn) give me thirty thousand dirhams at once.—Sâ'id bade him take them. He took them and went to the doorkeeper of Mûsâ b. Bughâ[1] after dark, and asked him to accept ten thousand dirhams and give him access to a certain eunuch, who was a favourite of Mûsâ, who obeyed him in all things. Mûsâ was at that time the *de facto* Caliph, his secretary was equal to a vizier, all the business was in his hands, and the Caliph his *protege*. The doorkeeper accepted the money, and brought 'Abdûn to the eunuch. 'Abdûn offered this last the remaining twenty thousand dirhams, saying : These are a present for you, and kindly take me to the Emir at once, and support me in a request which I wish to make to the Emir, and a suggestion which I would offer him. The eunuch introduced him, and when he was presented to the Emir, he began to attack his clerks, saying : They have been plundering you, appropriating your property, and wasting your estates. My brother is prepared to make the office of your clerk grander than the vizierate, to assure you the control of all public business, and save you so much, and achieve so much ; indeed this very night before midnight he will transmit fifty thousand dînârs to you as a personal gift for which he will require no recompense or return out of your property. You, however, will please appoint him your secretary, and bestow the robe of office on him to-morrow morning.—Mûsâ said : I must think.—'Abdûn told him that there was no occasion for thinking, and insisted. The eunuch then said to Mûsâ : Is there any one in the world who would refuse so vast a sum coming to him at once ? Clerk for clerk and the money clear profit !—Mûsâ assented, whereupon the other embraced him and said: Please send some one at once to fetch my brother, so that you may deal with him personally.—Mûsâ despatched a messenger who fetched him. 'Abdûn remained for the night in the palace ; Mûsâ invested Sâ'id with his secretaryship immediately and bade him present himself early on the morrow to receive his robes of honour. He also bade the sergeants go in the morning to the house of Sâ'id to ride with him. Next morning Sâ'id presented himself, no one knowing

1. A Turkish captain of eminence at this time.

what had happened to him, and was ceremonially invested by Mûsâ b. Bughâ with the secretaryship, and the entire army rode in procession.—Samarra was overwhelmed when the news was proclaimed, and one of the officials paid an early visit to Hasan b. Makhlad, who was a friend of Abû Nûh, to tell him of Sâ'id's investiture. With what office? asked Hasan. With the secretaryship to Mûsâ b. Bughâ was the reply. Hasan perceived the seriousness of the event, and asked for his garments. They were brought, he donned them, and rode to Abû Nûh. Have you heard about Sâ'id? he asked. Abû Nûh, replied: Yes, the hound! You have heard then how he treated me, and by Allah I will do for him!—You are asleep, was the rejoinder: I was not referring to that. The man has been appointed secretary to Mûsâ b. Bughâ the Emir, and has just received his robe of honour. The whole army has ridden with him to his home.—Abû Nûh answered: We had no notion of this. Last night he was in fear of us, and this morning we are in fear of him! What suggestion have you to offer?—Hasan said: I will effect a reconciliation between you immediately.

Hasan b. Makhlad then rode off to Sâ'id, congratulated him on his appointment, and advised him to make friends with Abû Nûh. You have no wife, he observed; I will make you his son-in-law, and you will have his support. For though you have won a victory over him, he is a man whose position and importance must be recognized, and whom it will be honourable to have for a father-in-law and a friend. And indeed he is fond of you.—Hasan would not leave Sâ'id alone until he had agreed to the truce and the alliance. And now, he said, you must ride with me to his house, for he is the prospective bride's father, and the bridegroom should go after the lady. Were it not for that, they would have come to you.—Hasan brought him that very day to Abû Nûh, reconciliation was effected, the marriage contract was immediately drawn up, and on the same occasion Abû Nûh, gave his other daughter in marriage to Hasan b. Makhlad's son Al-'Abbâs; she became the mother of his son Abû 'Isâ, known as Son of Abû Nûh's daughter, master of the army pay office, afterwards in charge of the Bureau of Army Control[1] for his uncle Sulaiman b. Hasan who was younger than his father Al-'Abbâs. Sâ'id's secretaryship to Mûsâ and alliance with Abû Nûh formed the start

1. The Bureau in which the payments were scrutinized.

of his distinguished career, which with various vicissitudes brought him to the vizierate.

31. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain, who heard it from Abû'l-Qâsim Sulaimân b. al-Hasan.—I used, said the last, to do writing in the employ of Abû'l-'Abbâs b. al-Furât at the commencement of the vizierate of 'Ubaidallâh b. Sulaimân, and was on intimate terms with him, because my father had laid him under obligations. I used to drink with him. One night, when we were drinking and stories were being told, he produced some narratives about a number of secretaries and viziers who were violent. Ahmad b. al-Khasîb, he said, used to kick complainants. Abû 'Abbâd Thâbit b. Yahyâ used to strike them with his whip if he was riding. Ahmad b. Abî Khâlid used to abuse them. He gave a number of other examples. Abû'l-Qâsim proceeded : Abû'l-'Abbâs[1] too was violent and foul-mouthed. We heard him tell these stories, but did not venture to call his attention to this fact. —The following day he rode out in the morning and I accompanied him. We were met on our road by the people of Samastia[2], who had a complaint to bring against their governor about some matter which they mentioned. Abû'l-Abbâs shouted at them and abused them. One of the deputation came up to him and importuned him. Abû'l-'Abbâs kicked him with his foot in the stirrup, and brought his whip down on the man's head and spat upon him.—Remembering the stories he had told us the night before, I burst out laughing. Hearing my guffaw, he turned to me with a smile and asked me what makes you laugh, you rascal ?—Sir, I replied, you have added a further example of lightheartedness to the anecdotes of yesterday.—What, he said, do you remember them ?—I replied in the affirmative. Abû'l-Husain proceeded. Sulaimân b. al-Hasan added : Times without number I have heard Abû'l-'Abbâs in a passion with people who had irritated him. To one of them he would say : You, son of a hundred thousand bushels of mustard multiplied by a hundred thousand of the like in harlots, you will find it more profitable to work out this sum !

Abû'l-Husain proceeded : We have never seen or heard of a governor more foul-mouthed than Hâmid b. al-'Abbâs. He would not restrain his tongue from any one soever, and was abusive when angry. For example : My father

1. Ibn al-Furât.
2. Probably a city called Sabaste.

told me how he was present at a crowded assembly in his house when Umm Mûsâ the Stewardess[1] came in and said to him: The Prince of Believers has bidden me tell you at your reception, how Ibn al-Furât used to transmit to me every day a bag containing a thousand dînârs, ten thousand dînârs to the Queen-mother every month, and five thousand every month to the princes and stewards. For forty days you have neglected this.—He immediately replied: What, have you come to dun me with your vehemence and violence? You had better....[2] and look out and make no mistake!—Umm Mûsâ went away abashed, and this was one of the causes of Hâmid's discredit with them, and the seizure of power by 'Alî b. 'Isâ.

On another occasion he summoned the accredited witness Ibn 'Abd al-Salâm to demand of him a deposit which he was charged with having had entrusted to him by Ibn al-Furât, it having been put into his hands through Yahyâ b. 'Abdallâh al-Daqîqî Abû Zakariyyâ, a relative of Ibn al-Furât's stewardess, Umm Kulthûm. The matter was discussed between them in the presence of 'Alî b. 'Isâ, and a number of qâdîs, nobles and military officers. I, at that time a young man, was present with my father. Hâmid said to Ibn 'Abd al-Salâm: Are you acquainted with this Daqîqî, son of the... relative of the.... Umm Kulthûm?—The witness replied: The vizier (God exalt him) knows him better than I.

Another example: He said to Ibn al-Hawârî in the Caliph's palace, in the presence of Umm Mûsâ on the night on which he arrived from Wâsit to be invested with the vizierate, in the course of a dialogue between them: I have twice had intimacy with his mother.—Umm Mûsâ exclaimed, Ah me, what is this that I hear!—Hâmid felt shame and said to Ibn al-Hawârî: In the Black Country[3] an expression which we use when we get the better of our opponents is, We have had intimacy with their mothers.

Another example: He summoned Al-Walîd b. Ahmad (sister's son to Râsibî) to demand of him a fine which had come to his knowledge; it was the evening of a feast which came on during his vizierate, but the presence of the multitude who had come to bid him good wishes for the feast did not divert him from this matter, and the man

1. See Index to the *Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate* for this lady's career.

2. The expressions are too coarse for translation.

3. The fertile land of Iraq.

was brought before him clad in a woollen *jubbah*. When 'Alî b. 'Isâ, who was present, saw him, he said : Would the vizier think fit to let me interview him in private with the view of persuading him to obey the vizier's command ? —Hâmid told him, he might do so. 'Alî b. 'Isâ then called the man to himself and began to whisper to him. 'Alî b. 'Isa was seated near Hâmid, who listened to what he was saying to the man, and heard al-Walîd swear with slow utterance that he had no means of paying left. Hâmid said to 'Alî b. 'Isâ : O Abû'l-Hasan, I should enjoy just now.....this person's mother ! —'Alî b. 'Isâ said : O God, forgive ! By heaven, what baseness ! —Ibn 'Abdûs al-Jahshiyârî, author of the Book of the Viziers[1] was standing at the side of 'Alî b. 'Isâ, being his chamberlain, and indeed his father before him had the command of the persons employed in the vizier 'Alî b. 'Isâ's household, and was his chamberlain also. Ibn 'Abdûs thereupon withdrew, saying, God's curse be on a time wherein you have become vizier !

Another example: This I heard myself. One day he was passing by the door of a house in Kufah Street[2] which we were inhabiting at the time, and at the door of which I was standing. It so happened that he had been accosted at this spot by some people from Bâdûrayâ about the tax on their *Shihriz* palms. They insisted that they were selling a hundred *ratls* of the dates —the produce of one tree —for two dirhams, and that the tax on the tree was three dirhams, and that they were not allowed to uproot the trees. Either, they said, he must give them leave to do this, or he must reduce the tax. He shouted out to them : This is no concern of mine, such matters have become the business of 'Alî b. 'Isâ, so go off to him. — The people started off, and he, after proceeding some five steps, called out, Recall them ! —His foot-soldiers recalled them, and he said to them : I can see you going off to 'Alî b. 'Isâ and saying to him : The vizier has referred us to you and has himself assented to our demand. My mother is a strumpet if I have assented ; your mother is a strumpet if you say this ; and the mother of 'Alî b. 'Isa is a strumpet if he assents. —He then proceeded on his way to his park, called the Water-wheel, to enjoy himself.

Another example : He used to meet 'Alî b. 'Isâ in the Caliph's palace, when Hâmid during his vizierate farmed the Black Country, and 'Alî b. 'Isâ had to demand payment

1. A fragment of this work was recently published by Mzik.
2. Called by Le Strange Kufah Gate Road (in Baghdad).

of him. On such occasions, when they discussed the matter of this money, 'Alî b. 'Isâ used to argue with him respectfully, whereas he (Hâmid) used to go off into abuse and vile language. 'Alî b. 'Isâ would say Peace, Peace, with reference to the text of the Qur'an (xxv. 64) *And when they are addressed by the savages, they say Peace!*

When Hâmid grew tired of this, he said to him one day after some foul language which had preceded Hush! How many times are you going to mention Salâmah[1], the man who....your sister Asmâ?—'Alî b. 'Isâ thereupon rose and said: This is the limit. He avoided conversation with him after that.

Once he said to 'Alî b. 'Isâ in the presence of Muqtadir: When this person was beardless I assure you I....him twice.

32. I was told by Abû'l-Husain how in the year 313, when he and his father were hiding in Karkh, he had seen in Baghdad a showman who was crying out: Behold the power of God in the body of a cow with two heads and four eyes! And I saw the creature as he described.

33. I was told by Abû'l-Husain how he had heard his father say: When Abû'l-Hasan b. al-Furât became vizier for the first time, the first official whom he appointed was Abû'l-'Abbâs Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Bistâm, who at the time was unemployed in Egypt. Ibn al-Furât addressed a letter to him in the most respectful terms, appointing him governor of the Egyptian provinces. His letter was effusive in invocations. This man, he said, was at one time my chief, and the relation of chief to subordinate is a debt which cannot be repaid. Abû'l-Husain added that he had himself heard Abû'l-Hasan b. al-Furât say in his third vizierate, when the secret service agent had handed him a report (which he tore up after reading): People are angry with me for leaving the old clerks unemployed and distributing the offices among the family of Bistâm and the family of Naubakht. Most assuredly, were it not improper to leave certain of the officials to whom I have assigned offices unemployed, I should employ no officials in the world other than the family of Naubakht.—Abû'l-Husain observed that his devotion to the family of Bistâm was due to the fact that the above-mentioned Abû'l-'Abbâs had been his chief, and their community in religion; whereas his devotion to the family of Naubakht

1. Nearly identical in sound with *salama* "peace."

was due to the latter consideration[1].

34. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain. I heard, he said, a number of the senior clerks state that whenever Mu'tadid disgraced one of the more important officials, he would put him in custody of a person appointed by himself, who was to guard him, and would not give 'Ubaidallâh[2] power over the man's life. At times he would give orders that the disgraced official was to be protected, and issued strict injunctions to that effect without putting him in charge of any one appointed by himself, or suggesting that money should be got from him. When he put a man in custody he would give out that the purpose thereof was to demand money and indeed strenuously, not the preservation of the man's life, lest the official should be tempted[3]. Mu'tadid used to say: These eminent officials, whose prestige is established in the minds of the subjects, and who know the quarters of the country, are the pillars of the empire and the supports of the vizierate, for which they are in training. If their lives are not preserved, the government is seriously affected.

35. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain 'Alî b. Hishâm, which had been narrated to him by Abû Mansûr 'Abdallâh b. Jubair the Christian, clerk to Ibn al-Furât.—When, said this last, I was ruined by the fall of Abû'l-Hasan b. al-Furât after his first vizierate, I was surrendered to Abû'l-Hasan 'Alî b. Ahmad b. Yahyâ b. Abi'l-Baghl, who was to imprison me in his house. He repeatedly demanded money of me, and I defended myself. Finally one day he summoned me and spoke to me about the money, but I would not make any concession. He then called for a barber and bade him pluck out a fourth part of the hair of my head with tweezers. By the time he had plucked out a few strands I was nearly dead. My gaoler then rose and said: When you have plucked out the fourth part of his head, let me know.—When he had gone, I bribed the people in charge to shave the rest of the quarter instead of plucking the hair out; and they informed him that it had been plucked. He then ordered the bare place to be smeared with hot pitch. So they

1. Though we possess fairly full biographies of Ibn al-Furât, and the two families mentioned are famous, their religious system does not seem to be recorded. Probably it was some form of Shi'ism.

2. His vizier.

3. The sentence is not quite clear, but seems to mean that the Caliph concealed the real purpose of the custody, protection of the disgraced officials, lest they should embezzle with impunity.

brought the pitch and put it on my head. It was not excessively hot ; had it been so, I should have expired without doubt. When I felt the heat of the pitch, I was in a terrible state, and all but perished. I agreed to pay, and confessed to the possession of seventy thousand dînârs on deposit with various persons, which I undertook to surrender to them, and they were seized on the third day. When I had signed the order for their surrender, he ordered oil to be brought, with which my head was anointed, and the pitch removed from my head. The bare patch remains to this day.

36. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain. One day, he said, after leaving Abû 'Abdallâh Niftawaihi[1], from whose dictation I had taken down certain notes, I went to Abû Ishâq Ibrâhîm b. al-Sarî al-Zajjâj[2]. He asked me what my note-book contained. I showed him it ; on the back there were two short odes by Niftawaihi himself, which he had recited to me. When Al-Zajjâj read them, he admired them greatly, and copied them himself on the back of a book of Strange Words which was to hand. The poems were as follows :—

Our meetings last for hours and hours ;
Our partings are like April showers.
Whose patterings occasion fear,
But soon, for all their bluster, clear.
So lovers quarrel for a while,
But Oh, how warmly reconcile !
Pray God our feuds may not advance
Beyond such lovers' petulance.

The other :

They said that face is grimly marred
With small-pox ; see how it is scarred !
I answered : beauty-spots, not scars ;
Would sky be fair without some stars ?

37. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain. I heard, he said, a number of senior clerks, among whom were 'Alî b. 'Isâ, al-Baqita'i and others, narrate on the authority of 'Ubaidallâh b. Sulaimân how, when Mu'tamid was spending the summer in Samarra, he being at the time in power, having with him an army corps, Sulaimân b. Wahb being his vizier, while Muwaffaq was at Wâsit. 'Ubaidallah b. Sulaimân being his secretary, Mu'tamid demanded of Sulaimân a sum of money which Sulaimân

1. Famous grammarian 244-328 A. H.
2. Famous grammarian, ob. 310 A. H.

was to procure somehow for the Caliph's household, womenfolk, and private expenditure, without the army knowing. Sulaimân put him off, but presently the Caliph arrested him, saying to him : From the days of Mu'tazz till now you have held a series of offices, among them the vizierate of Muhtadi, the governorship of the Mountain[1], etc., and you have met with no reverse nor been subjected to a fine. I want half a million dînârs from you.—I, said the vizier's son 'Ubaidallâh, heard about this, and owing to my extreme desire to release my father I did the Caliph no great wrong by approaching Muwaffaq and saying to him : Mu'tamid has only attacked my father because he detests you, and what he resents in us is the execution of your orders and bringing the army over to you.—Muwaffaq promised to release my father at his leisure.—I said : If you put the matter off, Mu'tamid will hasten to torture and ruin him.—He asked me what I proposed.—I replied that he should proceed with his followers and forcibly rescue my father from the Caliph's hands.—He objected that this would require money and men, that after all Mu'tamid was Caliph, and that he did not think the troops would obey him if he went to fight with the Caliph.—I undertook to supply the money and the men.—However he put me off, and conceived the most horrible idea about me, regarding me as one who could secure the obedience of the troops to fight against the Caliph, and could satisfy their demands by money of his own or what he had expedients for procuring.—When I repeated my demand, he said : We ought to commence by correspondence with the Caliph. If it succeeds, well and good ; otherwise there must be war. So we chose for messenger Sâ'id b. Makhlad, who at that time was one of the most distinguished of the heads of bureaux. Muwaffaq summoned him to his court from Samarra, he came, and Muwaffaq charged him with a message to Mu'tamid, which he went and delivered. He settled matters with Mu'tamid to suit his own purpose ; for he advised the Caliph to release my father immediately, but undertook to set Muwaffaq against both him and me, and ultimately arrest us.

My father now remained with Muwaffaq, he being vizier, and managed his affairs. Presently Sâ'id returned and commenced working on Muwaffaq, and Mu'tamid sent agents of his own secretly with suggestions made by

1. See Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, who identifies this name with Iraq 'Ajam.

Sâ'id, who continued to weave his plot till our overthrow was accomplished.

38. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain. We were told, he said, by Abû-'Isâ brother of Abû 'Isâ (his name being Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Khâlid), how he had heard Ismâ'îl b. Bulbul say : There are no persons in the world who do more serious injury to the viziers and magnates than their humble employees. Râshid, commander of Muwaffaq's army, once narrated to me as follows :— I had the misfortune to have to look after the rationing of the infantry and similar troops. We required six thousand dînârs daily for this. Owing to the distress, the sum at my disposal diminished till I had to restrict myself to what was absolutely necessary, which came to three thousand dînârs. Muwaffaq relied on me to procure this sum, so anxious was he about it, if he was unable to supply it himself, out of my personal means and credit or ingenuity ; and the process reduced me to poverty. 'Ubaidallâh b. Sulaimân and his father, who were staying at Muwaffaq's court, used to molest me by delaying supplies which made me angry with them. I restricted myself to two thousand dînârs a day in cash and a thousand in drafts which were not negotiable, and had to pawn my swords and saddles and try every device in order to provide the rations. One day they gave me an order on their collector Laith for ration money which they alleged was revenue of their estates. Laith went into hiding, but I despatched messengers to search for him, and he was found by one of my men, who showed him the order. He declared that he had no money belonging to the vizier (Sulaimân) or his son. My servant said to him : Procure it somehow, even if it were from your own pocket, for this is a matter of importance to Abû Ahmad[1] the prince.— He rejoined : And what claim has Abû Ahmaq (Fool's father) on me ? My servant reported this to me. My indignation against the pair ('Ubaidallâh and his father) was so great that I complained to Muwaffaq of the affair, saying : The man used language so foul that it may not be repeated to you. —Muwaffaq demanded that I summon the man, which I did ; he then ordered him to repeat what he had heard. The messenger was afraid, but being threatened repeated what had been said literally without euphemism. —Muwaffaq said : The man was right. Were I not " fool's father ", I should not be leaving the money in the control of him and his masters. We must consider.—

1. Muwaffaq.

This was the cause of the hastening of the overthrow of the two. Muwaffaq said to me : I want you to charge your followers with the search after Laith[1], and to give out that it is because of this order. Despatch your foot-soldiers after him so that when he has appeared we may arrest his masters.—I despatched a number and used every endeavour until he was produced. The following day Sulaimân and 'Ubaidallâh presented themselves as usual for service, and were occupied in the palace until Laith was produced. When this happened, the two were arrested, and Sâ'id was summoned and put in charge of affairs. Laith was surrendered to him.

Râshid proceeded : I went to Sâ'id to congratulate him on his vizierate, and he bade me go with him when he would show me a marvel. We rose and went into a private room, and he summoned Laith. He was gentle with Laith, but when gentleness was of no effect, he said : Bring me his slave Habash. The slave was brought and a few lashes administered. He then said : I will show you the well of the wealth. Sâ'id asked Laith : Is this well your property or that of your master's ?—He said : It is mine ; I am a trader.—They extracted from the well eighty thousand dînârs, and afterwards another considerable sum was extorted from Laith.—This was one of the events which increased the desire of Muwaffaq to annihilate the family of Wahb.

39. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain. We were, he said, in the work-room of Hâmid b. al-'Abbâs, when he was vizier, and it was his custom to talk a great deal in this room. I heard him say : Sâ'id b. Mukhlad said to me : When Muwaffaq invested me with his vizierate I stipulated that I was to have no hand in torturing Sulaimân b. Wahb or his son 'Ubaidallâh, that I was not to demand money of either, nor enquire into their hoards or deposits. I told Muwaffaq that Sulaimân had been my benefactor, had promoted me and given me employment ; that he had never had a hand in injuring me, and that I would have no hand in doing the like to himor his son. I declined to accept office until he had undertaken not to impose this task upon me. When I had taken office and received the robe of honour, he talked to me about them, after some days, and of the difficulty of procuring money except from them. I said : " A condition holds ", and you can appoint some clerk to do this work, or manage it

1. Apparently he had again gone into hiding.

yourself or through some courtier whom you think suitable —He recurred to the subject many times, but I steadily refused, until a month had passed from the time of my appointment. When he saw my attitude, he sent word to Sulaimân, saying : Sâ'id has deceived me about himself; he guaranteed that he could manage affairs, but has proved himself incompetent, unable to come or go. He is an enemy to you and to your son, and compassed your ruin. So guarantee me a sum to be extracted from him if he is put in your power, and let me know what he owes, what he possesses, his offences and what can be urged against him, and how he personally and his possessions can be attacked. —Sulaimân, being experienced and wary, replied to the message : If I am trusted, no guarantee is required from me, for I will deal honestly and severely with all on whom the prince has a claim, if the prince restore me to his service. —He put off writing the memoir knowing that this was a trick employed because of my refusing to harm him, it being Muwaffaq's intention to use the memoir as evidence against him with me. —Muwaffaq thereupon sent a similar message to 'Ubaidallâh, requesting him to keep the matter a secret from his father. 'Ubaidallâh wrote a long memoir wherein he slandered me grossly, guaranteed a vast sum to be extorted from me, ascribed to me various shortcomings and generally abused me. —When the memoir reached Muwaffaq, he guarded it carefully. Next day when I presented myself, he spoke to me about taking possession of their persons and demanding money of them. I excused myself and remained steady in my refusal. He then bade me read the memoir. When I read it —at the time I knew nothing of the procedure that had been employed, which was only revealed to me after this meeting —I was in consternation, and in fear lest Muwaffaq would anticipate me unless I anticipated them. I did not doubt that the suggestions of 'Ubaidallâh were genuine, and that Muwaffaq out of kindness to me had let me know of them. So I agreed to take possession of their persons, and after examining them I compelled them to pay vast sums and they continued in disgrace.

40. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain. I heard, he said, Abû'l-Hasan 'Alî b. 'Isâ say : I heard 'Ubaidallâh b. Sulaimân narrate as follows. When Sâ'id b. Makhlad entered the room of my father and me to examine us, we being in Muwaffaq's prison, we rose to meet him. He spoke courteously to my father and treated him with respect, but he was rude to me, and addressed me by my

name "O 'Ubaidallâh"[1]. When this was repeated, I was vexed, and said, Yes, I am 'Ubaidallâh, son of Sulaimân, son of Wahb, son of Sa'îd; we have been employed in the Sultân's service for a hundred and fifty years, and held one after another of the chief offices of state; you are Sâ'id, son of Makhlad—who was Makhlad's father?—This roused his anger against me as much as anything, and caused him to torture me mercilessly. My father censured me for my conduct, and told me that a man should submit to trials, should humble himself when they befall him, and not fight against them. But I could not bring myself to act thus, and this did me as much mischief as anything. The wise course was my father's rather than mine.

41 (*a*). I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain. I was told, he said, by Abû'l-Hasan Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Hamdûn of Wâsit, the friend and deputy of Hâmid b. al-'Abbâs, that he had heard Hâmid say: Sâ'id b. Makhlad was the first person who appointed me to an independent governorship, and one day he bade me come with him to the palace of the prince Muwaffaq. I went thither with him, and sat down in his room there. He summoned to a private interview Sulaimân b. Wahb and his son 'Ubaidallâh. The two were in disgrace, and I saw Sulaimân appear in a hood, a lined garment, and shoes, whereas his son was barefoot, uncovered, and in a shameful plight. Sâ'id treated the father respectfully, but reviled the son, and presently ordered him to be scourged. Sulaimân did his utmost to mollify him, but he would not give way, and said to Sulaimân: If I preserve you, Abû Ayyûb, from this kind of thing, at all events, you must let me avenge myself on this ignorant scoundrel.—So the scourging of 'Ubaidallâh commenced, and Sulaimân kept trying to mollify Sâ'id; but as the blows increased Sulaimân said to Sâ'id: O you ungrateful villain, we are your benefactors who have set you on this seat; to scourge him before me is a disgrace to you.—Sâ'id (he said) was abashed, and ordered the scourging to stop, and 'Ubaidallâh was not scourged again in his presence. He afterwards arranged with Muwaffaq that the scourging should be done in the latter's presence by the hands of his slaves. But he inflamed Muwaffaq against the two, so that he wore them out with scourging and torture.

41 (*b*). I was told by Abû 'Alî b. Muqlah during his disgrace after his third vizierate, when he was in the house of

(1) Politeness would have required the *kunyah*, Abû'l-Qâsim.

Abû Bakr b. Qarâbah, being in custody on account of money which he was to pay, and which had been guaranteed on his behalf by Ibn Qarâbah. He complained of the torture which Khasîbî had inflicted on him[1], and then he said: I heard Abû'l-Hasan b. al-Furât say how he had heard Abû'l-Qâsim 'Ubaidallâh b. Sulaimân narrate as follows. During our disgrace on a certain day my father and I were brought into the presence of Muwaffaq in Wâsit. A curtain had been set up behind which he sat, of which we were aware. He summoned Râghib and ordered him to scourge us. He proceeded to inflict over twenty lashes on my father; I was then summoned and questioned, after which he ordered me to be scourged. Before some one could be summoned to scourge me my father said to Râghib: To the condition wherein we are death is preferable; and I am not saying what I am to save my life or my son's, but out of tenderness for the prince; tell him how one of the kings of Israel, having slaughtered a lamb in its dam's presence, immediately went mad.—Strangely enough Râghib had not gone off to deliver this communication before messengers came from Muwaffaq to order that the scourging be stopped. Muwaffaq had been behind the curtain where he could hear what was said, and after this we were not tortured any further.

42. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain. I was told (he said) the following by Abû Zakariyyâ Yahyâ b. Sa'îd of Sûs, known as Khalaf, a man reputed for his wealth, eminence, influence with the Sultân, notable piety, trustworthiness, veracity, fidelity, and soundness of judgment. In his early days he was a Christian, but he became a Muslim and a good one.—I saw (he said) in a dream (meaning after his conversion) the blessed 'Alî, who seemed to be seated with a number of his followers, while close by were the venerable Abû Bakr and 'Umar, also with a company. I asked 'Alî: O Prince of Believers, what is your view of Abû Bakr and 'Umar?—He eulogized them.—I said: Then why do you not sit with them?—Out of shame, he said, at their treatment by the recusants[2].

43. I was told the following by Abu'l-Husain. I was told (he said) by Abû 'Abdallâh Ibrâhîm b. Muhammad b. 'Arafah of Wâsit, known as Niftawaihi, in the Rusâfah

(1) See *Table-talk* i. 186.

(2) A common name for the Shî'ah. Their resentment at the Caliphs who are supposed to have usurped 'Alî's throne is notorious and finds various expression.

Mosque[1] in the year 308, where he dictated : We were told (he said) by the son of Yazîd b. Hârûn's daughter (thus he dictated without mentioning the name) as follows : I saw (he said) my grandfather Yazîd in a dream, and asked him how God had dealt with him, and what had been said to him by Munkar and Nakîr[2]. He replied : They said to me : Who is thy Lord ? What is thy religion ? Who are thy house ?—I said : Am I asked this, when I have been teaching it to the people for eighty years[3]? —They said to me : The censure of the bride is finished, and no harm is to happen to you[4]—Then my Lord remonstrated with me for taking down traditions from 'Uthmân b. Jarîr. I said : O Lord, he is Thy servant, and he taught nothing save what is good.—He said : He hated the blessed 'Alî[5] !

44. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain, who had been told it (he said) by Abû'l-Hasan b. al-Furât. One day, he said, when I was in Muqtadir's prison during the vizierate of Hâmid, Muqtadir came in and said to me : Abû'l-Hasan, are you acquainted with the clerk, Al-Hasan b. Muhammad of Karkh ?—I replied that I was.—He said : What sort of a man is he ?—I said : A government official of repute, with some knowledge of accountancy. He is one of my creatures and my most distinguished subordinates ; before, he held offices for 'Ubaidallâh b. Sulaimân ; further he is the brother of Al-Qâsim b. Muhammad of Karkh, and comes of an eminent family[6].—He said to me : The man has written to me soliciting the vizierate, and guarantees moneys to be extracted from Hâmid and 'Alî b. 'Isâ.—I said : Prince of Believers, not all that is to be got from him. He has only aspired to the vizierate because he has seen Hâmid invested with it. The office has been lowered by Hâmid's investiture with it, and any one can aspire to it ; but in fact he is superior to Hâmid, first in honesty, then in control of his tongue, accountancy, and script. But it does not follow from his being superior to

(1) See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 188.

(2) The angels who question the dead.

(3) Yazîd b. Hârûn of Wâsit lived 118-206 whence this was clearly an exaggeration.

(4) This appears to be a proverbial expression, but the collections of proverbs do not notice it.

(5) 'Uthmân b. Jarîr is not mentioned in the Dictionaries of Traditionalists ; perhaps the father's name should be read Jubair. One 'Uthmân b. Jubair is mentioned in the *Tahdhib* without date.

(6) Al-Qâsim's son Muhammad was vizier in 324 (a score of years later). He himself figures in a story in the *Table-talk* i. 174.

Hâmid that he ought to be invested with the vizierate, nor because a mistake has been made in the case of Hâmid ought he to be invested ; and in my opinion he is mistaken in thinking that he is qualified to replace Hâmid. For Hâmid is a veteran chief of officials, entertains lavishly, has vast estates and numerous retainers, is respected, energetic, and of ripe years. His early life was passed at a distance from the capital, so that his character and conduct were not transparent, and the people of the capital knew little about him. He is munificent and that covers a number of faults. Far better to leave the power in his hands and those of 'Alî b. 'Isâ, for Al-Hasan is no match for one of Hâmid's clerks, still less for himself. I am speaking the truth about the two, although they are my enemies. —So Muqtadir abandoned the idea of making Al-Hasan vizier. —Hishâm (Abû'l-Husain) proceeded : Then Abû'l-Hasan (b. al-Furât) succeeded in his plan for recovering the vizierate, and got Hâmid dismissed. When he was visited by Al-Hasan b. Muhammad of Karakh, Ibn al-Furât recollected the story which Muqtadir had told him, and feared Al-Hasan's rivalry, regarding him as an ambitious man, and knowing Muqtadir's fickleness. He deemed it wise to treat Al-Hasan well, but to remove him from the seat of government ; he therefore made him governor of Mausil, and sent him thither to replace Ibn Hammâd. So the man of Karkh profited by his endeavour[1].

Abû'l-Husain proceeded : One night we were in Ibn al-Furât's presence, when he was working ; my father was with me and the room was crowded. Presently a letter was read from the postmaster of Mausil, stating that this Abû Ahmad (Al-Hasan of Karkh) had been freehanded in his territories, practised lavish hospitality, had been riding with Tâhiri horsecloths[2] and a number of chamberlains and retainers, who formed a sort of ceremonial train when he travelled, and that he was accompanied by a vast number of barges and camels carrying his baggage ; that this expenditure was more than his stipend could support, and must come from the source[3].— Ibn al-Furât flung the letter to Abû'l-Qâsim Zanjî (who

(1) *i.e.*, his canvassing for the vizierate led to his appointment to a governorship. In Hilâl's reproduction of the narrative for " his endeavour " there is substituted " what was in Ibn al-Furât's mind "— evidently a mistaken interpretation.

(2) Probably called after Tâhir, the founder of the Tâhirî dynasty.

(3) The meaning is probably the revenue of the province. Hilâl found some difficulty in this passage, and substitutes plural for singular, evidently to make this sense clearer.

is still surviving[1], and was a young man at the time) and told him to note down on it that the man should be informed by letter that he had done Al-Hasan a service where he had intended to injure him. For (he said) if there be in this region a governor of distinction and grandeur, splendid, dignified and munificent, he will be suitable to be sent by the Sultân to Egypt or the Syrian " Armies[2]" immediately, if the Sultân finds any fault with their governors. For, those provinces are only suited to a man of splendour and munificence, and great fortune. Ibn al-Furât then turned to the people in the room and said : We were told by Abû'l-Qâsim 'Ubaidallâh b. Sulaimân, how there was brought to the knowledge of Mu'tadid a letter from his post-master Nûshajânî to the effect that there were rumours current in Baghdad that when Hâmid b. al-'Abbâs entered Fars as governor, he had with him a vast number of retainers and attendants. I, he said, was bewildered when the letter was handed to me, and was afraid lest Mu'tadid might disapprove and suppose that this meant embezzlement ; I was in fear of him, and did not know how to reply. Mu'tadid however, said to me : Abû'l-Qâsim (the Caliph so soon as he appointed him vizier addressed him by his *kunyah*, and he was so addressed by people in general except Badr and the governor of Khurâsan, with the former of whom he corresponded in the second person singular, and interchanged the same salutations) : Abû'l-Qâsim, said Mu'tadid, have you read the letter ? —I replied that I had.—He said : I am delighted at the report of Hâmid's magnificence and the impression which it will produce on the minds of the subjects. How much is his stipend ?—Two thousand five hundred dinars a month was my reply.—Make it three thousand, said the Caliph, to help him to maintain his style.

Shortly after this Abû'l-Hasan b. al-Furât said : Somewhat similar was Mu'tadid's conduct which Abû'l-Abbas Ahmad b. Bistâm. The Caliph demanded of him the arrears of his contract for farming the revenue of Wâsit, and imprisoned him in Ibn Tâhir's Palace[3]. The payment of seventy thousand dinars was imposed upon him. He began paying them to Jamîl, whom Mu'tadid

(1) One of Miskawaihi's authorities. He was a clerk of Ibn al-Furât and remained with him when all the rest fled.

(2) Name of the Syrian provinces.

(3) See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 120. He calls this a second residence of the Caliphs, and in it princes were confined,

had appointed his gaoler in Ibn Tâhir's Palace, while the employees of 'Ubaidallâh (the vizier) kept demanding money of him. Nûshâjânî, the secret service agent, wrote concerning him that during the time of his governorship he distributed twenty *kurr* of wheat every month among his attendants, persons of sanctity, and the poor, and that he had this month distributed the *kurr* according to his practice, and had not stopped the distribution, while all the while he was delaying payment of what was due from him.—When 'Ubaidallâh came before Mu'tadid, he showed him the paper. 'Ubaidallâh was silent. Mu'tadid said to him : I am delighted with this, for Ibn Bistâm is noted for his munificence and charity, and his conduct does us credit, since he has not let it appear that the sum which we have imposed on him has compelled him to cease his usual charity. How much remains due from him ?—'Ubaidallâh replied : Over ten thousand dinars.—The Caliph said : Cancel them and restore him to his post. Also inform him how much I approve of his conduct.—'Ubaidallâh carried out these orders.

45. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain. I heard, he said, Abû 'Abdallâh Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Badr b. al-Asbagh narrate the following to my father. I was, he said, in government employment with Sulaimân b. Wahb owing to relationship between us on the female side. In my association with him I was in extreme comfort, so much so that saffron used to be ground in my house as other people grind corn, so great was the quantity that came to us from the Mountain, and was either used by us or given away. Sulaimân was head of the *kharaj* Bureau, where I was one of his officials. A misunderstanding arose between his son 'Ubaidallâh and me and I stayed at home for some days. All of a sudden, there arrived a letter from Al-Hasan b. Makhlad summoning me. This person was in charge of the Estates Bureau, and there was hostility between the two. I went to him, and he said to me : You are out of employment, and will you not come over to me, since your association with Abû Ayyûb (Sulaimân b. Wahb) is now at an end ?—Sir, I replied, how can it be at an end, seeing that we are related ? There is only an estrangement.—He said : No more of that ! You are out of employment, and will remain so.—He wanted (said Abû Abdallâh) to withdraw me from Sulaimân's side, as there was at that time competition for qualified officials, and offered me the management of

Lower Sib, Qussîn, and Jubail[1], all of which belonged to his Bureau. I accepted and went off to these regions. The rice was at the time approaching maturity, so I made an estimate of it, and returned to Samarra to explain the details of my estimate, and ask for instructions about my duties. When he saw me, he said : You have come at a time when I need you. I am being pestered by the *fellahin* and want ten thousand dinars to advance to them for the ice which they supply from Mount Yasurin[2]. I replied that the rice was *khafur*[3], and had not reached the stage at which it could be cut.—He said : You must exhaust your efforts and ingenuity to make things easy for me.—This was my first service and I had to cudgel my brains in order to show him my best side. So I started out reflecting, and by good luck there met me on the road a trader of eminence, who was on good terms with me and was wealthy. All his business was with the crops belonging to the Sultân, and he began to talk to me about my having failed to supply him with any of the produce of my province with payment in advance. I dragged him to my house and said to him : The house is yours, and I welcome you. Had I seen you, I should not have dealt with any one rather than with you. He remained with me the whole day, and I bargained with him until I had sold him at the rate of seven dinars an average *kurr* of rice. Now I had estimated the crop due to the Sultân at three thousand average *kurr*, and I demanded a commission of one dinar per *kurr*, and got his signature to a guarantee of the immediate payment of ten thousand dinars to order. I then proceeded to the house of Al-Hasan b. Makhlad that same night, and found him asleep, and the household lying all about. Then I went into his room, and told him the story. He was pleased and ordered the president of the chamber of outgoings in the Bureau to be brought. He handed the paper to him, and bade him give the *fellahin* a draft on that trader.—When he was alone I went up to him and told him about the commission, showing him the agreement. I asked him to whom I should deliver the money when it was paid over. At first he would not answer ; but when I insisted, he said : My friend, you have been associating with people who have no generosity, and have

(1) The two first were in the neighbourhood of Kufah, the third in that of Damascus.

(2) According to Yaqût, between Jazîrat Ibn 'Umar and Balât.

(3) This word is used for oats and certain other plants. Here it would seem to mean a state approximating ripeness.

got into the habit of expecting them to follow their own inclinations in grudging their servants such an amount as this or less. If I were to appropriate this commission, why should you serve me with loyalty ? Take it and do yourself well with it, so that the results of being in my service may be manifest on you.—I kissed his hands and feet, and returned to my province, where I exacted the money, and managed affairs.

A short time after it was (the Persian) New Year's Day. After leaving his presence I had asked some trustworthy friends of mine who were in trade in the markets to collect on my behalf costly and heavy satin mats of all rare and curious sorts, gilded carpets of the sort called in Greek *hypocalamon*, embroidered stuff and raised *dabiqi* and brocade ; and I had got together a collection for which five thousand dinars had been paid, but which was worth more by a great deal. I then wrote a letter to him offering this as a present, which I begged him to accept, showing reasons why he should do so. At the bottom of the letter I wrote a list of the presents.—He wrote back to me on the same paper :- You (God bring you honour !) have daughters, who require this more than I ; still I accept such of the things as I may properly accept, to make myself agreeable and in order not to stand on ceremony with you. I return the rest to be given to the girls. What he accepted were a piece of brocade, a *dabiqi* kerchief, and a towel of brocade.

46. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain, who said that he had heard the story from Abû 'Abdallâh al-Bâqita'i, and that his father had narrated the same to him.—When, they said, the people of Sijistan[1] conquered Fars, some of the people who paid *kharaj* were driven into exile owing to ill-treatment, and their *kharaj* was imposed in shares on those who remained, by the conquerors who called this The Supplement, in order that the amount on the register as furnished by Fars might be made up. This system, with occasional increases and reductions, continued till Abû'l-Hasan b. al-Furât in his first vizierate reconquered Fars through Wasîf, Muhammad b. Ja'far al-Abarta'î and the generals whom he attached to them in the year 298[2]. Ibn al-Furât ordered the practice of The Supplement to be continued as before, and the practice also went on in the days of Muhammad b. 'Abdallâh al-Khâqânî, and was retained by 'Alî b. 'Isâ at the beginning

(1) Amedroz observes that the persons meant are the Saffârids.
(2) For an account of this affair see *Eclipse* iv. 21.

of his first vizierate. When a short period of it had passed, there came to Baghdad 'Abd al-Rahmân b. Ja'far al-Shîrâzî, who brought charges against Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Abî'l-Baghl, who at that time was in charge of Fars, stating that if he were allowed to farm the province in Ibn Abî'l-Baghl's place, he would transmit a larger sum. 'Alî b. 'Isâ gave him the contract, and Ibn Abî'l-Baghl withdrew in safety from the office which he had held, and was given charge of Ispahan. Then 'Abd al-Rahmân b. Ja'far delayed sending the money, and pleaded in excuse that the people of Fars complained of the Supplement and did not regard it as due. Abû'l-Mundhir al-Nu'mân b. 'Abdallâh was in charge of the Bureau of the Districts of Ahwaz combined, and 'Alî b. 'Isâ wrote to him, bidding him appoint a deputy to discharge his duties and journey to Fars with the design of demanding of 'Abd al-Rahmân the money which had fallen due, and of inquiring into the matter of the Supplement and explaining it. He also wrote to Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Rustam, bidding him come from Ispahan to Fars and farm its revenue. Further he wrote to Al-Nu'mân, bidding him cancel the contract with 'Abd al-Rahmân and appoint Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Rustam governor of the province. Al-Nu'mân proceeded to exact the Supplement, and finding that a portion of it was due from 'Abd al-Rahmân which he had meant to withold, enforced payment and sold some of his properties to make up the amount. 'Alî b. 'Isâ wrote to him about The Supplement, asking him to explain its working, and whether it was the case that some persons, being thought powerless, were made to pay more than was due from them, whereas others were feared and let off the whole or most of it.—Al-Nu'mân and Ibn Rustam wrote to him to the effect that one of the queerest things that went on in Fars was that people were made to pay The Supplement, which was clear injustice and an institution of the rebels, whereas they were exempted from a tax which the jurists imposed on them, *viz.* the *kharaj* on trees; which was due because Fars was conquered by force. Yet the trees there were untaxed, and their owners asserted that the Caliph Mahdi had remitted the tax on their trees, but they had no proof except the long duration of the practice; the principle was that tax should be paid on the trees.

The inhabitants of the regions heard about this, and the chief men hastened from Fars to the presence of 'Alî b. 'Isâ, and entered the chamber in which he heard Appeals.

In their pockets was burned wheat. In the course of their appeal, they said : We are prevented from releasing our crops, which are withheld from us in the barns so that we must sell our wives' hair in order to pay the illegal Supplement before the crops are released. so that they are burned like this—some of them at this point threw out of their pockets some dried figs, dried peaches, almonds, pistachios, hazels, pennyroyal, lote-fruit, and chestnuts ; and they said : All these which belong to other people are tax-free, though the country was taken by force ; equalize us then either in benefit or in exaction.—'Alî b. 'Isâ addressed himself to the Caliph about this matter, and asked permission to assemble the jurists, judges, chief clerks, high officials, and eminent generals, and examine the deputation in his presence, and settle the matter in accordance with the general opinion of justice and equity. —The Caliph accorded permission, and assembled these people in the Mukharrim Palace which had been assigned to the vizier and turned by 'Alî b. 'Isâ into a government office. There was a lengthy discussion, and the owners of trees pleaded the act of Al-Mahdi, and said : Our fortunes have been embarked in the purchase of these tax-free properties, and if you enforce the tax we shall have lost the money paid for them, and be impoverished[1].

The jurists gave it as their opinion that the tax (on fruits) was obligatory and that the Supplement was illegal. The clerks said : If Al-Mahdi imposed a condition owing to some temporary advantage or to some trouble sustained by the people such as a drought, or the like, the condition lapses with the cessation of the reason for it.—'Alî b. 'Isâ then asked the deputation : Is it not your opinion that the ruling of Al-Mahdi is binding ?—They said : It is.—Then he said : Why ? Is it not because he was a sovereign, who formed an opinion which involves no hurt ? —They said : That is so.—He said : Now what if the Prince of Believers, who is now sovereign, thinks that the interests of the Muslims and the whole population will best be guarded by imposing the fruit-tax and abolishing the Supplement ?

Al-Zajjâj and the qâdî Wakî' hereupon rose up and eulogized him. Al-Zajjâj said : You have delivered a judgment which could not have been surpassed by 'Umar b. al-Khattâb, were he present.—Wakî' said : The action

(1) Doubtless the lands would fetch more owing to the produce being tax-free.

of the vizier on this occasion resembles the action of Abû Bakr al-Siddîq when he demanded the Alms-tax of the Renegades[1].

'Alî b. 'Isâ and the Judges reported the proceedings to Muqtadir on parade-day, and the former requested his permission to issue a letter abolishing the Supplement at once, leaving the question of the fruit-tax to be settled. The Caliph ordered the letter to be written in his presence at once, and summoned one of the generals of the metropolis who served as deputy to Badr the Elder, known as al-Hammâmi, minister of public security in Fars and Kirman, to deliver the letter to the latter and demand obedience to it from Al-Nu'mân and Ibn Rustam.

The Caliph then ordered that an inkhorn be brought with which 'Alî b. 'Isâ was to write. It was the custom that when a vizier was commanded to write a letter in the Caliph's presence, an elegant inkhorn with a chain should be brought, which the vizier was to hold in his left hand, while writing out of it with his right. Such an inkhorn was brought to 'Alî b. 'Isâ who started writing the letter without first making a draft. When Muqtadir saw this, which proved awkward for the vizier, he ordered that the vizier's own inkhorn should be brought, and held by an attendant standing till the letter was written. 'Alî b. 'Isâ was the first vizier to whom this honour was paid, which afterwards became customary with other viziers in the Caliph's presence.

'Alî b. 'Isâ wrote a letter on the subject mentioned to Al-Nu'mân, and a copy was issued to the Bureau where it was preserved.

Abû'l-Husain proceeded: We committed this letter to memory, we being young at the time, and here is a copy of it:

In the Name of Allah, etc. From the Servant of Allah, Ja'far, the sovereign, al-Muqtadir billah, to al-Nu'mân b. Abdallâh.

Peace be upon thee! The Prince of Believers praises unto thee Allah than whom there is no other god, and beseeches Him to be favourable to Muhammad, His Servant and Apostle, etc. Now the act which is most estimable in worth, most honourable in repute, and most ample in reward, is one which involves piety, pursues guidance, profits mankind, and averts disaster. Now Allah the Great and Glorious has made the Prince of Believers in those affairs of the Muslims which He has committed to his charge to prefer what will please Him, and to persist in such courses as will win His favour and neighbourhood. The

(1) Arab tribes who declined to pay this tax after the Prophet's death, and against whom Abû Bakr sent an expedition.

Prince of Believers has no support save in Allah, on whom he relies and whose aid he solicits.

You are aware of the doings of the men of Sijistan and the Khurramis who invaded the districts of Fars and Kirman, introduced injustice and wrong, openly transgressed and tyrannized, violated sacred things, and perpetrated crimes, till the Prince of Believers despatched his armies against them, met them in the field, routed and utterly destroyed them after a series of continuous battles, wherein Allah caused His might to fall upon them, and His vengeance to overtake them speedily, so that He made them a warning to those who will be warned and a sermon to those who will listen. *Thus is the taking by thy Lord of the villages when He taketh them in injustice verily His taking is painful, severe.* (Surah xi. 104).

Now when Allah weakened the power of these miscreants and broke up their criminal hordes, the Prince of Believers found the worst of the innovations which they had introduced during their protracted and disastrous term to be a Supplement which they exacted in the districts of Fars during the years of their wrong doing ; for they demanded of the people the land-tax on the basis of the most liberal estimate, without confining themselves to the people still living in the country ; nay, they made them pay in various proportions the tax due on the ruined estates of those who were no longer in the land. The Prince of Believers disapproved of this odious practice which had become established, and was shocked at the serious injustice which it occasioned. He thought it only right to safeguard his realm and his subjects from so inexcusable and disastrous a practice, which had reached such serious proportions. So he has relieved his subjects from this Supplement publicly and Allah has disgraced those who originated it. The Prince of Believers has caused the abolition thereof and the cessation of its exaction to be proclaimed in the public mosques, in order that it might be known to the multitude, and confidence therein reign in men's minds ; and that the people may praise Allah for vouchsafing them such tenderness on the part of the Prince of Believers, such regard and concern for their welfare. So write to inform us what you yourself have done in the matter, since the Prince of Believers anxiously awaits this, if Allah will. Peace be upon you and the mercy of Allah and His blessing. Written by 'Alî b. 'Isa' the middle of Rejeb, 303.

Now 'Alî b. 'Isâ had in the previous year remitted ten thousand dirhams of Supplement to the people of Shîrâz before the fruit-tax could be levied in the following year ; it was then decided that the fruit-tax should be exacted, but that the owners should be conciliated by the imposition of light duties. Al-Nu'mân was gentle in his treatment and conciliated them so that gradually most of the money which had been lost to the revenue by the abolition of the Supplement was made up from this other source. 'Alî b. 'Isâ now wrote another letter which we committed to memory in our youth. It was addressed from the Caliph's Palace to Ibn Rustam, because Al-Nu'mân had by this time returned to Baghdad, leaving in his place Abû Muslim Muhammad b. Muhammad, who was to farm the revenue for Ibn Rustam, and exact it from the people of the country.

In the name of Allah, etc. To Ahmad b. Muhamad b. Rustam from the servant of Allah Ja'far Sovereign al-Muqtadir billah Prince of Believers[1].

The opening formulae are the same as in the other letter as far as :

To proceed ; Allah in his infinite mercy and loving-kindness from old time has constituted the Booty a support of religion, an ordinance of right, and a consummation of might, and has enjoined on the sovereigns the safeguarding thereof and forbidden the waste thereof, inasmuch as the moneys so exacted redound to the benefit of mankind, the protection of the country, the security of the creatures and the preservation of those who have been committed to the sovereigns' charge. For this reason the Prince of Believers exercises his thought and consideration and strains his ability and power in maintaining and preserving it and restraining every man's hand from diminishing or reducing it, and Allah in His mercy and grace has undertaken to help the Prince of Believers in his high and noble aims.

When Allah vouchsafed to the Muslims the conquest of the districts of Fars, and removed therefrom the hands of the usurpers, the Prince of Believers found that the people thereof had devised means to abolish the tax on trees in its entirety, notwithstanding its magnitude and importance. He therefore commanded their notables to be summoned to his court, where they were questioned at length in the presence of his judges and ministers until they admitted its legality and willingly undertook to pay it, guaranteeing to deliver the dues which Allah had imposed upon them, according to the agreement made with them in respect of tributes and imposts. You are therefore to demand the tree-tax in all the districts from the year 303 on, and to exact it in its entirety and totality. And write to us stating the ascertained area of cultivation and amount to be collected, pursuing therein the truth and exercising gentleness, if Allah will. And Peace be upon thee and the mercy of Allah and His blessing. Written by 'Alî b. 'Isâ on Monday Sha'bân 10 year 303.

47. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain after Abû'l Husain 'Abd al-Wâhid b. Muhammad al-Khasîbî, daughter's son to Ibrâhîm b. al-Mudabbir, after Abû'l-Fadl Sâ'îd b. Hârûn b. Makhlad b. Abân. This last said : I was told by a number of eminent clerks on the authority of a clerk who used to write in the presence of al-Mûriânî[2] who was vizier to Al-Mansûr, as follows : I was one day, he said, with him in private, when his chamberlain entered, saying that there was a man at the door who stated that he wanted to make a weighty communication to Al-Mûriânî. The latter told the chamberlain to hear what the man had to say and repeat it to himself.—The chamberlain replied : I have ordered him to do this, but he declined ; I then offered to bring a clerk to see him, but he refused this too, saying that either he would see

(1) Hilal's copy has the order of the names reversed. It seems incredible that the Caliph's name should come second.

(2) His *kunyah* was Abû Ayyûb.

the vizier himself or he would depart.—The vizier asked how the man was attired. He was told, like a cultivator. The vizier then ordered the man to be brought in, which was done; when he was introduced he asked permission to whisper to the vizier, and when leave was granted came close and whispered for a long time. The vizier then summoned his treasurer and said: Take what he hands to you. He then said to me: Rise up and write down whatever he dictates as due to him and if he desires my signature to any of his requirements, send the paper to me with your slave.—So I went and wrote at the man's dictation what he was to receive, and presently went back and informed the vizier that I had satisfied all the man's demands. The vizier began to weep copiously. I asked his slaves whether since my departure anything had occurred which vexed him, and they said that nothing had. Being on intimate terms with the vizier, I said: Sir, why this weeping?—He said: This man met me more than a year ago; he is one of the Banû'l-Bakhtigani[1]; he told me the amount of his fortune, and I am acquainted with the family. He stated that he was robbed by the finance officials who despised him, and asked me to set my name to his estate, and let it be known that I had leased it of him, and write to the finance officials and my agents to that effect, and to say that he had emptied his hand of it "inasmuch as I trust him in this matter"[2], and he offered me half the produce after expenses of working had been paid, as my right and due. I agreed to this proposal and wrote as he desired. He went away. Now I had no desire to press him or take advantage of him, or impoverish him, but supposed him to be wishing to profit by my prestige, and was prepared not to deprive him of that benefit. If he paid up, well and good; if not, this must be the price of my prestige. I forgot all about the matter till I saw him just now, when he informed me that he had been haunting my door for a considerable period, but had been unable to gain admission. He also told me that my share of the proceeds amounted to two hundred thousand dirhams, showing me an account which he had drawn up, and asking my permission to deliver the money. He further requested me to write a similar letter to that which I had written to the officials in the

(1) Bakhtigan is the name of a lake in Fars into which the river Cyrus flows. See Le Strange, *Nuzhat al-Qulab*, E. T., p. 232.

(2) The reading of the passage is here uncertain; but this seems to be the sense.

previous year about the estates. So I ordered my treasurer to take the money, and ordered you to write as you have done on my behalf. It is over this that I have been weeping.—I said : But, sir, what is there in this that makes you weep ?—He said : What, does this escape you when you have so long been attached to me and in my service ? I had supposed that my service had disciplined you. When a man's prosperity is of this style, what will his adversity be like ?—Shortly after he was arrested by order of Al-Mansûr, his goods and those of his family confiscated, and he himself put to death. Abd al-Wâhid b. Muhammad added : I told this anecdote to Abû'l-Hasan 'Alî b. Muhammad b. al-Furât and Abû'l-Hasan 'Alî b. 'Isâ, separately and at different times. They both admired it enthusiastically and asked me to dictate it to them, and wrote it down themselves.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

(*To be continued.*)

THE MIRACLES OF ISLAM

A faith in one lone bosom stirred,
A voice by one lone ear was heard,
And all Creation and its mystery
Lay like an open book lit by one word
'Read !'[1] And the heart became an eye to see
God's self in His Creation. All was light—
The unity of God, His mercy and His might

A savage race, a savage clime ;
He but a man, who, past his prime,
Unread before, was made that word to read—
The Word that burned into the heart of Time
The simplest, purest, and the noblest creed.
That living Word, a miracle, went forth
To conquer realms and hearts in East and West and North !

By it the Arab righteous made,
Brave, and of none but God afraid,
Child of the desert, broke proud Persia's might[2]
And quenched her sun, when pomp and glory's shade
Was like a phantom lost in endless night.
A miracle ! with which salvation came,
And Persia stood once more upon the roll of fame !

The dazzled votaries of the Sun
Who lost their creed and kingdom, won
New light from Truth, and learned to bow before
The Unseen, Uncreate, Eternal, One ;
His goodness, might and mercy to adore
Whose light unchanged their changeful beams hath given
Unto the Sun, and Moon, and all the stars of heaven !

(1) The first Sûra of the Qur'ân in which the Prophet was commanded to read.

(2) Battle of Cadesia won by Sa'd bin Waqâs A D. 632 within a year of the Prophet's death.

And Syria[1] too, the Eastern home
Of the decaying pomp of Rome
Beheld a miracle—the lightning glance
Of Arab swords—and like a tottering dome
Fell at the first touch of the Bedouin lance !
Nor Rome's dread name nor all her deeds' renown
Could stem the conquering tide that rushed from town
to town.

Later, the Sphinx[2] was forced to read
The riddle of the new-old creed
Which Moses thundered once in Pharaoh's ear ;
And Memphis[3] hailed the miracle at her need
To rise from darkness into daylight clear ;
And Alexander's city[4] owned the sway
Of Yethrib[5] in whose heart a mighty empire lay !

Then ruined Carthage[6], great in fame,
Contemner of the Roman name,
Warder of Afric's burning heart, restored
To Islam's keeping, when its heroes came,
Her faded laurels and her broken sword.
But onward, westward[7] did the conquerors ride,
Where to the setting sun the Atlantic flings his tide.

A halt—but soon yon ocean-stream
Beholds the Moorish weapons gleam.
Once more a miracle ! for Heaven decrees
The swift fulfilment of Don Roderick's dream[8].
Soon from his mountain's brow[9] the Victor[10] sees
The pomp of Gothic arms on Xeres' plain
And murmurs ' God is great ; He gives us Spain ! '

(1) Syria conquered by Khâlid, the Sword of God, and Abû Obeidah A.D. 632-37.

(2) Invasion of Egypt by Amrow A.D. 638, and conquest of (3) Memphis and (4) Alexandria.

(5) Medîna from which the Conquering Generals were sent.

(6) Invasion of Africa by the Arabs A.D. 647.

(7) Progress westward 665-689. Conquest of Carthage by Hassan A.D. 692.

(8) Don Roderick, the last Gothic King, is said to have seen in a vision the conquest of his kingdom by the Moors.

(9) Gibralter (Jebel-et Târiq).

(10) Târiq the Conqueror of Spain defeated an army of 90-100 thousand Spaniards near Xeres on July 19-26 in the year 711 A.D.

NIZAMAT JUNG.

'ADI IBN ZEYD, THE POET OF HIRA

(*Translated from the German typoscript by Marmaduke Pickthall.*)

THE court of the Lakhmids in Al-Hîra was a rendezvous of the Arabian poets of the Jâhilîya, but among all the poets whom we find at their court, only one, 'Adi ibn Zeyd, was a native of Hîra. The State of Hîra was under Arab kings, who were, however, vassals of the Persian emperor, and a considerable part of the population professed Christianity, which in the end was accepted by the ruling house. Arab paganism, Parsi-ism and Syrian Christianity jostled one another in Al-Hîra ; Arabic, Persian and Syriac could be heard spoken in its streets and churches, and hardly a family in Al-Hîra had made itself familiar with the important elements of all three cultures to the same degree as that of 'Adî. Concerning his life and that of his forebears we are well informed. Hîra lies only three Arabian miles southward from Kûfa, and it is principally Kufic learned men of the second Islamic century whom we have to thank for collecting information concerning the poet. The son of Kalbî, Hishâm ibn Munhammad Al-Kalbî, collected the material collected by Al-Kalbî, Hammâd and Ishâq ibn Al-Jassâs ; Khâlid ibn Kulthûm, Al-Mufaddal and Abû 'Ubeida have preserved other reports for us. None of these compilers quotes the sources to which he is indebted for his information[1]. We can take it, however, that the chief source for the reports which have reached us was the tradition surviving in the family of 'Adî himself ; we hear of a grandson of 'Adî that he was known as " a traditionist of Al-Hîra " and that his descendants in the time of Islâm were settled in a Mahalla of Kûfa[2]. Hishâm

(1) Abû'l-Ubeyda gives as his immediate authority Abû'l-Mukhtâr ibn Al-Khandaq, but once only a proper Isnâd appears in which the informants are arranged in order. v. below Note 1 p. 53.

(2) v. below, Notes 2 & 3 p. 66.

ibn Al-Kalbî composed three monographs relating to Al-Hîra[1]: A *Kitabu'l-Hira, a Kitabu'l-Hira wa tasmiyat al-biya wal diyarat wanasab al-'Ibadiyah,* and a *Kitab 'Adi ibn Zeyd al-'Ibadi.* From the two last are evidently derived the fragments preserved for us in Tabarî and Abu'l Faraj Al-Isfâhânî. The tradition concerning 'Adî is not in all particulars historical. Much is presented fictionally; in spite however, of such transformations it gives us a faithful historical picture of the surrounding world in which the poet lived.

The family of 'Adî is reckoned as belonging to the group of the Banû 'Imra'l-Qeys ibn Zeyd Manât, which counts as a branch of Tamîm. The succession of his ancestors runs[2]: 'Adî ibn Zeyd ibn Hammâd ibn Zeyd ibn Ayyûb ibn Mahrûf ibn 'Amir ibn 'Imra'l-Qeys ibn Zeyd Manât ibn Tamîm.

The first of the ancestors of 'Adî concerning whom we have received closer information is his great-great-grandfather Ayyûb ibn Mahrûf. According to Al-Kalbî[3] " the original reason for the family's settling in Al-Hîra was that his ancestor Ayyûb ibn Mahrûf, who lived in Al-Yamâma among the Banû-'Imra'l-Qeys ibn Zeyd Manât, had shed blood in his tribe and had to flee, whereupon he betook himself to Aûs ibn Qallâm, a member of the sept of Banû'l-Hârith ibn Ka'b in al-Hîra. Between this person and Ayyûb there was kinship on the mother's side, and Aûs received him honourably therefore and allowed him to live in his house. After some time Aûs said: 'O son of my uncle, wilt thou remain with me and in my house ?' Ayyûb answered: 'Yes. I know well that if I return to my tribe after I have shed blood I shall not escape whole. So I have no house save thine for all times.' Said Aûs: 'I am an old man and I fear that after my death my neighbours may not allow you to same rights as I allow, and that something might occur between thee and them whereby they might violate their duty as kinsfolk. So look about thee for some place in Hîra that best pleases thee and let me know it, that I may give it to thee as a fief or buy it for thee.' Now Ayyûb had a friend on the

(1) *Fihrist* 96; Yâqût, ed. Margoliouth VII 251 ff.

(2) *Aghani* (Ed. *Dar al-Kutub al-Misriya*) II 97; Tabarî I 1016. Ibn Quteyba Shi'r 113.

(3) *Aghani* Vol. II 99. The introduction runs

عن ابن الاعرابي فيما اخبرني به علي بن سليمان الاخفش عن السكري
عن محمد بن حبيب عنه وعن هشام بن الكلبي عن ابيه قال

east side of Hîra, while the house of Aûs lay on the west side. Therefore he then said: 'I should be glad if the house which thou assignest to me for a dwelling lay in the neighbourhood of the house of 'Isâm ibn 'Abda, who likewise belonged to the Banû'l- Hârith ibn Ka'b. Then Aûs bought the land for 300 Uqiya of gold, and spent 200 Uqiya of gold for the building; he also gave Ayyûb 200 camels with their herdsmen, a horse and a woman-slave. He continued, however, in the house of Aûs until the latter's death; then only did he settle in the house over on the other side of Hîra, where he also died. Before his death he had already come into relation with the kings who ruled Al-Hîra, and these acknowledged his rights as well as those of his son Zeyd. Thus Ayyûb's position was strengthened; and there was no king of Hîra who did not provide the children of Ayyûb with presents, and beasts which carried them."

Ayyûb is not an original Arabic name and it is generally to be assumed that Arabs who bear it in pre-Islamic times adhere either to Judaism or Christianity. In Al-Yamâma, then the seat of the Banû Imra'l-Qeys, Christianity had been propagated[1] and the Christian creed of the family of 'Adî therefore goes back at least to the time of Ayyûb. The life-time of Ayyûb could be determined with certainty if the chronology of Aûs ibn Qallâm were firmly established. Of the latter Al-Kalbî[2] reports that he interrupted the succession of the Lakhmids in Al-Hîra by his five years' interregnum. According to Al Kalbî, in whose statements Alfred von Gutschmid places confidence,[3] this interregnum happened in the reign of the Sassanid Shâpûr II (310-70); as von Gutschmid thinks, in the years 360-365. Nöldeke[4] considers such an interruption of the Lakhmid dynasty during the reign of Shâpûr II to be hardly possible and thinks that it happened in the disorders after Shâpûr. If Nöldeke is indeed right in identifying Ayyûb with the Christian ethnarch of the camp mentioned in the Martyrium Arethae[5], who there appears in the entourage of the Lakhmid Mundhîr

(1) Cheikho, *Al Nasraniya wa adabuha* 72, 442; Sachau, *Zur Ausbreitung des Christentums in Asien* 59. The capital of Yamâma, Al-Hajar, was bishopric of the diocese Beth Qatraye.

(2) Apud Tabarî I 850.

(3) *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*. Vol. 34, p. 745. cf G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lakhmiden* (Berlin 1899) 64, 145.

(4) *Geschichte der Perser and Araber* 78 Note 3.

(5) Boissonade Anecdote V. 37; Nöldeke 312 Note 5.

III in 524, then the same Ayyûb cannot have come to Hîra 150 years earlier in the time of Aûs ibn Qallâm. We have therefore either to reject or adopt this identification; not Ayyûb but one of his ancestors came to Aûs at Al-Hîra; or finally, Ayyûb found refuge not with Aûs ibn Qallâm but with one of his descendants. Ayyûb must have been in extreme old age in 524, as Nöldeke brings out, if the genealogy is accurately quoted; his great-great-grandson 'Adî must, as we shall see, about 580 have been old enough to play a part in politics, and about 570 old enough to serve as a scribe at the court of the Persian monarch. He was probably born about 555 A.D.

" Ayyûb's son, Zeyd[1], married a woman from the family of Qallâm, who bore him Hammâd. When Zeyd once went out hunting with other residents of Al-Hîra, they came together in Hafîr. Zeyd, however, went far ahead of his companions during the chase. Then he met a Bedawî, who belonged to the sept of the Banû Imra'l Qeys who had wished to take blood-vengeance on his father. When the man recognised his likeness to Ayyûb, he said: 'To what tribe does the man belong?' 'To the Banû Tamîm.' 'To which of their sub-tribes?' 'I am a member of the Banû Imra'l-Qeys.' 'Where is your dwelling-place?' 'In Al-Hîra.' 'Art thou one of the sons of Ayyûb?' 'Yes; whence knowest thou the sons of Ayyûb.' As he spoke the words fear of the Bedawî seized him, when he remembered the blood-vengeance before which his father had fled. The Bedawî, however, said: 'I have heard of them,' but did not inform him that he had known his father. When, after that, Zeyd asked the Bedawî to what tribe he himself belonged and he answered: 'To the Tai,' Zeyd felt safe before him and said nothing further. When Zeyd had then become careless he shot an arrow between his shoulders and pierced his heart; his steed however did not leave the spot till he was dead. Zeyd's companions, who had remained behind, made search for him when they missed him at night; they were of opinion that he had gone far ahead in the chase. After they had spent the night in fruitless search they sought his trail in the morning till they found it and beside it the trail of a rider who had drawn near to him; these tracks they followed up till they found him slain and recognised that the owner of the steed must have killed him. Him they pursued hotly and overtook him on the evening of the second night. When they called to

(1) Continuation of Al-Kalbî's narrative, *Aghani* II 98.

him, who was one of the best marksmen, he defended himself with arrows against them till night parted the combatants. He had shot one of them in the lower part of the shoulder with an arrow, and the wounded man died in the night, while the marksman escaped. Then they turned back, after the Bedawî had killed beside Zeyd ibn Ayyûb yet another man of the sept of Banû'l-Harith ibn Ka'b."

" Hammâd[1] the son of Zeyd, remained with his uncle on the mother's side until he had grown big and joined the young servants. One day he was playing with the boys of the tribe Lihyan when one of the boys struck Hammâd on the eye, whereupon he wounded him. Then came the father of the youngster and beat Hammâd, who ran crying to his mother and told her what had happened. Then she was grieved and took him away from her family into the house of Zeyd ibn Ayyûb and taught him the art of writing in his father's house. Hammâd was the first who could write among the sons of Ayyûb ; he distinguished himself as one of the best writers and was much sought after till he became the scribe of King Nu'mân the Elder[2]. He remained in that post till a son was born to him by a woman of the tribe of Tai whom he had married. He named this son Zeyd after the name of his own father. Hammâd had a friend among the powerful Dihqâns,[3] Farrukhmâhân by name, to whom he confided his son Zeyd before his death."

" After Hammâd's death Zeyd[4] was taken to his own house by the Dihqân, who belonged to the Marzubâns,[5] and grew up with his children. Zeyd had already received good instruction in the art of writing and in the Arabic language before the Dihqân took charge of him ; the Dihqân now taught him the Persian language also which, thanks to his diligence, he soon assimilated. The Dihqân then petitioned the Kisra to place the postal service under

(1) Continuation of Al-Kalbî's narrative *Aghani* 99 below.

(2) *i. e.*, Al-Nu'mân II who reigned from 499 to 503, v. Rothstein 70. Probably, however, Al-Mundhir III (505-54) or 'Amr (554-69) should be substituted.

(3) Dihqâns are the members of the lower nobility who were charged with the local administration. v. Christensen, *L'empire des Sassanides* 44.

(4) Continuation of Al-Kalbî's account. *Aghani* 100-101₂

(5) The Marzubâns, who were governors of provinces were generally taken from the higher nobility. Perhaps a Shahrîj is here meant, the administrator of a district, who was taken from Dihqân circles. *idid* 45.

him, an office with which he generally entrusted only the sons of Marzubâns, and which Zeyd administered for Kisra for a time[1]. When after that Al-Nu'mân denied and the inhabitants of Hîra were not of one mind as to him to whom they should confide the Government till Kisra should send them a ruler appointed by him, the Marzubân advised him to choose Zeyd ibn Hammâd. Thus he ruled in Al-Hira till Kisra instated Al-Mundhir ibn Mâ' Al-Samâ as King[2].

" Zeyd ibn Hammâd married Ni'ma the daughter of Tha'laba of the tribe 'Adî and she bore him 'Adî. When Al-Mundhir[3] succeeded to the rulership he guided himself in all things by Zeyd and when later[4] the state of things in Al-Hîra grew worse, Zeyd created order again : To wit, the inhabitants of Al-Hîra wanted to kill Al-Mundhir because he treated them unjustly and appropriated of their property what pleased him. When Al-Mundhir became certain that the people of Al-Hîra had resolved to kill him, he sent for Zeyd ibn Hammâd, who had administered Al-Hîra before him, and said : ' O Zeyd, thou wast the successor of my father ; I have heard what the people of Al-Hîra have resolved to do ; I have, however,

(1) Nu'mân II governed Hîra under Qabadh I (488-531); but Khusrau I (531-79) must be meant. v. note 2 p. 33 above.

(2) In another place (Tabarî I 900) Ibn Al-Kalbî states that the successor of Al-Nu'mân was Ibn Ya'fûr ibn 'Alqama, who indeed also belonged to the Lakhmids but not to the ruling line of the Al-Nasr. From the Syrian Chronicle of Joshua Stylites (ed. Wright 34 VII) it appears that Al-Nu'mân died of the wound which he received in the campaign which he undertook in common with Qabadh. After Nu'mân's death, as it is said in Joshua Stylites " Qassad appointed a king (*Malka*) in place of Al-Nu'mân." This king Rothstein, 74, identifies with Abû Ya'fûr, who, according to Al-Kalbî, reigned three years. Al-Kalbî in the account above translated places the regency of Zeyd ibn Hammâd before the appointment of Al-Mundhir III who reigned from 505 to 554 A.D., but leaves the fact that between Nu'mân II and Mundhir III the reign of Abû Ya'fûr had happened (503-505). Nöldeke and Rothstein (ibid 106) have already demonstrated in this connection that Zeyd cannot have held the position of a regent so early as in 505 ; and Rothstein would therefor substitute, in the above translated account, Qâbûs (569-73) for Nu'mân. After Qâbûs followed the interregnum of the Persian Suhrab, and Zeyd may have been his supporter until in 576 Mundhir IV mounted the throne of Hîra. That Qâbûs sent the sons of Zeyd to the court of the Kisra, Ibn Al-Kalbî says expressly in Tabarî I 1017.

(3) Al-Mundhir III (ibn Mâ al-Samâ) cannot, however, be meant, who reigned from 505 to 554 A.D. ; Mundhir IV (ibn Al-Mundhir), who reigned from 576-80, must be meant v. Rothstein 71.

(4) This continuation of Al-Kalbî's narrative is found in *Aghanî* 103_7-104_5.

no wish to be your king; you can make king whom you will.' Zeyd replied: 'The decision does not rest with me; I will, however, investigate this matter for thee, and not withhold from thee my counsel.' On the morrow the people hailed Zeyd as King and said: 'Why dost thou not send for thy guilty slave'—they meant Al-Mundhir—'in order to rid thy subjects of him.' He, however, replied 'Is there nothing better than this?' 'Then give us thy counsel.' 'Leave him in his position, for he belongs to the royal family. I will go to him, however, and inform him that the inhabitants of Al-Hîra have chosen a man to whom the administration of Al-Hîra shall be subjected, except in times of a *Ghazw* or a battle. Thine, however—I shall say—will still be the royal title, but nothing of the government.' They said: 'Thy counsel is excellent.' Thereupon he betook himself to Al-Mundhir and reported to him what they had said. He accepted it, was glad, and said: 'Thou, O Zeyd, hast done me a kindness which I shall never forget so long as I acknowledge the truth of As-Sabad' (the name of a God which the people of Al-Hîra worshipped.) Thus the people of Al-Hîra transferred to Zeyd all but the name of king which they confirmed to Al-Mundhir. To this relates the verse of 'Adî:

> 'We were, ye know full well, for you the pillars of the house and the pegs of the tentrope.'

Then Zeyd died while his son 'Adî was in Syria."

About 'Adî himself we read in Al-Kalbî's account [1]: "As soon as 'Adî could apply himself and was grown up his father put him to school and, when he had there acquired some knowledge, the Marzubân Farrukhmâhân sent him with his own son Shâhânmard to the Persian school where he learnt to write and speak Persian till he was among the best knowers of Persian and the most eloquent speakers of Arabic, and composed poems. Furthermore he learnt archery and distinguished himself among the horsemen and archers, also he became proficient in the Persian ball-game on horseback, and other matters. When the Marzubân then betook himself to the court of the Kisra with his son Shâhânmard, and they stood before him, two birds settled on the wall, a cock and a hen, and billed each other. Then was Kisra[2] wroth and filled with spite, and he said to the Marzubân and his son "Each

(1) *Aghani* 101_2-103_6.
(2) Khosrau I 531-79 A.D.

of you shoot one of these birds. If you kill it I will let you enter the treasure-house and fill your mouths with pearls, but whoever misses, him I will punish." Then each of them marked a bird and shot and killed them, whereupon they were conducted to the treasure-house and their mouths filled with pearls. When after that Kisra had received Shâhânmard and the other children of the Marzubân into his entourage, Farrukhmâhân said: "I have with me an Arab boy whose father is dead[1], whom he left to my care and whom I have bred up; he is very well-spoken, writes Arabic and Persian very well and is such as the King can make useful. If the King think fit to accept him among my children he may do so." Then the king said: "Call him", whereupon he sent for 'Adî. The latter was of conspicuous beauty and the Persians expect a blessing from those who are of handsome appearance. When he then conversed with him he found him sharp-witted and quick in answering, so that he pleased him, and he received him among the children of the Marzubân. 'Adî was the first who made use of Arabic in the dîwân of the Kisra, so that the inhabitants of Al-Hîra humbled themselves before him and feared before him. He, however, remained in Al-Madâ'in in the dîwân of the Kisra[2], had access to him as one of his confidants, was beloved by him and stood near to him. His father was at that time still alive, only the fame of 'Adî had risen while that of his father had declined. If 'Adî entered the presence of Al-Mundhir, all those present stood up till 'Adî had taken seat; thereby his fame was exalted. Whenever he had the wish to stay in Al-Hîra in his home with his father, he asked leave of Kisra and then could stay there a month or two. The Kisra sent 'Adî to the king of the Rûm with a present of rarities which he possessed. When 'Adî came to him he received him honourably and had him conducted on posthorses to his governors, whereby they showed him the extent of his country and his mighty empire, as their custom was. Thence he betook himself to Damascus and there made his first poem in which he says:

(1) As a matter of fact Zeyd was at that time still alive as appears from what follows. The Marzubân reckoned this statement a proper means for furthering 'Adî's career at court.

(2) In Tabarî 1017 it is said: "Qâbûs ibn Al-Mundhir had sent 'Adî and his brethren to Kisra. They prospered in his Kuttâb and translated for him." Cf. also Ya'qûbî I 241 and Mas'ûdî (Cairo ed.) I 204.

" 'So many a house within the fold of the vale of Duma
is for me more desirable than Jeyrûn[1]

' My companions in drinking there exult not over
what they have gained and fear not change of fate.

' I have been given to drink pure wine in the house of
Bishr, bittersweet wine mingled with hot water.'

" After that he composed the poem in which he says :

' Whose is the dwelling whose tent-marks are erased,
which great age hath changed ?

' The eye can see of its traces naught save a moat,
like to a writing that is traced with a reed.[2]"

" When Zeyd died[3] his son 'Adî happened to be in Damascus. Zeyd was in possession of 1,000 she-camels which the people of Al-Hîra had given him wherewith to pay the blood-moneys when they transferred the government to him. These camels they wanted to take back after Zeyd's death, but when Al-Mundhir heard of it he said : ' No, by Al-Lât and Al-'Uzzâ, not even a datestone shall be taken away from what belonged to Zeyd, so long as I can hear a sound ' (*i.e.* so long as I live). To this refers the verse of 'Adî addressed to Al-Mundhir :

"And thy father is the man who bore no malice on
the day when hurt was done to him by us, and he
bore losses."

" Then 'Adî repaired to Al-Madâ'in to Kisra with the present of the Keysar, to find his father and the Marzubân, who had brought him up, no longer living. He begged Kisra to allow him to go to Al-Hîra and, when he had received the permission, took the road. When Al-Mundhir heard of it, he went out to meet him accompanied by the people. 'Adî, however was very eminent in the estimation of the people of Al-Hîra, so that, had he wished, they would have instated him as king. But he preferred hunting, jest and sport to lordship, and lived thus for several years so that he spent two decades in the desert[4] in Jufeyr, but passed the winter in Al-Hîra, and betweenwhiles went to Al-Madâ'in, to do service at the court of the Kisra. No place in the desert did he prefer to the

(1) Near Damascus.

(2) The verse which follows in Aghâni does not belong just here and in other places where it is quoted is separated by several verses from the verse which here precedes it.

(3) Continuation of Al-Kalbî's narrative. *Aghani* 1046.

(4) Concerning the desert v. Lammens, *Melanges de la Faculte Orientale* (Beyrout) IV 91 ff.

territory of the Banû Yarbû', and with no other subtribe of Tamîm did he prefer to sojourn rather than with them. His friends among the Arabs all belonged to the Banû Ja'far[1], his camels pastured in the territory of the Banû Dabba and the Banû Sa'd; his father before him had so arranged that he never let his camels overstep the territory of those two tribes. Thus 'Adî spent his life till he married Hind, the daughter of Al-Nu'mân ibn Al-Mundhir."

A detailed account of Ibn Al-Kalbî's concerning the further fate of 'Adî is preserved for us in Tabarî's Chronicle[2] as well as in the *Kitabu'l-Aghani*[3]. In both sources Hishâm ibn Al-Kalbî gives as his authorities: Ishâq ibn Al-Jassâs[4], Hammâd Al-Râwîya and his own father, Muhammad ibn Al-Sâ'ib Al-Kalbî; only in Tabarî he expresses himself more accurately as to the way in which he has made use of the sources: "Ishâq ibn Al-Jassâs has told me and I have read in the book of Hammâd, also my father has related to me a part thereof." As the account preserved in Tabarî has been translated by Nöldeke[5] I reproduce in the following the version of the *Kitabu'l-Aghani*[6] which contains some matter that is lacking in Tabarî, but above all quotes much more verse than Tabarî[7].

'Adî had two brothers 'Ammâr called Ubey, and Amr called Sumey; on the mother's side they had also a brother 'Adî ibn Hanzala ibn Tai. Ubey used to be with Kisra[8], they were of a respected house, Christians who were with the Kisras, had their maintenance with them and stood in esteem; also they had assigned them fiefs and given them rich presents. When Al-Mundhir became king of Al-Hîra he placed his son Al-Nu'mân under the guardianship of 'Adî, whose family brought him up. Al-Mundhir

(1) Banû Ja'far ibn Tha'laba ibn Yarbû, v. Wüstenfeld *Tabellen K.*
(2) I 1016_{10} —1029_3 .
(3) *Aghani* II 105_8 , 115_1 , 117_{10} , 126_3 .
(4) According to *Aghani* II 140_{12} he translated "from the Kufic."
(5) *Geschichte der Araber und Perser* 312-32.
(6) Quatremere published a French translation of this narrative in the *Journal Asiatique* 1835 and 1838 and Ewald translated somewhat of it in *Zeitshhrift fur die kunde des Morgenlandes* Vol. III (Göttingen 1840) into German. That those translations are to-day no longer sufficient, goes without saying.
(7) Al Ya'qûbî also I 241 has used this narrative as a foundation and has preserved some of it that is missing in Tabarî and the *Aghani*.
(8) In Tabarî follows: "one of them wished death to 'Adî"; in Ya'qûbî 243, "one desired his death, the other his welfare."

had yet another son, Al-Aswad, whose mother, Mâriya bint Al-Hârith ibn Julhun was of the Banû Teymal-Rabab. Him a sept of the people of Al-Hîra, who were called Banû Marînâ, derived their pedigree from the Lakhm and were nobly born, educated. Besides him Al-Mundhir had ten children. His children were called Al-Ashâhib—*i.e.* the Brilliant, on account of their beauty. Al 'Ashâ says of them :

" And the sons of Al-Mundhir, the brilliant ones, in Al-Hîra, they go forth in the morning gleaming like swords."

Al-Nu'mân, however, was among them with a reddish freckled skin, small of stature, and his mother was Salma the daughter of Wâ'il ibn Atiya, the goldsmith of Fadak[1] Before his death Al-Mundhir confided his ten—according to others, thirteen sons to Iyâs ibn Qabîsa Al-Tâ'i and appointed him king until Kisra should make his decision. When Kisra ibn Hurmuz[2] found no man who seemed suitable to him he grew irritable and said : " I will send 120,000 horsemen to Hîra, instate a Persian as King and order him to break into the houses of the Arabs and take away from them their property and their women." When after that, however, 'Adî came to him, he asked him : ' Who is left of the family of Al-Mundhir, and is there one among them in whom there is any good ?' He said : ' Yes ; in all his descendants there is good.' Thereupon he ordered him to have them summoned, whereupon 'Adî went to Al-Hîra, spoke with them, gave them his instructions and went with them to Kisra. When they had alighted at 'Adî's house he caused Al-Nu'mân to be told : I will instate as king none but thee ; and let it not distress thee if I show more favour to thy brethren, for thereby I shall but beguile them. Thereafter he preferred them in respect of hospitable entertainment and made them think that he desired to prejudice Al-Nu'mân and did not wish that everything should fall to his share. Then he remained alone with one after another and said : " When I bring you to the king, then put on your finest and most beautiful clothes. Should he invite you to a meal, then be languid, make the morsels small and eat little. If he then says : ' Will you manage Arabs for me ?' say : ' Yes.' Should he then say : 'Even if one of you breaks away and rebels ?' answer ' No, one of us can do nothing against the others,' this in order that he may have fear

(1) Here follows in Tabarî the passage translated above (Note 2 p. 36).

(2) It must really mean Khusrau I (Anôshirwân) who reigned from 531 to 579 A.D ; Khusrau II, the son of Hormizd, reigned 590-628.

before you, may not wish to divide you and may know that the Arabs possess power of resistance and strength. They accepted his advice; but he remained alone with Al-Nu'mân and said to him: Put on thy travelling clothes, gird thyself with thy sword; when thou sittest down to the meal, take big mouthfuls, chew and swallow quickly; eat much and appear hungry beforehand, for much eating pleases Kisra, especially in the case of Arabs; and he is of the opinion that there is nothing good in an Arab if he is not a greedy eater, especially when he sees something which is not his food and of which he does not know the nature. If he then asks thee: 'Wilt thou master the Arabs for me?' say: 'Yes.' If he then asks: 'But who will master thy brethren for me?,' say 'If I am too weak for thee, then I shall certainly be so for the others.' When after that Ibn Marînâ was alone with Al-Aswad, asked concerning 'Adî's advice and was informed of it, he said: 'By the Cross and Baptism[1] he hath deceived thee, and has not advised thee rightly; if thou obey me then thou wilt do the opposite of all that he advised thee, then thou wilt be appointed king. Should you disobey me, then Al-Nu'mân will be appointed king. Be not misled by the honour and the precedence before Al-Nu'mân with which he has favoured thee, for that is only slyness and guile, as these Ma'add are never free from guile and slyness.' He, however, replied: ''Adî has advised me well and knows Kisra better than thou; if I disobey him, he will turn against me and prejudice me; he has brought us hither and praised us, and Kisra is guided by his word. When Ibn Marînâ had given up hope that he would take his warning, he said: 'Thou wilt learn.' The Kisra had them summoned and when they came into his presence their beauty and their perfection pleased him and he saw that they were men the like of whom he seldom met. Then he invited them to the meal and they did as 'Adî had advised them; he, however, looked at Al-Nu'mân, who sat between them, and observed the way he ate. Then he said to 'Adî in Persian: 'If there is any good in one of them, it is in this one.' When they had washed their hands he summoned one after another and said: 'Canst thou master the Arabs for me?' Whereupon the other answered: "All except my brothers." When last of them all Al-Nu'mân came he said to him also: 'Canst thou master

(1) Both *Salib* and *Ma'mudiya* are foreign words from the Syriac; Syriac was the Church language of the 'Ibâd—*i.e.*, the Arab Christians of Hîra.

the Arabs for me' 'Yes.' 'All?' 'Yes.' 'Even thy brethren?' 'If I am too weak for thee, then I am too weak for all.' So he appointed him king, gave him a robe of honour and invested him with a crown adorned with pearls and gold worth 60,000 Dirhams. Then when Al-Nu'mân[1] came forth after his coronation Ibn Marînâ said to Al-Aswad: 'Here thou hast the result of thy disobedience against me.' After that 'Adî prepared a feast in a church and sent to Ibn Marînâ, saying: 'Come to me with whom thou wilt; I have a matter to settle'. So he came with a number of his people and they had their breakfast in the church. 'Adî said to him: 'People like thee must know better than any how it is proper to act and must blame no-one for so doing. I know thou wouldst rather that Al-Aswad had been king and not Al-Nu'mân; but blame me not for a thing that thou wouldst have done just the same. I would that thou take not ill from me what thou wouldst have done hadst thou been able, and I would that thou vouchsafe to me what I vouchsafe to thee; for I have not more interest in this matter than thou hast.' Then he went into the church and swore that he would aim no satirical verse against him, nor plan any hurt for him, nor withhold any good from him. When 'Adî ibn Zeyd had made an end, 'Adî ibn Marînâ rose and swore that he would not cease to write satirical verse against him and to cause him harm as long as he lived. Al-Nu'mân betook himself to the home of his father in Al-Hîra. 'Adî ibn Marînâ, however, said to 'Adî ibn Zeyd:

Up! Make mention of 'Adî to 'Adî, and be not anguished though thy snares wear out,

'Our churches are beneficent for the not poor, so that thou mayest earn praise, or thy wealth may become perfect.

'If thou winnest now, thou winnest not praiseworthily; if thou fallest, then we wish others than thee to remain near us (in death).

'Thou wast rueful as the Kusa'î[2] when thine eyes saw what thy hands had done.'

"Then 'Adî ibn Marînâ said to Al-Aswad: 'If thou hast not won, still be not so weak as not to will vengeance

(1) Al-Nu'mân came to the throne in 580 A.D. Cf. Rothstein l. c. 111.

(2) In the proverbial form of speech نذ صت نذ | مذم | لكسعي Cf. *The Fakhir of Al-Mufaddal ibn Salama*, ed. Storey 74.

on this Ma'addî who has used thee so. I always told thee that the intrigues of Ma'add never sleep, and advised thee not to follow him. But thou didst act against my counsel.' He then said : ' What willst thou then ?' He replied : ' that you hand over all the revenues of your wealth and landed property to me for management'. And that he did. Ibn Marînâ, however, was himself already rich in wealth and landed property. Not a day passed now without a present from Ibn Marînâ appearing at Al-Nu'mân's gate. In that way he acquired the greatest influence with him, and he gave no judgment as prince except according to the direction of Ibn Marînâ. If anyone now spoke of 'Adî ibn Zeyd before him, he praised him much and spoke highly of his virtues, adding however, ' a true Ma'addite is, of course, never without guile and deceit.' Now when the people in Al-Nu'mân's entourage saw what influence Ibn Marînâ had over him, they adhered closely to him. Then he said occasionally to his most trusted allies : ' When you hear how I praise 'Adî ibn Zeyd in the king's presence, say : Of course he is as thou sayest, but he leaves no-one unmolested ; he maintains forsooth that the king (*i.e.* Al-Nu'mân) is only a governor and that he invested him with the office.' They said so continually till they made him hateful to the king. Then they wrote a letter in the name of 'Adî to one of his agents and caused the letter to be seized and taken to Al-Nu'mân. When the latter read it he was very much incensed and sent to 'Adî, saying : ' I pray thee, why dost thou not visit me ? I long much to see thee once again.' 'Adî was with Kisra ; he asked him at once for leave, obtained it and went to Al-Nu'mân. The latter however, hardly saw him, for he was at once put in a place of imprisonment where no-one might visit him. Here, in the prison, 'Adî ibn Zeyd made many poems. The first that he composed there runs :

" Oh, that I knew but something of the prince ! Nevertheless continual asking will bring thee sure tidings of him.

" What has our stake of property and life, at the time when they formed up for battle on the day of guile, availed us ?

" And at the time when I, at thy side, did shoot with the people for the prize ; they shot and so did I, and none of us did his part badly.

" And I obtained what thou wouldst without guile, and I inflicted on them yet more hurt continually.

" Oh, that I had but grasped death with my own hands and had not had to suffer the kind of death which is assigned to enemies.

" They have uttered their calumnies in order to destroy us in this year, and they have let the hand-mill fall upon the leather pad of leather[1] beneath it."

" And in like manner he made several poems. As often as Al-Nu'mân learnt of a poem of 'Adî or heard talk of him, he felt remorse. He also sent to him often and made him all kinds of promises, but was afraid to set him free, lest 'Adî then should seek to do him injury. 'Adî said further, while he was imprisoned :

" I was sleepless on account of a thick cloud, wherein were lightning flashes, which rose above the summit of Shi'b.

" The Mashrafite sword flashed above its summit, and the sides of the new well-guarded mantle gleamed.

" The foes haste all around, forsaking not the evil against me, by the Lord of Mekka and of the Cross.

" They wish that thou shouldst have naught to do with 'Adî so that he may be kept imprisoned or plunged in the well.

' I it was who held fast to thy foes without fleeing after they had pressed thee hard on a hot day.

' Oft speak I unto them, but keep each secret hidden like that which lies between the bark and stem

" And I did gain thy crown, in their despite, when we forgathered, even as the arrow (in the Meysar game) attains the prize.

' Neither was my purpose to bespatter merit, but that which hath befallen me is astounding.

' Who will send Al-Nu'mân word for me ? Oft is good advice in secret offered.

' Is my lot to be the chain, the fetter and the yoke ? Plain speech is with the wise.

' The news hath come to thee that my imprisonment hath lasted long. Feelest thou no reluctance for the suffering of a prisoner, robbed of his wealth ?

(1) و قعوا الرحا بثفالها for ثفال cf R. Mielek, *Die Terminologie und Technologie der Muller und Beicker im Islamischen, Mittelalter* 9, 12,

'And my house is empty, only widowed women are therein, laid low with wailing

They shed tears for 'Adî, like a waterskin which the slaves have patched badly

'They fear those who slander 'Adî and the sins which they have committed against him

If I have failed in aught or done wrong, full oft doth one who dealeth uprightly commit a fault against a friend.

'If I do wrong, then thou hast punished me; but if wrong befalleth me, then such is my fate

'If I die, then thou wilt feel my loss and be forsaken when the spear-points clash together in the battle.

'Wouldst thou acquire that which we possess, so that thou mayst not neglect good advice?

'I, however, have this day resigned my cause unto a Lord who is nigh and heareth prayer.'

And in the same connection he says further:

'This night has been long for us, and close, and I am as one, who in the early morning takes a vow, engaged in night-discourse.

'Because of the secret care which abides with me far more than that which I make known and that which I keep secret.

'And the night is long, as if there were therein a further night, and yet of old shortness was ascribed to night.

'I have not closed mine eyes throughout its length till it was ended, wishing that I could see the morning gleam

'Not love has ravaged me of sleep and made me wakeful, but something that came near during the night.'

In the same poem he then continues:

'Convey to Al-Nu'mân a message from me, the word of one who fears suspicion and would clear himself.

'I am, by Allah—accept my oath!—a monk, who, when he prays, lifts up his voice.

'One whose soul shivers in a cloister, one who has fair locks and flowing hair.

'I have not borrowed hatred from thy foes; God hath the knowledge of that which is kept hid.

'Be not as one who heals his bone by art of medicine till, when the bone is healed, he aims at weakening it, if he tries to use it in walking, then it breaks.'

'And remember the kindness which in my troubles I shall not forget of thee, since only slaves are thankless.'

Further he said:

'Let a message reach Al-Nu'mân from me, that for me my durance lasts too long, and my waiting.

'Were my throat reddened with something other than water, then would I swallow the food with water, like unto one choking.

'O that I know something of an interloper, who invents lies if he observes aught of my day or my night.

'I sit still, their spreading abroad (of his) troubles my soul, but my place of imprisonment is inaccessible, also my constancy.

'For the sake of a good deed, which the first among you multiplied, because I had come near to you and had become allied to you by marriage

'We give help when thou demandest it, and defend thee with large hands.'[1]

(Further he said:

'Verily long are the nights and the day'

"And many poems else, which he composed and sent to him in writing, though it helped him not at all with Al-Nu'mân. When he then grew weary of imploring Al-Nu'mân, he made poems wherein he reminded him of death and represented to him how many kings had died before him; for instance:

'Departeth he at eventide or in the morning?'

And many other poems)[2].

(1) The last verse is not in *Kitab Al-Aghani* but is here inserted from other sources.

(2) The passage marked in parenthesis is lacking in the *Kitab al-Aghani* and is here inserted from Tabarî I 1020_{21} —1021^{5}. As everywhere else in this narrative Tabarî here too has quoted only the first half-verse.

" They relate all together[1]: Then Al-Nu'mân betook himself to Bahreyn, whereupon a man from Ghassân came forth and obtained what he would in Al-Hîrâ ; it is said that this was Jafna the son of Al-Nu-'mân Al-Jafni[2]. 'Adî says concerning it :

' Uprose the flame and set on fire both sides thereof, but thou didst think of naught except the camels, whereof some are driven in at night and some left free (at pasture).

' They spent the night hedged in at Al-Thawîya, and gray (with dust) the 'Ibâd caught them in the morning

' Forsooth such is the booty : not foals, in which thou placest hope, branded and old camels

' Thou placest hope on them, but harm hath befallen them, even as (the clan of) 'Atîb[3] place hope on their small children.'

" They all relate : When 'Adî's captivity had lasted a long while, he wrote this poem to his brother Ubey, who was with Kisra :

' Say to Ubey in spite of his remoteness, is that which he knoweth of use to a man.'

' Thy brother, thy heart's brother, in whom thou didst confide so long as he was whole,

'Is kept fettered in iron by a king, whether with justice or in wanton wise !

' May I not find that thou resemblest that mother of a boy who, when she found no suckling, sucked the milk from the breast herself !

' Come now into thy country, into thy country ; if thou come to us, then wilt thou sleep a sleep in which there is no dream.'

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(1) The compiler of the *Kitab al-Aghani* puts these words in this place 117_{10} as preface to the continuation of Ibn Al-Kalbî's narrative, because he had interrupted it 115_2 by quotation from Al-Mufaddal's account. By " all " Ibn Al-Kalbî means his three authorities, Ibn Al-Jassâs, Hammâd and Al-Kalbî v. *Aghani* 105.

(2) Nöldeke loc. cit. 320, note 3 observes that such an invasion of Hîra by a member of the house of Jafna—i.e., the Ghassanids under the Byzantine suzerainty—must have taken place prior to 'Adî's imprisonment. After the peace of 591 A.D. a Byzantine vassal could hardly have dared to do such a thing.

(3) For 'Atîb cf. Yâqût ed. Wüstenfeld III 612. The members of the sept of 'Atîb hoped that their children would avenge them.

" And he wrote to his son, 'Amr ibn 'Adî, who stood in favour with Kisra :

' Unto whom is a night long and fearful for the sake of a prisoner, because an inward grief oppresses him

' What is the crime of a man who bears a long chain round his neck and fetters on his legs ?

' Thy mother, O 'Amr, may be robbed of thee after my death ; dost thou sit still or leap up because I am not set free ?

' Doth it not grieve thee that thy father is captive while thou holdest aloof ? May the ghouls run away with thee !

' The daughter of Al-Qeyn ibn Jasr sings to thee, and wine is thy companion in thy madness.

' Wert thou the captive—mayest thou not be so !—then all Ma'add would know what I say.

' If I fall, well, I have conferred upon my people benefits, which all are good and fair ;

' Nor have I faltered in the strife for noble deeds whether the fate of death befall me soon, or whether it be long to wait.[1]'

" After that his brother wrote to him :

' If fate hath cheated thee, still thou hast been no weak, deedless one, no whining wretch.

' And by God, if some dark-coloured, grinding (host) with flashing swords,

' A din striding through the whirlpool of death, with undamaged, padded coats of mail

' Had caught thee in its midst, then had I come in haste, be sure of that, when I heard thy cry for help.

' Or had money been asked of me for thee, then had I withheld neither inherited nor garnered wealth for any object whatsoever.

(1) This letter of 'Adî to 'Amr and the poem which he addressed to him are quoted only in Al-Ya'qûbî (*Tarikh*, ed. Houtema I 244). It cannot be said for certain, whether he derived this from Ibn Al-Kalbor's repît. It appears, however, from the *Kitab al-Aghani* Second Edition Vol. II 134 that Al-Kalbî also knew a son of 'Adi Named 'Amr and that the latter served as scribe at the court of the Persian King after him. The elegy of the mother of 'Amr for her son fallen at Dhû Qar is found in *Aghani* XX 137.

'Or wert thou in a land to which I could by any means have come, then neither distance nor danger would have deterred me

'If I must miss you, know, as deeply-anguished friend, by God, there is naught that can compensate for thee so far as calls the autumn rain.

'Since thou art far from me, the might of this age and the command is with the enemies.

'Aye, by my life, if at last I hold myself in patience, yet few there are like thee, far though I roam around[1].'

"They all together say[2]: After he had read 'Adî's letter Ubey went before Kisra and spoke with him of the matter[3]. Then the latter wrote a letter in which he ordered Al-Nu'mân to set 'Adî at liberty, and dispatched at the same time an envoy. But Nu'mân's agent too sent word to him that the King had written to him. Then came 'Adî's enemies of the race of Buqeyla[4] of the tribe of Ghassan and said: 'Slay him at once', but he was unwilling. As for the man who then arrived, 'Adî's brother had bribed him beforehand and charged him to go first to 'Adî, who was a prisoner in the castle of Sinnîn[5], and hear his wishes. When the envoy came in to 'Adî, he said: 'I bring thy deliverance; what do I get for that?' He replied: 'A reward such as thou wishest!' and made him promises, but added: 'Leave me not, but give me the letter that I may send it on to him, for, by God, if thou leavest me, I shall be murdered.' But he answered: 'I must absolutely present the letter in my proper person to the king.' Meanwhile, someone went to Al-Nu'mân to inform him of the matter, and said: Kisra's envoy has gone to 'Adî and will take him with him. If he does so, then 'Adî will spare none of us.' Then Al-Nu'mân sent his enemies who strangled him and buried him. When after that the envoy of the Kisra presented the letter to him, he said: 'Certainly, to command.' Thereupon Al-Nu'mân caused 4,000 Mithqal and a girl-slave to be given to him and said: 'Tomorrow morning

(1) Nöldeke, *loc. cit.* 321 note 3, rightly pronounces these verses to be an elegy composed after 'Adî's death.

(2) i.e., Ishâq bin Al-Jassâs, Hammâd and Al-Kalbî v. note 1 p. 46.

(3) In Al-Ya'qûbî I 244 it runs: "Then his brother and his son and those who were with them went before Kisra and spoke of the matter."

(4) Concerning the Banû Buqeyla cf. Rothstein 114, note 2.

(5) That Sinnîn is the right pronunciation, Nöldeke *loc. cit.* 322, note 2, has made probable.

early go to him and thyself bring him out.' When he, however, rode up on the following morning and entered the prison, the warders told him : ' He has already been dead some days, only we dared not announce this to the king from fear before him, because we know how unwished for his death is to him.' Thereupon the envoy returned to Al-Nu'mân and said : ' I was with him yesterday and he was still alive : today however, when I came there, the guards of the prisoners informed me that he has been dead for days.' But Nu'mân replied : ' The King sends thee to me and thou goest first to him ? Thou liest, thou wishest only to obtain bribes and shameful payment !' Thus he first intimidated, but then gave him further gifts and shows of honour and bound him by an oath to inform the Kisra that 'Adî had died before he came to him. So the envoy said on his return to Kisra : ' Adî was already dead before I came to him'."

The version of Al-Mufaddal, the renowned connoisseur and collector of ancient poetry, who belonged to the Arab tribe of Dabba, spent the greater part of his life at Kûfa and died between 164 and 170 A.H.[1], agrees in essentials with Ibn Al-Kalbî's account of 'Adî's allusions to Nu'mân and of his imprisonment. This account[2] contains some important details which are lacking in Ibn Al-Kalbî, wherefore I add it here :

" But as for what concerns Al-Mufaddal Al-Dabbi, he relates : When 'Adî came to Al-Nu'mân, he found him without capacity and natural endowment and without that which belongs to a King. He was reddish in appearance and all his brothers surpassed him in ability. So 'Adî said to him : ' What can I do with thee since thou hast no ability ?' Al-Nu'mân answered : ' I know of no trick for thee that thou knowest not.' Then he said : ' Up, let us go to Ibn Fardis[3], a Hîran who sprang from Duma. So they went to him in order to borrow money from him, but he refused to lend to them and said : ' I have none.' Then they went to Jâbir ibn Sham'ûn, the Bishop[4], who belonged to the Banû'l-Aûs ibn Qallâm ibn Buteyn ibn Jumheir ibn Lihyân, and borrowed money from

(1) v. Sir Charles Lyall's Introduction to the translation of the Mufaddaliyât, p. XI.

(2) v. *Aghani* 115_2 —117_{10} .

(3) The pronunciation of this name is uncertain.

(4) We know the names of several bishops of Hîra from Syrian sources ; that of Jâbir is not mentioned among them. v. Rothstein 23, 111.

him. He made them stay with him three days, slaughtered (beasts) for them and gave them wine to drink. On the fourth day, however, he said to them : ' What would ye ?' Then 'Adî said : 'Lend us 40,000 dirhams of which Al-Nu'mân can make use in his business with Kisra.' He replied : ' Ye can have 80,000 with me,' and gave them to them. Then Al-Nu'mân said to Jâbir : ' In truth I have received no dirham save through thee, when I came to the Kingdom.' Jâbir was the lord of the white castle in Al-Hîra." Thereupon he (Al-Mufaddal) relates the story of Al-Nu'mân and his brothers and 'Adî and Ibn Marînâ, just as Ibn Al-Kalbî had related it. Further on, however, he says again separately : The reason why Al-Nu'mân made 'Adî a prisoner was that 'Adî one day prepared a meal for Al-Nu'mân and asked him and his companions to ride over to him and take breakfast with him with his companions. So Al-Nu'mân was riding to him when 'Adî Ibn Marînâ came to meet him, who detained him till they had had breakfast with him (Ibn Marînâ), he and his companions, and had drunk till they were fuddled. After that he rode to 'Adî, but had no more appetite left, which incensed the latter. When Al-Nu'mân saw displeasure in 'Adî's countenance he rose, mounted steed and returned to his palace. Concerning that, 'Adî says :

' Dost think that company with us and seemliness of conversation would wreck thy possessions ?

' Possessions and men are a battleground for thy lordship or for thy chastisement

' Whatsoever thou ordainest with regard to us, the ordinance is in thy right (hand) or in thy left.'

" Later Al-Nu'mân once sent to 'Adî to summon him, but he refused to come to him, whereupon he sent a messenger a second time, but he again refused. Then Al-Nu'mân who had drunk and had become violent, ordered that he should be dragged out of his house and brought before him. Then he had him imprisoned in Al-Sinn'n, and insisted on keeping him captive.

' 'Adî, nevertheless, sent him poems, one of which runs :

' Nothing endures against the fate of death, save the countenance of the Lord of Praise, the Creator

' When we feel ourselves safe, then evil suddenly befalls us, which smites him who is full of love and full of expectation.

'Free, however, is my breast from guilt against the ruler and from faithlessness toward him who concludes the treaty.

'The visit of the kinswoman, of the beloved[1] who yearns for our love, has brought us grief

"To you, however, that which is visible upon my hands hath prepared pain, and because they are fastened on the neck

'But as for thee, withdraw a little, O Umeyma, embrace befits not him who lies in chains

'Go, Umeyma! If Allah will, he will vouchsafe relief from the oppression of this strangling rope

'Or there will come a turning; but that is the way of mankind; the sorceresses cannot ward off death.'

"In the same poem he says further:

'The enemies say: 'Adî is finished, and his sons have obtained surety in the matter of being delivered up to punishment.

'O Abû Mus-hir, let a message reach my brothers, when thou comest into the heart of 'Irâq

'Tell it to 'Amir[2] and his brother[3], how I am fettered, and hard is my chain

'In iron of weight, watched by warders—but all things befall a Man —

'In doubled iron and fetters, and in patched worn out garments

'Then ride out in the Holy Month and free thy brother; a caravan stands ready to set out.'"

In this account of Al-Mufaddal there is talk of Al-Nu'mân applying to the bishop of Al-Hîrâ. The Christian population of Al-Hîra, the 'Ibâd—*i.e.*, the "Servants of Allah," perhaps also the "Servants of the Messiah"—included members of various Arab tribes and in the fifth century espoused the doctrine of Nestorius. Hîra remained the seat of a Nestorian bishop even in Islamic times, as Kûfa was the see of a Monophysite bishop[4].

(1) In the Arabic "the Beloved" is in the masculine; as immediately after, however, Umeyma is apostrophised, she is also intended in the former passage.

(2) 'Amir is evidently identical with 'Adî's brother 'Ammâr mentioned in the *Aghani* 105_8 —Tabarî 1016_{15}.

(3) 'Amr.

(4) v. Rothstein 19 ff.

The ruling house of Hîra however, were not converted to Christianity till later; Al-Mundhir IV (576-80 A.D.) seems still to have been a heathen, and in any case it is only of Al-Nu'mân III (580-602 A.D.) that it is certain that he went over to Christianity[1]. Since Al-Nu'mân had grown up in the family of 'Adî he must early have become familiar with Christianity and, in an account of Ibn Al-Kalbî's, 'Adî himself is named as the man who had prompted Al-Nu'mân's conversion. In *Kitab ul-Aghani*[2] it is said in this connection: "Ahmad ibn 'Imrân informed me, after Muhammad ibn Al-Qâsim ibn Mahrûya, after Muhammad ibn 'Amr ibn 'Alî ibn Al-Sabbâh, after Ibn Al-Kalbî: Al-Nu'mân ibn Al-Mundhir went out hunting in the company of 'Adî ibn Zeyd. As they were passing by a tree 'Adî said: 'O King, knowest thou what this tree is saying?' 'No.' It is saying:

'Very many riders have camped near us, drinking wine mixed with clear water.

'Time has annihilated them, and they are dead and gone; such is time: one state follows another.'

When they had passed the tree they came near a grave. Then 'Adî said to him: 'O King, knowest thou what this grave says?' 'No.' It is saying:

'O ye riders, ye who gallop, who hasten onward in the earth! Just as ye are, so were we; as we are so will ye be.'

Then Al-Nu'mân said to him. "The tree and the grave speak not and I know that thou wouldst admonish me thereby. On which road is happiness to be found?' 'Give up the service of idols and confess the faith of the Messiah, Jesus son of Mary.' 'Does happiness lie therein?' 'Yes.' Then he accepted Christianity."

Although this account is of course, not to be taken literally, still nothing is against the view that 'Adî may have had his share in the conversion of Al-Nu'mân. A legendary presentment of the story of the conversion of Al-Nu'mân has likewise been preserved for us in *Kitab al-Aghani*, and the compiler of the *Aghani* has already pointed out the chronological impossibility of this account[3].

It there runs[4]:

(1) v. Rothstein 139 ff.

(2) *Aghani* II 96, cf. also Hamza Al Isfahânî, *Tarikh* (Berlin edition).

(3) *Aghani* II 135.

(4) *Aghani* II 133.

" Muhammad ibn Yahyâ Al-Sûlî related to me, from Ibrâhîm ibn Fahd, from Khalîfa ibn Khayyât Shabîb al 'Usfurî, from Hishâm ibn Muhammad, from Yahyâ ibn Ayyûb al-Bajalî, from Abû Zura'ibn 'Amr ibn Jarîr ibn Abdallah al-Bajalî, fromhis grandfatherJarîr ibn 'Abdallah. Further, my uncle has related to me, from Ahmad ibn Ubeydullah, from Muhammad ibn Yazîd ibn Ziyâd Al-Kalbî Abû 'Abdallah, from Ma'rûf ibn Kharrabudh, from Yahyâ ibn Ayyûb from Abû Zura'ibn 'Amr from his grandfather Jarîr ibn 'Abdallah[1]. The text, however comes from Ahmad ibn Ubeydallah, whose account is more complete. The reason for Al-Nu'mân's conversion, who hitherto had worshipped idols, was this. Al-Nu'mân ibn Al-Mundhir the Elder[2] had gone into the country round Al-Hîra for a pleasure-trip in the company of 'Adî. When they passed by some graves there 'Adî said to him : ' May the omen be far from thee ! Knowest thou what these graves are saying ?' ' No.' ' They are saying '— thus, according to Ahmad ibn Ubeydallah—

' O ye galloping riders, who make haste upon the earth ! Even as ye are, so were we, and even as we are so will ye become.'

According to Al-Sûlî, he said :

' We were for a while like you, then a time changed us, and ye will become as we are.'

" Then he went away, a prey to a feeling of weakness. After some time he went out again and passed by the graves in the company of 'Adî. Then the latter said : ' May the omen be far from thee ! Knowest thou what these graves are saying ?' 'No.' ' They are saying ':

' Whoever seeth us may tell his soul that he hath reached the margin of the end.

' Compared with the flight of Time, and that which it brings, the silent hills endure not.

' Many a horde of riders hath made halt near us, in order to drink wine mingled with clear water

' The jugs had strainers, and the splendid steeds pranced around with their housings.

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(1) The account is thus in both versions ascribed to Jarîr ibn 'Abdallah, the Sahâbî who died in 51 A. H.

(2) That Nu'mân II who reigned 499-503 A.D. can have had no relations with 'Adî, the compiler of *Kitab al-Aghani*, Abû'l-Faraj Al-Isfahânî himself points out. *ibid* II 135.

'A time spent they there in a fair life, sure of their time, not hastening;

'Thus doth time drive the man who is in search of life's pleasure from one state into another.'

"Al-Sûlî goes on to say, and it is correct: Then Al-Nu'mân mended his ways and became converted to Christianity. Ahmad ibn Ubeydallah, however, in his account, following Al-Ziyâd Al-Kalbî, says: Then Al-Nu'mân turned and said to 'Adî: 'Come to me by night when feet are still, in order to learn my state.' So he came to him and found him clad in coarse raiment. He had become a Christian and a Monk and set forth as a pilgrim, and it is not known what became of him. His children after him accepted Christianity, built churches and cells for monks, while Hind, the daughter of Al-Nu'mân ibn Al-Mundhir built the convent which is outside Kûfa and is called Deyr Hind. When Kisra imprisoned her father Al-Nu'mân the Younger and he died in captivity, Hind became a nun, put on coarse raiment and dwelt in her convent till she died and was buried there."

To this Hind, the daughter of Al-Nu'mân, according to Al-Kalbî's account, 'Adî ibn Zeyd stood in intimate relationship. On that subject we read in *Kitab al-Aghani* [1]: "My uncle has told me, after 'Abdallah ibn Sa'd, after 'Alî ibn Al-Sabbâh; further, Hasan ibn 'Alî after Muhammad ibn Al-Qâsim; 'Alî ibn Al-Sabbâh says: Hishâm ibn Al-Kalbî relates from his father: 'Adî ibn Zeyd ibn Hammâd ibn Zeyd ibn Ayyûb the 'Ibâdi poet, loved Hind the daughter of Al-Nu'mân ibn Al-Mundhir. To her he spoke the poem which begins:

'Inclination to Hind is deep-seated in the heart, secret, and causing sickness and sleeplessness,'

And the other of which the first verse runs:

'Who can help the heart that is sick and tortured, and disobedient to each true, self-sacrificing friend?'

And again, that other which begins:

'O ye two friends! Relieve the hardship! Set forth at eve and in the noonday's heat and pause with me at the abodes of Hind; it is not hard to turn the horses to one side.'

(1) II 128_4, cf. also *ibid* 105_5.

Ibn Al-Kalbî says : 'Adî married her. Ibn Abî Sa'd says : Khâlid ibn Kulthûm[1] reports the like. They both say : The reason of his love was this : Hind was the most beautiful among the women of her people and her time, and her mother was Mâriya the Kindite. She set out on the Thursday of the Eysh-feast (Easter), three days after the Sa'ânîn-feast (Palm-sunday), to take the supper in the church ; she was at that time eleven years old ; that was under the rule of Al-Mundhir[2]. 'Adî was bringing a letter from Kisra and Al-Nu'mân was at that time a young man. When she entered the church, 'Adî had entered to take the supper. She was well grown and plump in body and 'Adî saw her while she did not observe him, so that he could look at her. Her slave-girls had seen 'Adî as he went on in front, but had said nothing to her, so that he could look at her. That they did for the sake of a maid of Hind's named Mâriya, who loved 'Adî but knew not how she should come at him. When at last Hind saw that 'Adî was staring at her, it was disagreeable to her and she blamed her slave-girls and punished some of them with blows. But Hind had made an impression upon 'Adî ; however, he told no-one anything about it for a year. After a year, Mâriya thought that Hind must have forgotten what had happened, praised in her hearing the church of St. Thomas[3] and spoke to her of the nuns who were there, of the Maidens of Hîra who frequented the church, of the beauty of its architecture and its lamps, and said to her : ' Beg thy mother for leave for us to visit it.' When the leave was obtained, Mâriya hastened to 'Adî and told him what had happened, whereupon he quickly drew on a cloak which Farkhânshâhmard[4] had presented to him and which was decked with gold, and had not its like for beauty. 'Adî himself was of a stately presence, comely of visage, sweet of eyes, had a pretty laugh and clean teeth. He took a number of the young men of Al-Hîra with him and went into the church. When Mâriya saw him, she said to Hind : Look at this youth. He is, by Allah, more beautiful than all the lamps and other things that thou seest. Hind said : ' Who is it ? ' 'Adî.' ' Is there any fear, thinkest thou, that he will

(1) from Kûfa. Known as a connoisseur of genealogy and poetry. *Fihrist* 66.

(2) Mundhir III, who reigned from 576 to 580 A. D.

(3) Thus according to Khâlid ibn Kulthûm ; according to Ibn Al-Kalbî : " the Church of Duma."

(4) Farrukhmâhân or his son Shâhânmard (see above) must be meant.

recognise me if I go near to look at him ?' 'How should he recognise thee since he has never yet seen thee ?' Then she drew near to him when he was jesting with the young men, all of whom he surpassed in beauty and in eloquence and in apparel. When she saw him she fell into confusion and became engrossed in the sight of him. Mâriya, however, knew, what was going on in her and observed it on her countenance. So she told her: 'Speak to him,' which she then did. When she went out after that, her soul followed him and she loved him ; while he went away in a similar condition. On the morrow Mâriya went to meet him and when he saw her he came towards her in a friendly manner, although he had never before spoken to her. He said : 'What brings thee here ? She answered: 'A request to thee.' 'Now name it, for, by Allah, thou canst ask me nothing that I will not grant thee.' Then she let him know that she loved him and that her wish was to be along with him ; she would thereafter bring him by some stratagem to Hind : that she promised him. Thereupon he took her to the booth of a wine-dealer in Al-Hîra and he cohabited with her. Then she went to Hind and said : 'Wilt thou not see 'Adî ?' 'How should I get to him ?' 'I will give him rendezvous at such and such a spot behind the castle, and thou canst then behold him from above.' 'Good ; do that !' Then she gave him rendezvous at the spot, he came, she saw him from above, nearly died of longing and said : 'If thou bringest him not to me, I die.' At that the maid hastened to Al-Nu'mân, told him truthfully what had happened, that she was filled with passionate love for him, and that the cause of it was that she had seen him at the Easter festival ; if he would not give her to him to wife, she would seek dishonour for his sake or die. 'How shall I broach the subject with him ?' 'He longs for it too much for thee to need to broach the subject with him, but I will so arrange that he shall not know that thou hast knowledge of his affair '. Then she betook herself to 'Adî and said : 'Invite him. When the wine has fuddled him, then entreat him for her, he will not refuse thee.' 'I fear that it may put him in a rage, so that it may become a cause of enmity between us.' But she said : 'I have said this only after I had already carried the point with him.' Then 'Adî prepared a banquet, and took much trouble over it ; then he came to Al-Nu'mân three days after the festival, and that is the Monday, and invited him and his companions to breakfast with him. That he did, and when the wine had fuddled him he pressed his suit with Al-Nu'mân,

whereupon the latter granted his wish, and wedded her to him three days later.

" Khâlid ibn Kulthûm says : She remained with him then until Al-Nu'mân killed him. Then she became a nun and shut herself up in the convent, which is known as Deyr Hind, outside Al-Hîra. According to Ibn Al-Kalbî she was a nun already three years after (her marriage) kept away from him and shut herself up in a convent till she died ; her death took place, however, not until Islamic times, when Al-Mughîra ibn Shu'ba was Governor at Kûfa[1]; the latter had sought her in marriage, but she had repulsed him.

" Another traditionist besides 'Alî ibn Al-Sabbâh has handed down from Ibn Al-Kalbî a tradition that Hind loved Zarqa from Yamâma. . . . When Hind then heard of her destruction she donned coarse raiment and built a convent which is known today as Deyr Hind ; there she abode until she died.

Ibn Habîb reported from Ibn al-'Arâbi : When Al-Nu'mân made 'Adî captive, he compelled him to divorce Hind. Ibn Habîb says : 'Adî mentions his relationship by marriage to Al-Nu'mân in his Qasîdahs. He was the husband of his sister, so say the learned men of Hîra. The traditionists of the Arabs, however, say that he was the husband of his daughter Hind[2]. Such allusions are found, for instance, in the Qasîdah which begins :

' Mine eye saw at even the gleam of a fire.'

in the verses :

' Because of a favour which the first of you had multiplied, I drew near to you, and allied myself to you by marriage,

' We were, ye know it, pillars of the house for you and pegs of the tentrope.' "

So much for 'Adî's relations with Hind. We now take up the account of the events which followed 'Adî's death. His death did not remain unavenged. According to

(1) Anno 22-24 A.H. ; compare further *Aghani* (second edition) V. 136.

(2) The Syrian Chronicle edited by I Guidi, in agreement with " the learned men of Hîra ", represents Hind as the sister of Al-Nu'mân. cf. Nöldeke in the Reports of the Sessions of the Vienna Academy, Vol. 128, p. 9, note 4.

Ibn Al-Kalbî's statement at least, Al-Nu'mân had dug his own grave by the execution of 'Adî[1]:

" Nu'mân felt remorse for 'Adî's death and saw that he had been cheated, for 'Adî's foes grew insolent towards him, and he was sore afraid of them. Now once, upon a hunting-excursion, a son of 'Adî named Zeyd met him; he recognised his likeness to 'Adî and received, on asking who he was, the answer: 'Zeyd ibn 'Adî ibn Zeyd.' In conversation with him he found that he was a cheerful young man, which much rejoiced him. He drew him into his entourage, made him presents, excused himself to him for his behaviour towards his father, endowed him and then wrote to Kisra: 'Adî was, on account of his good disposition and his intelligence, a useful servant of the King. The inevitable has now befallen him since his term ended and his measure was full; that has hurt no-one more than me. Never is a man lost to the king, however, but God at once gives him a substitute for God has made his empire and estate so lordly. So now a son of 'Adî has grown up, who is not inferior to him. Him I am sending to the king, and if it please him to give him the position of his father, he may do so, and place his uncle in some other post.' So Zeyd had to take care of the royal correspondence addressed to the country of the Arabs, so far as it related to their concerns and the especial concerns of the king. The Arabs gave him for this a fixed yearly remuneration: namely, two chestnut foals, which were made into a dish for him, fresh truffles in their season, dried curds, hides and other Arabian merchandise. Thus Zeyd ibn 'Adî administered the office which his father had formerly held. Now, after he had won such a position near the king, the latter questioned him one day concerning Al-Nu'mân; when he praised him much. Thus he remained for several years in his father's post, Kisra[2] liked him and came often to him, and he served him in many ways. Now the Persian kings possessed a written description of a perfect woman which they circulated in those countries, though they had never once thought to search with that description in the land of the Arabs also. One

(1) The continuation of Ibn Al-Kalbî's narrative is found in *Kitab Al-Aghani* Vol. II 121_{12}—126_3 and 127_8—128_3=Tabarî I 1024_2—1029_3. Here also I reproduce the text according to the *Aghani*, only the concluding passage according to Tabarî because here Tabarî has preserved something which is missing in the Aghanî. Compare also Mas'ûdi (Cairo edition) I 204 and Ya'qûbî I 244 .

(2) Khusrau II Parwêz is meant, who reigned from 590 to 628 A. D.

day the king wished again to have some women and sent out the written description into the countries. Then Zeyd appeared before him while the king was speaking of the matter, spoke first about the occasion of his appearance and then said : I saw that the king had issued a writ to seek women for him, so I read the description. Now I know the race of Al-Mundhir well, and can tell thee that in the house of thy servant Al-Nu'mân are more than twenty women, daughters, nieces and other members of the family, who answer that description. So he said : ' Thou wilt write for them.' But Zeyd replied : 'O king, the worst quality of the Arabs, and in particular of Al-Nu'mân, is that they hold themselves in their presumption far better than the Persians ; therefor I fear that he will conceal them and offer others. Of course, if I myself come to him he cannot do so ; therefor send me thither and let a man of thy bodyguard accompany me, who understands Arabic, so that I may obtain what is desired.' So he sent with him a strong intelligent person. Zeyd on the journey always treated this man very politely and amiably, till he came to Al-Hîra. There he went to the king, showed him great respect and said : ' Kisra wants women for himself[1], his children and the people of his household, and wishes to distinguish thee by making thee akin to him by marriage, therefor he sends to thee.' On Al-Nu'mân asking ; ' What sort of women ?' he answered : ' Such as are described here, in these words.' That description, however, came originally from Al-Mundhir the Elder, who, in fact, had once made a present to Anoshirwan of a maiden whom he had captured in a campaign against Al-Hârith the Elder of Ghassan, the son of Abû Shamir[2], and in the accompanying letter had made that description. It ran as follows :

' I send to the King a maiden of middle size, clear complexion and fine teeth ; she is white, gleaming like the moon, has strong eyebrows, dark eyelids, deep, black, shining gazelle-eyes, a prominent curved nose, long soft lashes over her gleaming eyes, is smooth-cheeked, desirable where one kisses her, has rich hair, a big skull, so that the ear-projections are far from one another, has a long neck,

(1) Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Araber und Perser* 325, note 2, points out in this connection that, according to Barhebraens, *Historia Ecclesiastica* II 141 the Fast of Virgins customary among the Nestorians was instituted when the desire of King Parwêz to take all the virgins of Hîra for himself was frustrated.

(2) Probably the battles which took place between 540 and 546 A.D. between the two Arabian princes are meant. Cf. Rothstein 81 ff.

a broad chest, swelling breasts. Her shoulders and arm-bones are stout above, her wrists are beautiful, her hands thin, her fingers long and delicate; she is of a thin belly, of a small figure, slender in the girdle, of broad hips, prominent backside, strong thighs, her seat is fleshy, also plump above; her calves are strong, so that the foot-ring sits quite firm thereon, the ankles and feet, however, delicate. She takes only small steps, is sleepy even in broad day, has a tender skin even in the exposed parts. She is obedient to her lord, not stump-nosed, not browned, not brought up in need, of noble soul, modest, capable, honourable, of noble origin on the mother's side: her nobility shines forth already from her father's name, without considering her family, and again from her family without considering her whole tribe. Experience has inculcated in her fine behaviour. She thinks like the noble and works like the needy, is clever with her hands restrains her tongue, and speaks slowly; she adorns the lord, and shames the enemy. Longest thou for her, she is desirous; leavest thou her, she is content. Her eyes stare out of the deep, and her cheeks redden, her lips quiver and she comes quickly to thee at the moment of embrace, when thou uprisest, and desists at thy mere command, when thou desistest.' This description Kisra had received and ordered to be preserved among his archives; after that the kings inherited it one from another and so it came to Kisra the son of Hurmuz. Now when Zeyd read out the description to Al-Nu'mân, the matter was very distasteful to him and he said to Zeyd in presence of the envoy: 'Do not the wild cows of Sawâd and the large eyes of Persia satisfy all your requirements?' 'What do Wild-cows and Large-eyes mean?' the envoy asked of Zeyd, whereupon the latter answered: 'cows.' Then Zeyd said to Al-Nu'mân: 'The king only wishes to honour thee. If he had known that it is disagreeable to thee, he would never have written to thee of the matter.' Then Al-Nu'mân entertained him for two days, wrote to Kisra: 'I possess not that which the king desires' and begged Zeyd to excuse him to the king. When they returned to Kisra, Zeyd said to the man who had been with him: 'Tell the king truthfully what thou hast heard; then I will give him—the same report as thou, without a single variation.' So, when they had come before Kisra, Zeyd said: 'Here is his letter,' and read the same to him. Then Kisra said: 'Where then is that whereof thou spakest unto me?' He replied: 'I have already told thee, O king, how much they grudge their women to

others and that that comes from their poverty; they verily prefer hunger and nakedness to abundance and rich clothing, the fiery wind and storms to the fragrance of this thy land, and even call it imprisonment. Do but ask the envoy, my companion what he said, for the King stands too high that I should proclaim before him what kind of answer he gave to him.' So he asked the envoy: 'What then did he say?' and the other replied: 'O King, he said: has he not enough of the cows of Sawâd and Persia for himself, that he wants our women also?'[1] Then wrath was seen in his countenance and he felt himself much aggrieved, but he said only: 'Many a slave has had worse in mind, yet in the end has gone to ruin.' These words were widely known, and came to the ears of Al-Nu'mân. Kisra allowed several months to elapse; Al-Nu'mân, however, prepared himself for everything and was in great anxiety. Then one day came a letter from Kisra of which the purport was: 'Come hither, the king wants something from thee.' As soon as he received this letter, he fled the place took his arms and what else he could and repaired to the mountain region of the Banû Tâ'i, accompanied by his wife, Far'a, the daughter of Sa'd ibn Haritha ibn Lâm, who had borne him a son and a daughter, and by Zeynab, daughter of 'Aûs ibn Hâritha. Al-Nu'mân wanted the Banû Tâ'i to harbour and protect him, but they refused him with the words, 'Wert thou not allied to us by marriage[2], we might well have attacked thee, for we have no wish to be involved in war with Kisra and can do nothing against him.' So he travelled on, harboured by no-one; only the Banû Rawâha ibn Sa'd, who belong to the 'Abs, declared themselves ready to fight on his behalf, out of gratitude for a favour which Al-Nu'mân had shown them in the affair of Marwan Al-Qaraz. He, however, declined because he did not wish to lead them to destruction; they were indeed no match for Kisra. So he travelled on, and halted secretly in Dhû Kar among the Banû Sheybân. Here he approached Hâni ibn Qabîsa—according to others, rather Hâni ibn Mas'ûd ibn 'Amir ibn 'Amr ibn Abî Rabî'a ibn Dhuhl ibn

(1) Ibn Quteyba, *Ma'arif* 319 says in explanation of Al-Nu'mân's words: "He meant: Why does not Kisra keep to the women of Sawâd who resemble wild cows; the Arabs of course compare women to wild cows. Zeyd, however, distorted his words before him (Kisra) and said: 'Why does not he keep to cows and marry them?' Compare also Ibn Quteyba *Shi'r wa Shu'ara* 115.

(2) The two wives belonged to the tribe of Tai. Nöldeke, *loc. cit.* 8291, note 2.

Sheybân, a mighty chieftain. The most esteemed head of a family of all the members of the tribe Rabî'a was at that time undoubtedly to be found among the descendants of Dhû'l-Jaddeyn ; it was Qeys ibn Mas'ûd ibn Qeys ibn Khâlid Dhû'l Jaddeyn but Kisra had invested him with (the fief of) Ubulla, and for that reason Al-Nu'mân hesitated to deliver his adherents over to him, while he knew that Hâni would defend him with his own person.

" Al-Nu'mân[1], therefore, repaired to Kisra. On the way Zeyd ibn 'Adî met him on the bridge of Sâbât and said to him : ' Flee, little Nu'mân !' Whereat he said : ' Thou hast done this, O Zeyd, but, by Allah, if I come out of it, I will deal with thee as with thy father.' But Zeyd said : Go on, little Nu'mân, for by Allah, I have placed with him a letter for thee, which even a spirited colt will not tear.' Now when Kisra heard that he stood at his gate, he sent people out who put him in chains and had him taken to Khâniqîn where he remained in prison, till he died of the plague which there broke out. People think, however, that he died in Sâbât because a verse of Al-A'sha says :

> ' So was it then, and he saved not[2] his lord from death at Sâbât, so that he died in fetters at the last '

" More probably he died in Khâniqîn, and this happened only a short time before the rise of Islâm. Soon thereafter God raised up His prophet. The battle of Dhû Qar, however, was caused by the fate of Al-Nu'mân."

A report of Abû 'Ubeyda's also is preserved in Tabarî[3]. It says : " It has been reported to me from Abû 'Ubeyda Ma'mar ibn Muthanna from Abû'l Mukhtâr Firâs ibn Khandaq "[4] and several other expert Arabs whom he mentions by name : " When Al-Nu'mân had made an end of 'Adî, 'Adî's brother and son devised intrigues against him with Kisra ; they forged a letter in which he excused himself in a way which roused the wrath of Kisra, so that he ordered him to be killed. Al-Nu'mân, since he was afraid of Kisra, had left his coats of mail, his valuables

(1) The concluding passage of Ibn Al-Kalbî's account here follows according to Tabarî 1028_{10} —1029_3 ; it is missing in the *Kitab-al-Aghani*.

(2) " He " is the war-horse of Al-Nu'mân. See Nöldeke, *l.c.* 331, note 4.

(3) I 1029. The same report of Abû 'Ubeyda is found also in *Naqa'id*, ed. Bevan, 639.

(4) Abû'l-Mukhtâr appears elsewhere among Abû 'Ubeyda's authorities. v. e.g., *Naqa'id*, ed. Bevan 805.

and other weapons with Hâni ibn Mas'ûd ibn 'Amir ibn Al-Khasîb ibn 'Amr Al-Muzdalif ibn Abî Rabî'a ibn Dhuhl ibn Sheybân ibn Tha'laba. To him he had given two of his daughters as wives. Abû 'Ubeyda adds: according to some, Hanî ibn Mas'ûd never lived to see these things but it is more likely his grandson Hâni ibn Qabîsa ibn Hâni ibn Mas'ûd, and that I hold to be correct."

Abû 'Ubeyda thus names 'Adî's brother and his son[1] as originators of the intrigues; in Al-Yaqûbî[2] the son of 'Adî is called not Zeyd, but 'Amr; that a lament of his mother for 'Amr is preserved, we have already seen above.

Lastly, we also possess Hammâd's account of Al-Nu'mân's end[3]: " Nu'mân had sought only a refuge with Hâni, as he had sought in the lands of others and he granted it to him and said: ' I am bound to thy protection, and I defend thee against all against which I defend myself, my family and my children, so long as a man of my near blood-relations is left alive, but this avails thee naught, because it will bring me and thee to ruin. I have a counsel for thee, which I impart to thee not because I should like to dissuade thee from thy wish for my protection, but because it is right.' He said: ' Let me hear it.' He replied: ' It is good for a man to accept every position, but not that of a subject after he has seen a king. Death overcomes everyone of us, but it is better to die honoured, than to swallow humiliation or to be a subject after one has owned dominion, if thou remainest alive. So go to thy lord, send him presents and merchandise and fall down before him. Either he will pardon thee and then thou wilt be a mighty king again, or he will destroy thee; even so death is better than that the beggars of the Arabs should make game of thee and that their wolves should despoil thee and devour thy property so that thou live as a poor man seeking shelter, or art killed as one vanquished.' He said: ' How will it fare with my wives?' ' They are in my protection; no-one shall reach them who has not first reached my daughters.' ' Then this, by thy father, is right counsel, I will not leave it unregarded.' Thereupon he made choice of steeds and raiment and articles from Yaman, pearls and rarities which he possessed, sent them to the Kisra, wrote him a letter of apology and informed him that he was on the way to him. When his messenger

(1) In *Naqa'id* 639 he is called expressly Zeyd. Tabarî mentions no name.

(2) I 245.

(3) *Aghani* 126_3 —127_8.

had conveyed the gifts to Kisra and he had received them, he ordered him to come. The messenger, who did the errand, told him that he did not think that Kisra was unfriendly disposed towards him, and so he set forth on the way. When he came to Al-Madâ'in Zeyd ibn 'Adî met him on the bridge of Sâbât and said : ' Save thyself, little Nu'mân, if thou canst.' But Nu'mân said : ' Hast thou done it ? O Zeyd by God, if I remain alive I will slay thee as no Arab yet was slain and send thee to thy father.' Zeyd, however, said : ' Go on, O little Nu'mân, to thy fate ; by God, I have laid for thee such a snare as no high-spirited colt will tear asunder.' When Kisra learnt that he was at his gate he had him put in fetters and sent to prison at Khâniqîn. There he remained until the plague broke out, and he died. Hammâd Al-Râwiya and the Kufans say : No, he died at Sâbât in his captivity. Ibn Al-Kalbî, however, says : He had him thrown beneath the feet of elephants which trampled him to death[1]. As proof, they (the Kufans) quote the verse of Al-'Ashâ :

" So was it then, and he (the steed) saved not his lord from death at Sâbât, so that he died in fetters.'

But this is denied by those who maintain that he died at Khâniqîn and who say, he remained long in captivity and died only a short time before Islâm. And his death was the reason of the battle of Dhû Qar."

Moreover, a non-Arabian source – the Syrian Chronicle edited by I. Guidi – informs us concerning the end of Al-Nu'mân. There it says[2]: " As it is related, the Arab king Nu'mân had been invited by Khosrau to accompany him when he fled before Warahran[3] toward the lands of the Romans, but did not agree to it. Also he had refused the King's request that he would present him wth a valuable horse. Furthermore, he had refused to Khosrau his very beautiful daughter, whom he asked of him, and,

(1) Ibn Quteyba *Ma'arif* 319 quotes the verse of Al-A'sha (cf. Nöldeke 331, note 4).

هو الممدخل الذعمان بيتاً سماءُ وه نحور الفيل بعد بيت مسروق

v. R. Geyer, Gedichte von Al-A'shâ No. C4 XIX and notes p. 225. Also Al-Ya'qûbî I 246 makes Nu'mân trampled to death by elephants and devoured by lions. cf. also Ibn Quteyba. *Shi'r* 115 ; Mas'ûdî (Cairo edition) I 205.

(2) Cf. Nöldeke in the reports of the proceedings of the Vienna Academy Vol. 128, p. 13.

(3) i. e., Bahram Chobin. The flight to the Emperor Mauricius followed in 590-91 A.D. Cf. Nöldeke *l. c.*

what is more, had sent a message to him that he would not give his daughter to a man who married after the manner of cattle. Khosrau put all that together and bore it in his mind. Then when he had a little rest from wars he wished to take vengeance on Al-Nu'mân as upon his other enemies. Therefor he invited him one day to the banquet, but set before him bits of grass instead of bread[1]. Nu'mân was very angry on that account, and sent to all his tribal colleagues, the Ma'add, who thereupon overran many lands of the Khosrau, kidnapping and laying waste, and came as far as Arabh[2]. When Khosrau heard that, he was enraged and sought by various means to entice Al-Nu'mân to him, but he came not in. However, one of Nu'mân's interpreters, Ma'na from the island Darin, secretly concerted a plan with Khosrau. He told Nu'mân that the King loved him much and swore to him on the gospel that the king would do him no hurt. His wife Mâwiya also did so persuade him ; ' it was more seemly to die with the name of king, than to be cast out and deprived of the royal title.' Now when he came to the Residence, the king did not kill him,but only ordered him to remain there ; only later, as folks say, he destroyed this excellent confessor[3] by means of poison."

This account, in spite of many discrepancies in detail, has much that is essential in common with the Arabic reports. According to the Syrian account also, Nu'mân refuses to supply female members for the royal seraglio : according to it also, the Arab prince,fell into misfortune through the guile of an official of Arab origin who was the intermediary in the dealings of the court with Al-Hîra. And when the Syrian makes Nu'mân hurl against Khosrau the reproach that he ' married after the manner of cattle,' that is an echo of Nu'mân's words, distorted by Zeyd, about the cows which Khosrau ought to marry. Nöldeke remarks[4]: " The Arabic version is rounded off poetically, since it makes Nu'mân fall into misfortune through the son of 'Adî, who by his guilt was murdered. Our Syrian is, however, more credible also in that according to him, he was only at the last enticed through that man

(1) Because he had charged the emperor with behaviour like that of cattle, he himself was given the food of cattle. v. Nöldeke *l.c.*

(2) Arabh here designates the desert tract of Mesopotamia inhabited by Arabs in so far as it belonged to the Roman Empire ; the Persian part of this territory was called by the Syrians mostly Beth Arabaye. See Nöldeke *l. c.*

(3) Confessor here=Convert.

(4) *l. c.* 15, note 2 ; cf. also Rothstein 116 f.

into captivity. That Nu'mân acted voluntarily, both narratives have in common, and the similarity of the words which are here put in the mouth of his wife with those which are put in the mouth of Hâni ibn Qabîsa shows how it was conceived among the people. Whether Khosrau ever really asked Al-Nu'mân to accompany him in the flight to the Romans is doubtful; he was at that time certainly not in his entourage. The devastations by Bedouins can hardly have taken place before he had given up his kingdom.... From the order of the Chronicle one may well assume that the downfall of Nu'mân took place between the conquest of Bistam and the beginning of the war with the Romans; that agrees with Elias of Nisibis, who places the event in the year 601 A.D."

With Nu'mân ended the dynasty of the Lakhmids. Rothstein rightly emphasises that personal ill-humour against Nu'mân, which might well be a reason for his removal, could hardly have moved Khosrau to the deposition of the dynasty. Evidently the dynasty of the Lakhmids had become too independent for the Persian King; wherefor the government of their State was entrusted jointly to Iyas ibn Qabîsa of the tribe of Tai and the Persian Nakhwargân; after the death of Iyas the territory was transformed into a Persian province[1].

The family of 'Adî did not die out with his sons. Of his son 'Amr, who fell on the Persian side in the battle of Dhû Qar, it seems not to be known whether he left any issue. On the other hand a son Zeyd ibn 'Adî is mentioned to us, who bore the name of Sawâd[2] and is pointed out as 'a traditionist of Al-Hîra' (râwiyatu'l-Hîra). A part of the city at Kûfa was called Al-Sawadiya[3] after this Sawad. The descendants of 'Adî retained their Christian faith. A poem that Tukheym ibn Abî'l-Takhma al-Asadi composed[4] upon them was a cause of blame to the poet, who had expressed himself in such laudatory terms concerning a Christian family.

As late as about 278 A.H Al-Ya'qûbî in his *Kitab al Buldan*, mentions them among the Christian inhabitants of Hîra.[5]

(1) Rothstein 118 ff.
(2) Tha'alibi, *Ghurar*, ed. Zotenberg 556.
(3) Baladhuri, *Futuh* 283 (ed. de. Goeje).
(4) Mubarrad, *Kamil* (ed. Wright) 26; Hamâsa, 811; Yâqût (ed. Wüstenfeld II 957; cf. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Araber und Perser* 331, note 2.
(5) Bibliotheca Geographorum Araborum VII 309.

We may take it that, just as among the descendants of 'Adî his memory had remained alive, so his poems were handed down in his family. With those poems I should like to deal more fully in a second article.

JOSEF HOROVITZ.

THE ANGLO-DUTCH RIVALRY IN BANTAM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

(Continued from Our last Number).

A VERY lengthy letter, dated 17th September 1682, from Charles Sweeting of Batavia, describes in full the events at Bantam. This is of special importance, as it gives first hand knowledge of a very important phenomenon in the East. It describes how the Dutch landed at Bantam, and were received by the young King into the fort, and occupied the town with the loss of only 40 men. All the foreigners there were maltreated. The young king, advised by the Dutch, ordered the English to leave Bantam at once. The English flag was dishonoured, and no Englishman was allowed to speak in his defence. The old Sultan was called a rebel against his son, who was now supported by the Dutch. Thus ended the historic factory of the English at Bantam. (No. 38).

The old Sultan wrote a letter to Charles in 1682, lamenting the fate of the English, French and Danes at Bantam. He informed Charles that the young king had given all pepper to the Dutch 'for gratuity,' and requested the English king to send him some ships, in order that he might reconquer his country. (No. 40).

The Court of Committees of the East India Company then petitioned King Charles II for redress of the injuries and insults at Bantam (No. 41). Charles wrote a very strong letter to the Dutch Government at the Hague. He narrated the actions of the Dutch at Bantam, and wanted them to pay satisfaction to the English Company. Sir John Chardin was sent by the King to negotiate a settlement with the Dutch. The King demanded 'a positive order to their officers and soldiers at Bantam to restore to the English the quiet possession of all they enjoyed there'. (No. 42).

Sir John Chardin was appointed to intercede on behalf of the English Company with the Dutch at the Hague. Chardin's work is well-known to all students of the period.

His account of Persia, and his remarkable insight into the manners and customs of Eastern races will be clear to anybody who studies his *Travels*. A Commission was immediately granted to Chardin (4 May 1683) and he at once started for Holland. (Nos. 44-46). He seems to have conducted the negotiations at the Hague with great tact and intelligence.

Chardin's letter, dated 23 May 1683, to the Governor of the East India Company (No. 47) shows that the Dutch tried to evade the issue. After repeated demands for reparations, they at last decided to send Commissions to England to come to a final settlement. (No. 48). Charles II left it to the Company to select their own men to meet them (October 1684). (No. 52). The company's representatives prepared an answer to the debates of the Dutch Commissioners and presented it to them in January 1686. (Nos. 53-55). In March, the Dutch Commissioners, unable as they were, to come to a definite settlement, took leave of the Court and returned to Holland. (No. 56).

In June 1687, the Company presented a memorial to the King, complaining of the renewal of Dutch rivalry in the East. The English settlement at *Batam Capas* on the west coast of Sumatra was seized by the Dutch (September 1686). (No. 57). King James II approved of the Company's scheme of resisting the Dutch aggressions with armed force. This order was given, 'not as a measure of revenge, but to safeguard the interests of the King and the Company'. (No. 58). James's attempts and ambitions have been narrated elsewhere.

[*Documents.*

DOCUMENTS.

No. XXXVII.

RIGHT HON'BLE

C.O. 77 — 14 Fol. 75

Wee have advice of fower ships from East India now plyeing for the Downes in the Channell vizt: Three from Surrat (which are all wee expect this yeare from thence) and one from the Coast of Choromandell Fower more, we expect from the Coast, and one from the South Seas and Bantam, which wee hope will arrive soon after these. Wee have yet only our Letters by one ship from Surrat and Bombay. In which there is no news of publique concerne. But that the Moghull hath taken a little Island neer us in the bottome of Bombay and Raja Sevagee's son another[1]. and that the Portugees doe still continue unreasonably and unjustly to obstruct our affaires there. As soon as all our Ships are arrived your Honour shall have an accompt of their Cargoes. By what wee have yet seen, we suppose they are all well laden. Which I thought it my duty to give you an accompt of being

Your Honours most obedient and
faithfull servant,
Jos. Child[2].

East India house 22 August 1682.

[Addressed]

For the right Hon'ble Sir Lionell Jenkins Knight His Majesties Principall Secretarie of State

These present

No. XXXVIII.

Batavia 17th September 1682.

C. O. 77 — 14 Fol. 78.

HONOURED SIR,

I wrote you 2 letters by the Scipio Affrican and in that of the latter date advised more particularly the Condition was then in, which shall not repeat, but continue the dolefull subject to the present time. The Dutch the morning before her departure being opposed landing, rested quiet in their ships till the 28th March, when (before day) with a fresh supply of forces, they landed about half a mile distant from Our ffactory, soon routed all the Javaes[1], and received a welcome admission into the ffort of the young King (then drove to so great a strait by the close seige of

The Dutch landing being opposed they rested quiet till March 28 when before day they landed ½ mile from our factory.

his ffathers Army as could not have held out many dayes longer) and that with the loss of not above 40 or 50 men[2], they imediately hoysed their standard, and what remained undistroyed by the old Kings forces that day mostly burnt, and marched in Triumph through every part of the Towne[3]. We kept our ffactory gates Shutt and were by them unmolested, as likewise the ffrench Danes and Chineses, but the same Evening about 5 a clock, after had solaced our selves with hopes of Security, a report was Spread abroad, that the young King designed to cutt us all off that very night[4], being incensed at the conceived assistances of Men and amunition afforded his ffather by us during his being besieged, and thereupon most of the Chineses that had for Security of their Estates brought great part thereof into our ffactory like so many Bees[5] flocked about us to take the same out, t'was night, and we had onely one small Ships Boat ashore, that were necessitated to see the Event, so sent her to give notice[6] thereof to our Ships, with order to loose their sayles, gett their anchors a peake and be gon if were assaulted to give tidings what become of us, not a man of us departing the shore that belonged to the ffactory[7], then putt our selves in a posture of defence, hoping without the Dutch's assistance[8] to be able to make our part good against all the People the young King had, dividing our selves into two watches, my lott being in the first, after midnight past. I went to rest, with somewhat better hopes than those that had the first sleep, as conceiving if they had had any reall design upon us, should have heard of it before that time, repose made the remaining hours short, and the first salute to my waking eyes was the gladsome day, when (by a sign, as appointed with our Flagg) our Ships Boats came ashore[9], and soon after the Dutch Chief[10] from the ffort with a file of souldiers and severall Carpenters came to their factory, into the yard whereof, We had two Gallaries and severall windowes, acquainting us in the most imperious manner he could express himself, that twa's the Kings order to cutt downe the one, and stop up the other, which if did not imediately do, his people should, an action of nothing but insultation and spite designed to increase our feares and amusement, their ffactory being at that time uninhabited[11],and indeed almost ruined, yet were forced to comply, said Chief having lived many years in Bantam, and been our Intimate Companion, induced us to believe his morosity might be the effect of his superiours orders, and that from him we might poss-

(1) Routed all the javaes and were received into the ffort by the Young King.

(2) Lost not above 40 or 50 men.

(3) Marched in Triumph through the towne.

(4) A Report that the Young King designed to cut Us all of that night.

(5) The Chineses having secured much of their Estates in our Factory flock'd like Bees to take them out.

(6) Sent a boat to give notice to the Ships of their condition.

(7) Not one of the Factory departed the shore that belonged to it.

(8) They hope to defend themselves against all the Kings Forces without the Dutch.

(9) Our Ships Boats came on Shore.—

(10) The Dutch chief with soldiers and carpenters in very imperious manner, required to have our Gallaries cut down and

windows stop'd up that looked into a yard of their Factory.

(11) Which was at that time uninhabited, and almost ruinated yet forced to comply.—

(12) They understand from him the Reality of the overnights Report, but that their Major diswaded it.

(13) Not of good will, but for evil consequences if it had been done, The Sultan's Forces being too small of themselves.

(14) Twas the Dutch incensed the young Sultan against the English

(15) They went to the King to congratulate his delivery expecting an occasion of clearing themselves etc.

(16) Found him not so angry as was reported.

(17) The greatest thing he charged them with was that three of our men going to see the Camp went close under the castle walls

ibly understand the reality[12] of the reported Massacre the night before, and whether still designed, therefore was my self sent downe to him, who told me t'was really intended, and a going to have been put in execution by the young King, but by their Major he was hindred and diswaded therefrom, which though beleeve a truth, yet next to the divine mercy can impute it onely to the (by them) feared ill consequences[13], who by reason of the small numbers of the Kings People, could not have acquitted themselves of being accessary thereto, if not by their assistance at least their permission, inasmuch as t'was they that incensed him[14] against us by their aggravating all our Actions what possible to our disadvantage, upon this we resolved and accordingly went to the King[15] to congratulate his safe delivery out of his late troubles, that if had any thing to say to us, might clear our Selves, before whom when came found not so angry[16] an aspect upon his brow as by what reported to us had reason to expect. He reproached us with our assistances of his ffather contrary to our Ingagements of standing Neuters, and what most highly aggravated was three of our coming before the Dutch's landing to the Camp close under his walls[17] to instruct his ffathers souldiers how to plant their great guns against him. I was my self one in person with Mr. George Chowne then of Councill and Mr. Richard Burnaby formerly Chief of Syam, who went as acquainted him onely out of curiosity to see the place upon an invitation of the Captain that lay there, and as proof of our innocency and unthought of giving occasion of displeasure or mistrust[18] in his Majesty We came within call of his Souldiers on the wall, without any other defence of our lives Save our confidence, that we not medling or making on either Side they would not hurt us (but it shalbe a warning to me for ever exposing my self to so great a danger upon any such like consideration So long as I live) and that what supplies we otherwise afforded his ffather were necessitated to us being wholly under his power[19] and himself then inclosed in his ffort and unable to protect us, he interpreted all as excuses[20] acquainting us that though t'was in his power to cutt us off, Yet out of that respect he had to our King and Company would desist therefrom, a lesson[21] learnt him by the Dutch, being dismissed, wee were till the 31th constantly affrighted with his men in Armes coming to our ffactory under the Conduct of one or other of his 3 great Ministers of State he had left him or a Dutch Renegado by him highly advanced, whom we

Knew not well how to trust in, neither durst deny admittance, when in the Evening the Chiefest of said Ministers[22] (He that hath been above this two yeaers underhand with the Dutch contriving to bring this designe about of getting Bantam) came to us with a paper writt in the Mallay language, said to be sent us from the King, being an order to us with all possible speed to gett our goods on board our Ships and depart his country, he pressing us to the most speedy complyance possibly therewith as we stood in awe of the Kings displeasure. We were since informed that there was a great dispute[23] between the King and the Dutch Major before he could be brought to order us out of his Country, well considering how great a Support to and inrichment of his Kingdom our trade[24] had been, but being wholly under the Dutch power he was forced to comply, and we to his comands, so purposed with all possible speed to gett off our goods and depart for Batavia, but our ships being most of them nigh full were necessitated to request a ship[25] of about 500 tons of the Dutch Major to export them, So the next morning wrote a letter[26] to him to that purpose, which sent by four of the Companies servants to deliver, who coming to the Fort, the Captain of the guard told them, he was asleep whereupon they lost it with him and returned home, but whilst we were expecting of an answer the same evening comes to us the abovesaid Minister and votary[27] to the Dutch with said letter unopened seating himselfe at the upper end of our Table and filling Our great hall with his followers, calling for Mr. Barwell, and some others of the Councill who coming before them, he takes forth the letter telling us with rage and passion, the King had sent him to know the meaning of that papers being found on the ground, and under the Fort walls. aggravating it as a thing of the highest Suspicion now in time of Warr, and when We had told him what it was and laboured to make him sensible that twas our Europe Custom to signify our minds in writing and that our meaning therein was most innocent, he reply'd he admired how We durst presume to write to the Major without first acquainting the King, and all this with so much passion and fury as nothing could look more like a prologue[28] of a Massacre of Us, till at length he mildly advised Us the next morning to go ask the Kings pardon[29], many other circumstances of Amazemnt in this Business did pass too tedious to represent, but by what have said may imagine the baseness of the Dutch, who were the whole Contrivers and Authors of this Business[30], as did plainly appear by the Letters being delivered into

(18) To evidence their innocence they alledged their going within call of his Men on the Wall and this without any defence.

(19) What they afforded his Father were necessitated to being under his power.

(20) He interprets all as Excuses and pretends to spare us out of Respect to our King and the Company

(21) This lesson learned him by the Dutch

(22) A chief Minister brings a paper (said to be sent from the King) commanding our speedy departure

(23) A great dispute between the King and Dutch Major before he could be brought to it

(24) For our Trade had been the support and inrichment of his Country

(25) Were necessitated to request a ship of the Dutch Major to export our goods

(26) Next morning wrott a Letter to him and sent it by 4 of the Companies Servants: The Captain of the Guard saying the Major was asleep.

(27) The same Minister (a to the Dutch)comes to the Factory with a great Company (with the letter unopened) and in great rage expostulates about the letter.

(28) His carriage seemed the prologue of a Massacre.

(29) At length he mildly advised to ask the King's pardon.

(30) The Dutch were the sole contrivers of this business.

(31) The letter being delivered into their hands and the King not mentioning a word of it to Us: altho' we did no soe much as offer to ask him pardon.

(32) Sent off 2 of our Ships boats loaden with broad cloth, a Dutch pinnace commanded them back.

their hands[31], and the Kings not mentioning one word to Us thereabouts, the next morning, notwithstanding We never offerred to ask him pardon, but this is but little to their succeeding Treatments as will see per what follows. That day we had sent off 2 of our ships Boats[32] full of broad cloth which without the Rivers mouth were followed by a Dutch Pinnace ordering them back again else would fire at them, their Return surpris'd Us but not knowing but its being late at night might be the occasion, Wee sent them again the next morning[33] When Were again stopped by the Dutch Soldiers quartering a little below our Factory, who told Us they had orders to suffer no loaden Boat of Ours to go out of the River, We complained to the Major who told Us It was the Kings order[34], who alass poor man had so unking'd himselfe as could command no further than Stood with the Dutches pleasure but many hours passed not before We understood the Depth of the Design by one Jacob d'Roy a Lieutenant[35] in the Dutch Army (who had been with the King all the time of his being beseiged in the Fort coming some few moneths before under pretence of being a Baker, to Bantam) who brought Us a charge of about 10,000 Ryalls 8/8 for Jewells and Plate of his in two Escretores of his in the Dutch Factory, which at the time of the Old Kings Army entring the Towne he said We had plundered and taken into Ours, which till Wee satisfy'd none of our goods should be permitted to go on board where by the way you may observe Sirs their design so far to amase and affright Us, as that We might upon any terms be Willing to leave the shoar[36] and then, having so prepared Us to inrich themselves with the Companies and Our Estates[37]: Indeed this Business at that time Startled Us and made Us very thoughtfull concerning them, much fearing some ill Designs upon Us We laboured by presents to the Kings Ministers to learn the Depth of the Design, and divert it, but in conclusion found them too much the Dutch Votaries[38] to be our Friends insomuch that We were wholly to seek what to do, whilst to perplex Us yet further comes a Message to Us, That the King was jealous of Our Assisting his Fathers Boats with Powder[39] from our ships in the Road, therefore desired Us to deliver up all on board them, which when departed should be faithfully restored Us. Wee reply'd that when We delivered our Powder Wee delivered Our ships too, they being without it wholly defenceless, therefore would upon no Terms do it[40] but Our selves go Speak with the King, which accordingly did, when coming into his

presence were prevented saying anything to him, he immediately sending for a Letter[41] writ in Portuguees and directed to the English as from one of the Old Kings Sons, which ordered to be read to Us : The Contents were that Wee, the French, Danes and Portuguees should at a certain time be in readiness for their Assistance, but where or how Wee knew not, Which he aggravated highly against Us not permitting Us to Speak in Our Defence[42], or to say anything concerning the stoppage of Our goods, or Our powder being demanded out of our ships, but bid Us be gone[43], from whom being departed We went to the Dutch Major making known Our Grievances[44] to him who smiling told Us all was by order of the King, though done by their Soldiers, seem'd ignorant of the Letter though nothing more probable then of their own framing, promised in Generall Terms what Assistances in his power, so took our leaves and being return'd to Our Factory We heard the portugueez ship was seised on by the Dutch and Javaes[45] together on Account of said Letter, and that the French had had taken out of her of theirs 4 chests of money[46] (having put the same on board her for Security in time of the Siege) and that the aforesaid Jacob d'Roy with some other Soldiers of the Dutch and Kings, went to the honorable Companies Ship[47] the Tywan Frigott, acquainting the commander they had order to Search for powder, who telling them, had none neither could permitt thereof without orders from Us ashore, they were about to enter the Ship, he immediately gave the watch word for his Men to stand to their Arms, whereupon they desisted gave him good words, and desired that only Jacob d'Roy and one Java man[48] might be permitted to look between Decks for satisfaction of the King, which being granted they departed, This News I say with our Treatment with the King and Major seemd almost to confirm to Us some evil designs, if not upon our Lives at least upon the Companies' and Our Estates but it being no time to sitt still We concluded immediately to dispatch away the Formosa Frigott[49] (a small ship of the Companie's) to Batavia to make our complaints to the Generall and Councill there, but more principally to Secure the honorable Companies Treasure[50], which was the thing they seemd to gaupe at, My Self and Mr. George Chowne were sent upon her, and indeed it was our desires to goe having had notice that the King had been sollicited by a Dutch Renagado (a villain fitted for the worst of Actions) to come to our Factory and kill Us in particular, upon Account of our being seen at his

(33) Next morning, so agen by the Dutch Soldjers.

(34) The Major layd it on the King who now could doe nothing but by the Dutch permission.

(35) This stopp occasioned by a Lieutenant in the Dutch army, who charges the ffactory with 10,000 R. of 8th for jewels etc.

(36) This done to make us willing on any terms to quit the shore.

(37) that they might enrich themselves with the Company etc., Estates.

(38) Laboured by presenting the Kings Ministers to know the bottom : but found them all to be Dutch Votaries.

(39) They demand all the Powder from on board our Ships in the Road.

(40) This we would by no means doe : but went to the King about it : but he prevented us

(41) A letter pretended to besent by one of the old Kings Sons to the English, to be in readiness etc.

(42) Would not permit us to speak in our own defence

(43) but bid us be gon

(44) Complaining to the Dutch Major, he smilingly said all was done by the Kings order though acted by his soldjers.

(45) A Portuguez Ship seised by the Dutch and Javaes.

(46) 4 Chests of money of the French taken away.

(47) They go to the Companies Ship the Tywan to search for powder : etc.

(48) The Commander permits onely Jacob d'Roy and one Java to come on board.

(49) Dispatch away the Formosa to Batavia to complain to the Generall etc.

(50) but chiefly to secure the companies treasure, which seemed to be

Enemies Camp, in the time of his being beseiged to which although he declind condescending who knew what the importunity of such a villain in time might amount to, We departed the shoar in a small Boat about ½ an hour before Sunsett, with order for all the Companies Treasure[51] on board the Companies' other ships to be put on board her in the dark, and with the smallest noise possible to weigh Anchor least should have been discovered by the Dutch ships, there accompany'd Us the Agents Lady Mr. Thomas James (*a*) late Chief at Tonkeen, and Mr. Sam. Griffith (*b*) who being out of the Companies' Service had kept themselves onboard ship for their security, which made our passage seem shorter being of it self a little long, even 4 days before We gott to Batavia, where Mr. George Chowne the same day We arriv'd, dyed, I went to the Generall and was appointed the next day[52] to be heard when being admitted before him and all the Lords sitting in Councill. I made a Relation of our Treatment at Bantam, requesting a ship of about 500 tons burthen for exportation of our goods and their orders to their people there, to permit them being brought off with their permission to hire a House in Batavia, and land our goods[53] to export them as had Occasion free of Custom, to all which received then little reply, being deferred for an answer till the next day[54], when another of the Honorable Companies Ships vizt the Returne, arrived with *Mr. Edward Barwell* (*c*) to whose turn by lot[55] it came to come away, (soe willing were all the Gentlemen left there of Councell to come away, as could noe otherwaies agree who should) the Dutch at Bantam not having permitted any of our goods at his Departure to be brought off, and their proceedings[56] being such under cover of the Kings Orders as forced our people to take care to secure what Estate the Company had already off the Shoar he and I againe waited on the general, who told us that might hire a house[57] where wee pleased, that would order a Ship or two if Occasion for us by first opportunitie, as likewise that our goods should be all safely brought away, and for what had further requested would after debate give us answer. But before his Orders reached Bantam the Dutch there seeing two of our Ships gone away[58] in the night tyme and imagining in them to be our Chiefest Treasure, permitted to load the other small one, and sloope there remaining, putting the King upon hastning our peopleaway withall speed[59] imaginable, seizing all the provisions in the factory, that were forced to live the day before they left the Shoar, upon the

Charity of the Chineses[60], and on the 12th Aprill arrived here the *Tywan Friggot* (*d*) with all our People from Bantam except one Factor[61], who as if by mistake left behinde, stayed to have an Eye to their Actions, at their departure they sealed up all the Companies Warehouses, leaving a Register of their effects and factorie (being) as neer as could guesse about the Value of 22,000 Rs. 8/8 with one of the Dutch Commissioners to be delivered, the Major being here arrived the Generall desired Us to send back on their Ships 3 or 4 Factors to take care of the Shipping of our goods, which accordingly did, but in so confused a manner, as what the Dutch are pleased to restore us, Wee can only call Ours[62], So ended the Honorable Companies Ancient ffactory of Bantam[63], where the English have been settled, and have had a constant Trade above these 70 years. I cannot say they departed thence like Hanibal out Affrick, accusing both Gods and men with Imprecations on themselves for any omissons of their own, but truely did severely repine at the King's Ingratitude[64] to (as may call us) the Nursers and fathers of his Country, the English being by his ffather, and all its Inhabitants generally soe acknowledged, and that not undeservedly, having by their trade inriched it and brought it to what it was) and soe great was Our rage against the Dutch, as had our Powers been consonant to our wills am confident should have treated them much worse than the Java's. Since our departure they have had some Skirmishes[65] with the Old King's people with the loss thereby, and by Sicknesse of (as is reported) 7 or 800 White Men, as yet have not been able to proceed farther than the ffort, and Town of Bantam: But their Ships being now arrived from Europe with a Supply of neer 1,000 fresh Soldiers[66], tis reported they speedily designe to march for Tertiassa (the residence of the Old King) about 20 miles distant from Bantam, what their Successe will be tyme will shew; By Sea the Old King's fortes have done them severall damages[67] taken 16 or 17 Sloops, and small Vessels, and tis said burnt a Ship nigh 800 tons, they are forced to send Convoys, with their ffleets of small Vessells, to and from the Coast of Java, but leaving them to their hostilities against each other. I shall proceed to a short relation of Our treatment since arrivall here, whereas I said wee had liberty to hire a house, but as to matters of trade wee deferred for an answer, and that for nigh 4 moneths[68] the Generall telling us everie tyme wee came into his presence, should have one, sometymes tomorrow, sometymes in few daies, and this they

gauped at most

(51) They put all the Companies treasure from the other Ships on board the Formosa in the night.

(52) The General appoints the next day to hear him.

(53) His proposals to the General to land goods etc.

(54) Answer deferred to next day.

(55) All willing to be gon from Bantam : they draw lots who first.

(56) The Dutch strange proceedings under color of the Kings orders.

(57) Permitted to hire a house at Batavia : and promised a Ship or two to fetch away goods.

(58) The Dutch perceiving our treasure to be gon, permitted the other to be loaden.

(59) They put the King upon hastening our Men, away with all speed.

(60) Seizing all the provisions in the factory : we were forced to live on Chineses charity.

(61) One Factor occasionally left at Bantam to have an eye on others action

(62) What the Dutch please to restore to us, that onely wee can call Ours

(63) So ended the Companies ancient factory of Bantam.

(64) They some-what repine at the Young Sultans ingratitude to the English, whom his father and the inhabitants generally acknowledge to have been their Nursers

(65) They have since had some Skirmishes with the old King's people: whereby and by sickness, they have lost 7 or 800 white men.

(66) Near 1000 fresh Soldjers from Europe now arrived.

(67) The old King's forces have done them severall damages at Sea.

(68) As to trade, they were deferred answer for 4 moneths.

did to perplex and intreague Our affairs having 5 Ships arrived from Europe designed for the Northwards that required a speedy dispatch, and till received an answer were not permitted to bring any goods on Shoar[69], neither suffered they any of their people to goe aboard of us, that were forced to putt goods from one Ship to the other in order to dispatching them with soe much trouble as can scarse be imagined, and at last (Amoy being lost) sent two for Canton one for Tywan, one for Tonqueen, and the Oaklander making a 9 moneths passage[70], with the losse of all her men but 7. was thereby disabled from proceeding to Canton, and forced with most black Sailors to goe for Surat[71] in Companie with the Returne, At last comes an answer to our severall Letters, and requests, that in this long attendance wee had presented to the Generall and Councell the Contents too tedious but to mention, but concluding with an order[72] to us (Our residence here not consisting with their interest) with all possible speed to with draw with our Ships, and all our people to some of our own setled Factories, as Syam, Surrat, Persia, the Coast of Choromandel, Bengall, or where wee thought best, and the Season of the Yeare would best permit[73], except all parts belonging to the King of Bantam, who they said for a reciprocall kindnesse had by Contract made over all his Territories to them styling the Old King his ffather a Rebell against him[74], by which means there was noe place left for us in these parts, where wee could attend the arrivall of Our Europe, or Norward Ships, till the Company were made sensible of the loss of Bantam, and had taken some orders about their affairs in these parts, this was a pritty unexpected Story indeed, which made us laugh, but on the wrong side of Our mouths, as the saying is, The Companies affaires, and our own too highly requiring our longer stay here ; Wee were forced to give answer to their letter more modestly then should otherwise have done representing the unspeakable damage[75] will Occur to our Masters affairs, by their forcing Us off, humbly requesting permission to abide here, till they were acquainted in what condition[76] their trade in these parts was, and had taken some orders thereabouts, to which as yet have received noe answer, and have hopes they will not urge our departure[77], if doe, must doe as well as wee can, are bound to see it, and to sitt down and repine at our Infelicities will not helpe us, but the Season is now soe farr spent, that if soe, England of necessity must be our next Port[78] unlesse can find some place in the Streights of Sundy to

shelter our selves, in the mean time wee sitt idle unable to turn a Penny[79], and the time of Our aboad here is soe much tyme wholy lost, for my perticular could my affairs have permitted, should have returned to you by this Ship. but have the books of the charge I had in Bantam to make up, and my Stock all abroad, that cannot be in readynesse till the latter Ship that may depart about Januarie next, when if can be permitted designe home

The last thing I have to advise you is the loss of the (*e*) *Johanna*[80], bound for Bengal, who runn a shoar in the night upon a ridge of rocks between the Cape of Good Hope, and the Cape Agullis where in 12. hours time, she broke in. 2. peices, 'twas about. 2. miles distant from the Shoar, whither the Men all but. 7. arrived, some in the boats some on rafts, and some on the rack of the Ship, but were. 21. daies travelling before arrived where the Dutch inhabit, on their Ships they all came from Batavia, and the Captain and some others take their passage home in this Ship; the Company lost in her 72,000li sterling[81] in Treasure besides other Merchandize, but I leave you to the Captain &c.a goeing home for a further relation, both of that and all other occurances, fearing have been too long alreadie./·

Charles Sweeting (*f*)

[Endorsed]

Mr. Charles Sweetings Narrative of the affaires at Bantam 17 September 1682.

(69) Would not suffer our goods to be landed, nor any of their people to go aboard our ships.

(70) How they disposed of the companies ships

(71) The Oaklander lost all her men but 7: and was forced to go for Surratt with black sailors.

(72) Instead of an answer to our proposals and requests the generall and Council send order for our departure with all possible speed.

(73) Pohibit our going to any port belonging to the King of Bantam.

(74) They stile the Old King a Rebel to his Son.

(75) They represent the damage that would accrew to the Company.

(76) And request leave to stay till they be acquainted with the state of their affayrs.

(77) Hope they will not urge our departure etc.

(78) They fear England must be their next port.

(79) They sit idle unable to turn a penny

(80) The loss of the Johanna.

No. XXXIX.

RIGHT HONORABLE

Yesterday by a Letter received from on board the *Amoy Merchant*[1], which arriv'd in the Downs the Fourteenth inst. from their late Councill and Factors at Bantam, now in the Citty of Batavia, the Governor and Committees have received Advice That the Dutch East India Company taking Advantage by the discontent which arose between the Old Sultan of Bantam and his Sonne, whom he had made King of that place, did in Assistance of the Young King by force of Arms enter Bantam, and made a Conquest of that Citty, in few daies time, with the loss of not above 40 men, and having possessed themselves of that Place did prevail with the King to expell the English Factors and all the Europeans resident there, and with much adoe permitted the Companies Estate and Factors

(81) 72000 li lost in her in treasure. C. O. 77 — 14 Fol. 117.

to be transported to Batavia, where they were remaining on 23rd September last, but were very urgent for their departure thence.

The whole Narritive of Transactions in this Affair is transcribing to be presentd to your Honours that his Majesty may have the knowledge thereof, with the first Conveniency. Herewith also is the old Sultans Letter to his Majestie I remaine

Your Honours most dutiful servant

Jos'a Child.

[Endorsed]

Sir Jos Childe

to Mr. Secretary Jenkins

No. XL.

C. O. 77 — 14 Fol. 120.

Sultan Abdull ffatthee abdull ffattah King of Terteassa Alman Surah Sendeth greeting to King Charles the Second King of England Scottland ffrance and Ireland and wisheth long life prosperity and victory over all his enemys

Sultan Annome sent and Invited the Dutch into his Country, who are how with him in his ffort, ffighting against my people which lyes at Margasana, haveing turned out all the English ffrench and Deans by the advise of Sir Martine and Captain Younher theire Generall, and given all the Pepper of Bantam and Lampoone for gratuity, which doe very much trouble me to see, thereffore we desire your Majesty, would be pleased to send some ships and assistance to him at Point Anne and Tenarrah at whoes arriveall this Country shall be resigned up

[Endorsed]

The Translation of Sultan Agong letter, to his Soveraigne Majesty King Charles the Second King of England Scotland ffrance and Ireland

Translation of the King of Bantam's letter to His Majestie desiring assistance against the Dutch.

No. XLI.

A COURT of COMMITTEES holden 28th March 1683. Court Book 33, pp. 129a-130.

* * *

On reading a Petition prepared to be presented to the Kings most excellent Maty. touching the affayrs of Bantam, which follo. in hec verba. Petition to the King touching Bantam.

To the Kings most Excellent Maty.
The humble Petition of the East India Company.

Sheweth, That your petitioners have been in the peaceable possession of a large Factory with great buildings warehouses and other appurtenances thereunto in the City of Bantam within the Island of Java major for the space of near 70 or 80 years: But were lately, vizt. in March and April 1681/2 dispossessed thereof by the injurious and subtil practices of the Dutch East India Compa., as by the Narrative thereof appears: And that by the same means, if not timely prevented, the said Dutch Compa. may become Masters of the whole trade of India in a very short time; to the irreparable loss and dishonour of this Kingdom as well as of your Petitioners.

Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray, that it may please your most Excellent Maty. to apply such remedy to this dangerous evil, and so to provide for the reparation of your petitioners great loss and damage, as your Maty. in your great wisdom shall think fit, the Court approved thereof.

The Comtees. for Bantam (to whom Sir John Banks is added) are desired to consider of the losses and damages susteyned directly and by consequence, by the expelling of their Factors from Bantam, and what just pretences and demands the Compa. have to make concerning the same, and to make report. Bantam, damn. susteynd there to be reported.

No. XLII.

[1683]

[1]Our. East India Company having presented to Us just Coppies of the Letters Received by the Amoy Merchant from their late Agent and Councill of Bantam, with a representation of the manner of causing them, and other of the Subjects of the French and Danish Kings to C. O. 77 — 14 Fol. 131.

be expelled out of their owne Houses and possession, which Our Subjects had built at their owne very great costs and charges and had peacably enjoyed about 80 yeares, And all this under the name and colour of the pretended young King of Bantam, while he was but in the nature of a Prisoner himselfe, invironed by Guards of your Subjects in his Castle, of which you had the intire possession, and your Colours flying upon it at the same time in token thereof, which looks very strongly therefore as a contrivance of your Subjects of Batavia, long since designed and carried on by publique Embassys, and private messages to pro-cure to themselves the sole trade of Bantam, and the expulsion of all other European Nations

The Said Letters and Narrative do further informe Us, that in direct breach of the Peace and Amity betweene Us, and your Lordshipps, your Dutch Soldiers under the command of the Dutch Cheife, did in a Hostile manner, breake the Galleries (which were places of defence) and otherwise deface the buildings of Our said Subjects in Bantam, while Our Subjects were in possession thereof. And immediately after Our Subjects were expelled their possession by the influence and power of your Subjects upon the pretended Young King as aforesaid, they did hostilely pull downe the English Colours, and sett up the Dutch Flagg in the place thereof.

And further that Our said Subjects of the East India Company are damnified by these injurious proceedings (in the loss of all their debts due to them upon the Island of Java, and disappointment of their Shipps and Cargoes) above One hundred thousand pounds Sterling, besides the inestimable and perpetuall loss of the Bantam, and South Sea trade to this Kingdome, except timely remedy be applied, for which Our East India Company have humbly besought Us.

Wee therefore taking into Our Serious consideration the reasonableness of Our said Companies Request, and the great dishonour it wilbe to Us to Suffer Such an Affront, Have thought fitt to send over this Messenger *Sir John Schardin*[2] a considerable adventurer in Our East India Company, who is well acquainted with the East India affairs, to know whether your Lordshipps will owne those actions of your Subjects at Bantam, And to demand of you a possitive Order to your Officers and Soldiers at Bantam to restore to Our Subjects the quiett possession of all they

enjoyed there, and to Suffer the Factory of Our East India Company to be reestablished there as formerly.

Wee doe likewise expect that you should make present satisfaction to Our East India Company for all Such losses and damages as they Sustained, directly or by consequence of the injurious dealings of your Subjects aforesaid, according to such Commission and Instructions as they have given to Sir John Schardin.

This affaire touches Us so extreamly in Honour and Interest that Wee cannot admitt of any delay, and there fore have commanded this Bearer Sir John Schardin not to stay above 14 dayes after his first arrivall at the Hague for your peremptory and finall answer to these Propositions, which Wee hope Wee shall find agreable to Our just expectations. And which Wee recommend to you as a thing of the greatest Importance for the continuance of that good Correspondence and freindship which Wee desire may be allwaies lasting between Us.

No. XLIII.

A COURT of COMMITTEES holden 23th *April* 1683. Court Book 38, p. 185a.

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Bantam affayrs, a secret comtee. nominated.

The Court taking into consideration, that in transacting the affayre relating to Bantam, it is necessary that the same be managed with all privacy, they were pleased to nominate the Governor Deputy and Sir Josia Child to be a secret Committee for the carrying on that business: And what instructions shall be drawn up by them to be given unto any person as shalbe employed to go over into Holland, are to have the Compas. seal affixed thereunto, which being registred by the Secretary, the Comtees. for the Treary. are desired to doe accordingly.

No. XLIV.

WHITEHALL
April 27th 1683.

SIR,

I acquainted you some weeks ago that the King did resent the action at Bantam and the injuries done to his Subjects there; his Majesty is now come to a resolution in the matter, and has writ the inclosed Letter to the States upon that occasion. His Majesty would have you

C. O. 77 — 14 Fol. 187

immediately aske an audience and deliver the same to them, and from time to time assist and countenance the bearer hereof Sir John Chardin (whom the East India Company have with his Majesties' consent deputed and fully instructed in their pretensions) in the prosecution of this businesse, in such manner and method, as you and he shall agree upon and as may most conduce to obtain for the Company the satisfaction and reparation the King thinks fit to demand for them.

Sir John will communicate all his Papers to you, so that you will be so well informed of the State of this affaire, that I need not say any thing more at present to you upon it.

I am Sir
Your etc.
SUNDERLAND.[1]

Mr. CHUDLEIGH

[Endorsed]
Copy of the Earle of Sunderland's
Letter to Mr. Chudleigh[2]
Whitehall April 27th 1683
recommending the affaire of Bantam
No. (5)

No. XLV.

Court Book, 38, p. 138.

A COURT of COMMITTEES holden 4th May 1683.

* * *

Sir John Chardins Commission to be sealed

The Governor acquainted the Court with the Memorial and letters that his Maty. hath been graciously pleased to write unto the States Grall. touching the affayr of Bantam, and with the Commission and Instructions prepared to be given by this Compa. to Sir Jno. Chardin for his negociation in that busines, The Court thereupon ordered that the Compa. seal be affixed to the said Commission and Instructions.

Ditto, acoted. with his nomination to that employmt.

Sir John Chardin coming into Court, the Govr. acquainted him that upon the assurance they had of his great ability and faithfulness to serve the Compa., they had nominated him to be employed in the negociating the affayr touching Bantam; for which he should receive their Commission and Instructions; and expected that the

managemt. of that busines be carried on with all privacy conducceing to the attayning the end proposed.

It is ordered, that 100li. be advanced and paid unto Sir John Chardin on acco. of his disbursemts. to be made in his voyage for Holland. Ditto, 100 li; to be paid him.

* * *

Directors had declared, they had written to their Ministers abroad strictly to observe the Articles of peace, so we shall also enjoin all our people in India to doe the like, that there may be noe occasion of complaint of any kind. That as they have been pleased in particular to express their readines personally to serve this Compa. so every member of this Court doe give them assurance of like respect on all occasions; and this Compa. shall endeavor and likewise pray, that the Union between the two Compas. may be a means of the union of the two Nations, for mainteyning the Protestant Religion therein, to all posterity.

* * *

No. XLVI.

To all Persons to whom this present Writing shall come Greeting. C. O. 77 — 14

Whereas the Kings most Excellent Majesty hath been graciously pleased to send over this Gentleman Sir John Chardin Knight with His Royall Letter to the High and Mighty Lords the States Generall of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, among other things to demand of them satisfaction for divers Injuries, Losses, and Damages lately done to, and sustained by His Majesties Subjects the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies, by the East India Company of Holland or their Generall at Battavia, and the Officers and Souldiers under his command at Bantam in the Island of Java Major in the East Indies. Now we the said Governor and Company being willing and desirous so far as in us lyes to remove and prevent all occasions of difference and disputes betweene the English and Dutch Companys in India, that may arise for or by reason of any of the late Transactions of the Dutch Company their Generall, Officers or Souldiers at Bantam aforesaid, Do with the leave and consent of His most Excellent Majesty Our gracious Soveraigne Lord the King, hereby give and Fol. 146

grant unto the said Sir John Chardin full power and authority in Our name to treat, adjust, and conclude all Accompts and Reckonings for Losses Damages, and Injurys sustained by Us at Bantam aforesaid, or which we may sustaine by reason of Our Factors and Servants being forcibly expelled from Bantam aforesaid or otherwise, whether it were done by the Dutch Officers and Souldiers, or by the pretended Young King of Bantam ayded and assisted by the Dutch or otherwise. And we do hereby promise for Us and Our Successors to ratify and confirme so farr as in Us lyes whatever the said Sir John Chardin shall do and consent to touching all the matters aforesaid. In testimony whereof We have hereunto putt Our Common Seale in London the Fourth day of May 1683.
[Endorsed]

Commission to Sir John Chardin
to treat with the States Generall
about the Bantam affaire
4 May 1683.

No. XLVII.

Haguen 23 *May* 1683.

RIGHT HON^BLE.

C. O. 77 — 14 Fol. 150 Today betwixt 4 and five a clock I had audience from the States Deputies who were 7 in number and were assisted by 3 Bewinshebbers of whom Mr. Benninghen and Mr. Vandam were. After the speach, of which I send here the Copy, the President did answer me very civilly that my person was very agreable to them, and as to the answer of the business the States, knowing nothing of itt said Bewinshebbers should answer. Mr. Van Dam excused to doe not speeking good French, so Mr. Van Benning made the speech. the substance was that althoug the Dutch Company had great reasons long since to make a war against the Old King of Bentam, their Mortall ennemy, they would never doe itt, in riguard of not troubling the English att Bentam. that the Young King near to fall under the deceased King (so he spooke) they had be[e]n oblidge to succour him to not fall again under their ennemy. Nevertheless they never did consent or order what succeeded: that our People having return'd them thanks att Batavia as could prove by their letter they admire how we could doe here the Contrary. As for the Rangae king tearing Kings flaggs and other injuries were consequences of warr no more to be imputed to them as to

us the dammages done to theyr ships and the Young Kings ships by severall English canoneers. Having thus spoake ½ an hour he said would not reply larger because they were not authorised that they had convocated to the 1st of June the 1)* after which they would give afull answer. I was surprised and sorry of such delays and complaining of itt they excused upon the distance of the severall Chambers and Whitsunholy days which they would keepe att their houses. after that they desired to have in writing what I represented which I did delivering a Copy of Kings Memoriall with a single addition of what happened to the China Merchant. att 6 a Clock I had for the 4th time a long discourse with Mr. Vanbenninguen in presence of Mr. Chudleigh in which he said plainly that as for dammages they would absolutely relie upon the treaty and agree of them in arbitrage and as for the with drawing their forces could not doe itt without exposeing themselves to the old Kings discretion but would see with us in what manner wee could be restored att Bentam. about 9 a clock meeting with Mr. Vandam he told me that proofes should be required of all drawn in the memoriall and nothing believed with out sufficient proofs.

*sic This abbreviation is unintellgible

Now Honble. Sir surely the business will goe such long debates which shall take up long time insisting to compose this according the treaty that withdrawing their forces from Bentam is to ruine Batavia and then some pitifull propositions of restoring us to Bentam and to make an agreement for pepper as they dayly profer me. please your Honour to consider itt with the Committee of seqrecy and with the Court Chiefly and to give me incessantly your orders upon itt and if you please that I continue here some days more please to send me with all speed affidavit and others papers to justifie the memoriall.

Right Honble.

Your Honours

most humble and obedient servant,

CHARDIN.

[Addressed]

To the Right Honble. Sir John Banks[1]
Governor of the East India Company
att East India House in leaden hall street
London

[Endorsed]

23th May 1683

Sir John Chardin,

No. XLVIII.

Court Book 33 p. 164.

A COURT of COMMITTEES holden 29th August 1683.

* * *

Dutch Ambassadors desire of a meeting.

Sir John Chardin acquainting the Court, that the Dutch Ambassador by his Mats. order was desirous to meet with the Governor and Comtees. this afternoon where please to appoint, The Court returned answer, that they will give him a meeting at this house or where els he should think fit: And the Governor, Deputy-Govr., and Sir Josia Child, are desired to meet the said Ambassador accordingly.

* * *

No. XLIX.

Court Book 34, p. 5a.

A COURT of COMMITTEES holden 28th May 1684.

* * *

Sir Jno. Chardins bil paid. Ditto, Gratuity 100 Guinies.

Sir John Chardin this day presented unto the Court an acco. of his disbursmts. in his voyage to and from Holland, and during the time of his negociation there, amo. to the summ of £244:5: On consideration whereof had, the Court thought fit to order the payment thereof, deducting thereout £100, already receed: And were also pleased to appoint 100 Guinies to be paid him in consideration of his care and pains taken in the Compa. service.

* * *

No. L.

Court Book 34, p. 6a.

A COURT of COMMITTEES holden 4th June 1684.

* * *

The Compa. demands on the Dutch touching Bantam to be given in.

Sir Benjamin Bathurst acquainting the Court, that the Dutch Embassador had lately made his desires to the Earl of Rochester, that the Compa, would give in their demands touching the Bantam affayr to be sent into Holland before the Dutch Commissioners arrive here, for the sooner ending that busines; And his Lopp. recommending the same unto the Court, It is ordered, that a paper be drawn up this afternoon pursuant to the present debate, to be presented to his Lopp. by Sir Benjamin Bathurst.

Comtees. to peruse his Mats. lres., memorials, etc.

It is ordered, that it be referred to the Depty. Govr., Sir Benja. Bathurst, Sir Jer. Sambrook, Mr. Herne, Mr. Paige, Mr du Bois, and Mr Rudge, or any 3 of them, to peruse his Mats. letters and Memorials touching the

Compa. demands that were sent to the Dutch for the wrongs and injuries suffered by their surprizal of Bantam; and the several transactions that have since passed in that busines: And to draw up a particular acco. of losses and damages susteyned by the Compa. since that time by the disappointmt. of their trade in the So. Seas; and to report the same to the Court with all convenient speed.

* * *

No. LI.

A COURT of COMMITTEES holden 9th July 1684. Court Book 34, p. 12.

* * *

An answer to be given by this Compa. to the Memorial of the Dutch Ambassador touching the Bantam affayr, was now read and approved of in Court: And it is ordered that the same be signed by the Governor and Delivered to Sir Benjamin Bathurst, who is desired to present it to one of his Mats. principal Secretaries of State. Bantam affayr; Dutch Memorial answered.

* * *

No. LII.

A COURT of COMMITTEES holden the first of October 1684. Court Book 34,pp.53-53*a*.

* * *

The Right Honble. Earle of Berkeley, and Sir Benjamin Bathurst, acquainting the Court from the Right honble. Earle of Rochester Lord Presidt. of his Majesty most honble. privy Councill (by his Majesty's Command) That some Commissioners were coming over from the States Generall of the United Provinces to treat about the Affairs of Bantam; And that his Majestie was graciously pleased, to leave it to the East India Company to nominate whom they thought fitt to treat with the said Commissioners; which Persons so nominated his Majestie would be pleased to approve of. On consideration thereof had, The Court named Sir Joseph Ashe Barrt. Governor. Sir Josia Child Barrt. Deputy Governor. his Grace the Duke of Beaufort, the Right Honble. the Earle of Berkeley Sir Benjamin Bathurst, Sir Jeremy Sambrook Knight, and Mr. Joseph Herne, or as many of them as his Majesty pleaseth to be presented to his Majesty as Commissioners on the Companyes behalfe; And the Earle of Berkeley, and Sir Benjamin Bathurst are desired to present their Commissioners nominated to treat with the Dutch about Bantam.

Names unto his Majesty, with the most humble thanks of this Court, for his Majestyes most gracious condescention and Indulgence to them.

* * *

No. LIII.

A COURT of COMMITTEES holden 20th May 1685.

Court Book 34, p. 109a.

* * *

Dutch Commissioners about Bantam. Memorial delivered in.

The Heeren Gerrard Hooft one of the Councill of Amsterdam, Jacob Van Hoorn Burghermaster, and one of the Councill of Flushing, Solomon Vande Blochquerii and Adrian Paets of the Councill, and Brotherhood of Rotterdam, This day presenting to the Court their letters Credentiall from the Netherlands East India Company dated at Amsterdam 23rd March last, whereby they are impowered to treat with such Commrs. as are chosen on the behalf of this Compa. to determine the differences, and pretensions arisen about what was done at and before Bantam, pursuant to the treaty made between his Maty. of great Brittain Charles the Second of immortall memory, and the High and Mighty Lords States Generall of the United Netherlands in the year 1674/5 And the Commrs. above named, having delivered into this Court a Memoriall under their hands signifying their desires, that the said matters may be treated on, It is ordered that the honble. Sir Joseph Ashe Barrt. Govr. of this Compa. Sir Josia Child Barrt. Depty. Govr. Sir Benjamin Bathurst, and Sir Jeremy Sambrooke Knts. be desired to treat with the aforesaid Commrs. for the adjusting and determining of all differences, that have arisen between the said two Compa. touching the loss of Bantam and all other differences between them.

* * *

No. LIV.

Court Book 34, p. 157a.

A COURT of COMMITTEES holden 9th December 1685.

* * *

Bantam affair, answer to the Lords proposals.

The Deputy Governor this day acquainted the Court with some proposals made by my Lord Treasurer, Lord Privy Seal, Earl of Sunderland, and Earl of Middleton touching the affayr of Bantam ; On consideration whereof had, the Court agreed on an answer to be presented to their Lops., which was now read and passed, and ordered to be signed by the Secretary, and presented to their Lordships.

* * *

No. LV.

Court Book 34, p. 162.

A COURT of COMMITTEES holden the 2d. January 1685 [1685/6].

* * *

Bantam affair, answer to the Lords Comrs. agreed upon.

The Court this day taking into consideration what was given the Comtees. in charge on Wednesday last by the Rt. honble. the Lords Comrs. for the affairs of Bantam touching the answer lately given in to their Lops. proposals; Upon a long and serious debate thereof had, and of what was fit to be represented to their Lops., Did desire his Grace the Duke of Beaufort Sir John Banks Sir Benjamin Bathurst Sir Jeremy Sambrooke Sir James Ward Sir Samll. Dashwood and Mr Joseph Herne to draw up an answer pursuant to their present debates and the said Comtees. accordingly prepared an answer, which was now read in Court, and agreed upon (Nemine contradicente) and ordered to be signed by the Secry., and by him to be delivered unto Esq. Gwyn, to be presented to their Lordships.

* * *

No. LVI.

Court Book 34, p. 204.

A COURT of COMMITTEES holden 15th March 1685. [1685/6]

* * *

Dutch Comrs take leave of the Court.

The Dutch Comrs. this day came to take their leave, and acquainted the Court, That when they came first in England they waited on this Comtee. to present the respects of those from whom they were sent; and have since endeavored to continue all fayr correspondence with this Compa. Which not having had that success which they hoped for; and that the business is now devolved into the hands of his Maty. of Great Britain and the States Genll. of the United Netherlands, they are come to take their leaves of the Comtee., and shall endeavor. to doe all good offices with those to whom they are going.

To which the Depty. Govr. returned answer, That himself and the persons who were intrusted to treat with them, had noe other design than to maintain a perfect amity with the Dutch Compa.; And had yielded to and complied with them as farr as was possible without fixing an infamy upon the English Nation and his Mats. East India Compa: And are very sorry there hath been noe

better issue of their conferences with them : Yet hope the success wilbe more acceptable, being in the hands of their respective Sovereigns where it is now lodged : That the Comtee. doe thank the Gentlemen for their trouble and patience, and shall wait on them before their departure.

* * *

Court Book 35, pp. 24a -25.

No. LVII.

A COURT of COMMITTEES holden 29th June 1687.

* * *

Memorial touching the Dutch injuries, approved.

The Court this day approved of the following Memorial touching the late injuries which the Compa. have sustained by the Netherlands East India Company in their seizure of Mesulapatam, and of their violence and unjust proceedings at Battam-Capas on the West Coast of Sumatra ; And Sir Benjamin Bathurst is desired to present the same unto his Maty. which follows in hec verba.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY : MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY !

Your Majestie's East India Compa. conceive themselves obliged in duty to your Maty. humbly to lay before yor. Maty. the advises they have receed. from India by the Kempthorn, Chandois, and other Ships lately arrived, of the further encroachmts. injuries and violences committed by the Netherlands East India Compa., upon yor. Mats. Subjects in the East Indies ; vizt. Upon the Coast of Chormandel pretending a warr against the King of Gulcondah, they have seized upon Mechlepa. after the same manner they did Bantam, and have forbid yor. Mats. Subjects, after eight weeks to trade there ; Notwithstanding your Mats. East India Compa. have had a Residence and Factory there about Eighty or Ninety years ;(which factory was built by the Compa., and the ground whereon it stands was purchased by them). The truth of this appears by the Dutch Chief and Council at Pollicat's letter to our Presidt. and Council at Fort St. George and their prudent answer thereunto ; (Copies of which letters are lodged with my Lord President).

Upon the West Coast of Sumatra, we having made a third small Settlement at *Batam Capas*[1] for the better security of the Pepper trade, where by virtue of the Emperors Phyrmaund we built a house and small Fort, and yor. Mats. Colours were hoisted by the Emperour

himself and his Sons, who gave that Port freely to your Maty. for the use of yor. Mats. East India Compa. The Dutch with a very great force assaulted the said Fort in time of full peace, struck yor. Mats. flag, tore it in peeces contemptuously, and robbed our people. This appears at large by Samuel Potts's letter one of the Council of Indrapora of 23th September 1686, lodged likewise with my Lord President.

By all which it manifestly appears, that the Netherlands East India Compa. are still pursuing their design of engrossing the whole East India trade by violence injustice and oppression, if timely remedy be not provided to prevent their continual Encroachments, which we humbly submit to your Mats. great wisdom.

JOSIA CHILD GOVR.
Ben : Bathurst Depty.

29 *June* 1687.

No. LVIII.

Court Book 35, pp. 85–85a.

A COURT of COMMITTEES holden 23 *December* 1687.

* * *

Report of his Mats. approving the clause in the Fort letter touching the Dutch.

The Deputy-Governor now acquainted the Court that his Maty. had been pleased to approve of the clause in the Fort letter (which is to be sent on the Ship James) relating to the Dutch affayr, and ordered that it should be inserted into the said letter accordingly, which clause follo. in hec verba, vizt.

If the Dutch should by any means deprive you of our settlements at Bencoolen or Indrapora (wch. God forbid) you must never suffer them to remain quietly with, as Our Ancestors did the Spice Islands, but immediately doe yor. utmost to remove them agen by Arms ; And if you are not strong enough to doe that take what revenge you can upon their richest Ships at Sea, and presently before the Dutch have secured themselves too well, make some new fortification at any place you think most convenient upon the West Coast of Sumatra, on which Coast We yet think Pryaman may be the best ; and that you may doe it upon your old Articles made with the Orunkeys of that place, the Dutch having no force there to prevent you, but 5 or six Dutchmen and a few sorry black fellows that are not able to resist twenty men, nor willing to resist our settlement there, if they were able ; of which we had an evident proof, when the Syam merchants company landed there

and marched with their arms fixt within their pallizadoes up to the Chiefs Cajan house. This order we give you not out of any propensity we have to quarrel with the Dutch, but meerly because we are resolved, whatever the consequences may prove, never to betray the interest of Our King and Country, by suffering the Dutch quietly to carry away the whole Pepper trade (as they have done the other Spices) either by force or fraud without doing whatever is in our power to prevent them, by arms or otherwise.

* * *

NOTES TO DOCUMENTS.

No. XXXVII.

(1) The Mughal and the Maratha fleets were fighting each other in a deadly combat and the English Governor of Bombay, Mr. Rolt, felt himself squeezed in a helpless way between the Mughals and the Marathas. If the Marathas seized a Portuguese position near Bombay, the Mughals replied by landing a force at Bombay itself.....The Marathas made reprisals on our isolated settlements further down the coast and compelled us to abandon the factory at Rajapur and in October 1679, seized the island of *Khaneri* in Bombay harbour. The Siddi, or Mughal admiral, rejoined by occupying the adjacent island of *Haneri* —*A History of British India* (Sir William Hunter). Vol. II pp. 227-228.

(2) *Sir Josiah Child* (1630-1699) began life as a merchant's apprentice. Later he received a baronetcy in 1678 ; he had made a fortune, which Evelyn in 1683 says, was estimated at £200,000 ; he was a director, and afterwards Chairman, of the East India Company, and for a time ruled over the company as absolutely as if it had been his private business.

In 1665, he wrote a short essay on trade, which afterwards he expanded, and attracted a great deal of attention. Its full title indicates its character : 'A New Discourse on Trade'.—*Dictionary of National Biography.* Vol. x. pp. 244-245. Fuller accounts may be found in *Hedge's Diary.* Vol. ii. pp. 112-120, and *East India Trade* (Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan). Chap. iii. pp. 193-245.

No. XXXVIII.

(*a*) *Thos. James* was, with W. Gyfford, the chief of Tonkeen. In the records there is a long letter, dated December 7, 1692, from Tonkeen, signed by W. Gyfford, Thomas James and N. Waite—*Hedge's Diary* Vol. ii. pp. 187-188.

(*b*) *Sam. Griffith* was nominated in a letter, dated September 21, 1671, from the Court to Bantam, as a factor for Tywan in Formosa.

He is also mentioned to have been at Fort St. George in 1685. The Court, under date, 19 November 1686, resolved that " Mr. Sam. Griffith, now third of Council at Hughly, be removed to Fort St. George, there to serve the Company as a factor "—*Hedge's Diary.* Vol. ii. p. 300.

(*c*) *Ed. Barwell* mentioned as one of the writers of a letter, dated April 28, 1685, from Bantam to the Dutch.—*Sources* (Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan) pp. 198-199.

(*d*) *Tywan Friggot* · Tywan, a place in Formosa.

(*e*) *The Johanna* a ship, belonging to the Company, used to ply between England and India—*Master's Diary*. Vol. I p. 217.

(*f*) *Chas. Sweeting* mentioned as one of the writers of a letter, dated 28 April 1685, from Bantam to the Dutch East India Company. —*Sources* (Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan) pp. 198-199.

No. XXXIX.

(1) *The Amoy Merchant* : a ship, used to ply between England and Bantam. It brought home the news of the disaster at Bantam.—*Sources*. pp. 157, 199, 201.

No. XLII.

(1) *Charles II's letter to the Hague regarding Bantam.* The several despatches from Bantam narrating the disasters there roused King Charles II. This prompted him to address such a strong letter to the Dutch Government at the Hague.

This vigorous and characteristic despatch testifies to the genuine interest of Charles II in all that concerned the East India trade, specially with regard to his representatives to foreign powers. The Company is now practically identified with the State, and all its grievances are vigorously expressed, and, if possible, quickly redressed. Sunderland's letter to Mr. Chudleigh, the English Ambassador at the Hague, shows the effect produced on the King by the 'Bantam business'. 'The King', he informed Chudleigh, 'did resent the action of Bantam and the injuries done to his subjects there'. 'His Majesty', said Sunderland, 'would have you immediately ask for an audience, and deliver the same to them, and from time to time, assist and countenance the bearer, in such manner and method as he shall agree upon.'

Chardin's account of the negotiations at the Hague reveals the politic delays so successfully resorted to by the Dutch. The latter asserted that the old King of Bantam was their mortal enemy, and they were, therefore, obliged to act in self-defence. As for the injuries and insults to the King's flag, 'there were consequences of war, no more to be imputed to them than to us'. They excused themselves further on the plea of insufficient information, and fell back on the worn-out methods of prolonging the negotiations. Chardin concluded by saying that 'the business will take long time in sifting to compose this.'

The Company had meanwhile prepared a secret expedition against the Dutch, and had secured the approval of Charles. War would, no doubt, have taken place in the East. Charles' death, however, changed their plans and the expedition was diverted elsewhere.—*East India Trade* (Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan) pp. 132-134.

(2) *Sir John Schardin* a Frenchman by birth (1643-1712). Although a foreigner, he was knighted by Charles II in 1681. He was a jewel-merchant and an enterprising traveller in Persia and the East, his accounts of which, during 1671 to 1711, are still available.—*Evelyn's Diary*. (Globe Edition). p. 327, footnote.

....In 1684, the King sent him as envoy in Holland, where he stayed some years and was styled Agent to the East India Company—*Dictionary of National Biography.* Vol. x. pp. 63-64.

On 23 April 1683, Sunderland informed Mr. Chudleigh of the anger of King Charles at the action of the Dutch in Bantam. The King desired Chudleigh to assist Sir John Chardin, the Deputy of the East India Company, who was to demand reparation from the States-General. In May 1683, Chardin submitted a memorial to the Dutch, narrating the events at Bantam and adding that the *China Merchant* reached Bantam on 9th May, that the young King would have received her Captain, but that the Dutch refused to allow him to land.

The reply of the States-General is dated 7 to 17 June, 1683. They recapitulated relations between the King of Bantam and themselves during the last 25 years and declared that the seizure of Bantam was the consequence of the bad faith of its ruler, that the English report of events was incorrect in almost every detail, that the Dutch befriended them wherever possible and that what damage they sustained was the result of internecine troubles. *Sources for the History of XVIIth Century British India*, by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Litt. D., M. L. C., F. R. Hist. S. pp. 77, 78, 193, 199.

No. XLIV.

(1) *Robert Spencer* (1640-1702), the second Earl of Sunderland.

(2) *Chudleigh* diplomatist. He entered the diplomatic service, and was appointed Secretary to the Embassy to Sweden in 1673. In 1677 he was named Secretary to the Embassy of Nimwegen, and in that capacity, he took part in the negotiations which resulted in the celebrated treaty. In 1678, he was sent as Envoy-extraordinary to the States-General of the United Provinces.—*Dictionary of National Biography.* Vol. X. p. 303.

No. XLVII.

(1) *Sir John Banks* was the Governor of the East India Company in 1672, 1673 and again in 1683.—*History of British India* (Hunter). Vol. II. p. 202 x.

No. LVII.

(1) *Bantam Capas.* In 1683, after the loss of Bantam, the Directors suggested a settlement at *Achin* in Sumatra and wrote to the Queen to provide facilities for trade.—*Bowney's* " *Countries round the Bay of Bengal* (*Hakluyt Society Publications*) (Edited by Sir Richard Carnac Temple) p. 302.

SHAFAAT AHMAD KHAN.

(*Concluded*).

INCURSIONS OF THE MUSLIMS INTO FRANCE, PIEDMONT AND SWITZERLAND

(Translated from the original French of M. Reinaud by Prof. Haroon Khan Sherwani).

INTRODUCTION.

IT is well worth remembering that once upon a time France was invaded by a foreign people which had already subjugated Spain and certain other neighbouring lands. This people carried with it a new religion, an entirely foreign language and strange manners and customs, so that the burden of guarding all that man holds dearest, *i.e.*, freedom of the native land and ancient institutions, fell upon the shoulders of France and such countries of Europe as had not yet been conquered.

A number of questions have been asked by savants and historians with regard to the character of those incursions, which were almost invariably accompanied by the occupation of a part of the fair land of France. The main points of interrogation, which may be mentioned here, are the following: What was the original home of the invaders; whether they were homogeneous or heterogeneous; were all of them Mussulmans or were there Jews, idolators and Christians among them; finally what were the results arising from their incursions and whether their footprints are still visible on the soil of France and the countries which they occupied.

No doubt some of these questions have already been examined a number of times, but so far as we are aware, they have never been treated at length and no general conclusions have been drawn from them so far[1]. It need hardly be mentioned here that, for the purpose of doing full justice to the subject, it is absolutely necessary to take into consideration the writings of the representatives of the conquerors as well as of the conquered races,

(1) We should here mention the *Precis historique des guerres des Sarrazins dans les Gaules, by* M. B.....N. C. F., Paris, 1810, and *Histoire generale de Moyen-age,* by M. Desmichels, Paris, 1831, Vol. II

that is to say, to deal with the writings both of the Arabs and of the Western Christian authors.

Historians have often noticed that very little can be gathered from the writings of Christian contemporaries. The reason for this is not long to seek, for the period of Saracenic invasions is precisely that when France was sinking to its uttermost depth, and which is by far the darkest epoch in her long and eventful history. When the Saracens came for the first time, about 712 A.C., the land was parcelled out between the Northern Franks who occupied Neustria, Austrasia and Burgundy, the Southern Franks who were masters of Aquitaine from the Loire to the Pyrenees, and the Visigoths who ruled a portion of the Languedoc and Provence. For a long time past the *regime* of weak kings and ambitious nobles had thrown the government and society into utter confusion, while the population was divided into numberless groups with conflicting interests. All this was bad enough, but unluckily it is only imperfect notices which are the source of all our information about those troublous times. No doubt, with Pepin and Charlemagne, the solidarity of the people increases to a remarkable extent and the historical horizon gradually becomes clearer, but it exactly coincides with the period when the Arabs were expelled from France. Later on, when during the reign of the successors of Louis the Gentle, the Saracens recrossed the French border, this beautiful land had already fallen a prey to anarchy and all other evils which usually follow such a state of affairs. The historical horizon now grows dimmer and dimmer till the country becomes a huge arena of pillage, devastation, murder and massacre, where the Saracens, the Normans and the Huns meet on common ground, and when it becomes increasingly difficult to differentiate the acts of one invading nation from the deeds of another.

At the same time accounts left to us by the Arab writers about the events of that distant epoch, especially in regard to the invasion of France, are in themselves by no means more perfect. In the first place we must remember that at least those Arab writers whose works have been handed down to us composed their work long after the events which they described. We know that from the very first there were among the conquering nation some whose business it was to record such events as seemed to them to be extraordinary, or which added glory to the fair name of the Arab race. Such, for instance,

are two works mentioned in the Arab bibliography, the first being an account of the glorious deeds of Mûsa, the conqueror of Spain, written by his own grandson[1], and the other a poem on Mûsa's rival, Târiq, which was likewise composed two generations after him[2]. But the account left by these writers appears to have been taken mostly from oral tradition only, so that it cannot be said to be entirely trustworthy[3]. We must not forget that at this period of their glory and enthusiasm, the Arabs wished above all to do everything which should demonstrate to the world the triumph of Islam. Poetry was the one branch of literature which attracted them, and it was only thus that they sang to the glorious deeds of Islamic heroes. Finally we are struck by the comparative lack of monuments commemorating the exploits of the Arabs, not only in the case of Spain but also in regard to their success in Syria, Egypt and the Old World in general.

Most of the historical works left to us by the Arabs, at least those of them which have a bearing on the subject before us, were written after the ninth century A. C., so that they belong to a period when men had forgotten a part of what had taken place. Moreover we are aware that they are wholly silent on a number of historical facts which were actually happening when they were written.

There is no doubt that the Arabs had many opportunities of knowing something about the interior of France and the neighbouring countries, for while at the commencement of their conquests, they had subdued and kept under their surveillance a part of these lands, they kept their relations with them even after they had fallen away from the Arab Empire. The reader will see that, while the Saracenic armies were overrunning these fair lands, at that very moment ambassadorial missions were being exchanged between the combatants. Mas'ûdî tells us that that about 939 A.C., Godmar, Bishop of Gironne in Catalonia, was sent to Khalîfah 'Abdur-Rahmân of Cordova. While he was still on his ambassadorial mission, the heir presumptive to the throne, Hakam, who is well-known to have been an ardent upholder of all that led to the advancement of learning, asked him to write a history which

(1) Casiri: *Biblitheca Arabo-Hispana Escurialensis*, t. II., p. 139.
(2) *Ibid.*, p. 36.
(3) We need not mention the *Histoire des deux Conquetes de l' Espagne par les Mores, par Abulcasim-Tarif-Aben-Tarique, l'un de ceux qui y ont pris part.* This work is of a doubtful nature and was composed by Miguel de Luna, who was interpreter to King Philip II.

should deal with the Kings of France from Clovis onwards[1]. We know that, from the time of Charlemagne, Catalonia was included within the Kingdom of France, and that Louis d'Outremer reigned there when the Bishop of Gironne worked at his history, so that in all probability the facts recorded were correct. Mas'ûdî tells us that that he himself saw a copy of this work in Egypt, but unfortunately all that we know about it is that derived from the few notices in the Arab historian's writings.

One reason why more Arabic works are not found on the subject was that the large number of proper names, with which they dealt, was entirely strange to their readers. The Arabs, as a rule, do not mark the vowel-points, while sometimes the copyists leave out the dots which are put either above or below the letters in order to distinguish them from each other. Moreover a large number of proper names which have nothing to correspond with in Arabic are transcribed in such a fashion that they are not recognizable even by those from whose history they were taken.

In the absence of other sources of information, one would have thought that the coins of the conquerors would have been of great value to the historian. One knows of what inestimable help are these historical relics for fixing the dates of historical persons and places. But right up to the tenth century A.C., the Spanish and the French Saracens coined money at the solitary mint at Cordova, and whatever coins we possess of the epoch before the tenth century, contain merely certain passages from the Qur'ân without the name either of the governor of the province or even of the reigning monarch.

All this goes to demonstrate the great difficulties which come in the way of a writer of the early history of the Spanish Saracens, and when an attempt is made to write an account of their colonies in France these difficulties become all the more intense. We possess a work on the occupation of the peninsula by the Arabs named *Historia*

(1) The names of *Godmar* and *Gironne* as well as the entire passage have been altered in most of the copies of Mas'ûdi's works which are found in the Royal Library of Paris. We have used a number of Manuscripts of this Library especially a copy belonging to the late M. Schulz, which was recently acquired by the French Government. Also *vide* Desguigne's *Memoires de l'Academie de l'Inscriptions*, Vol. XLV, p. 21. ; M. d'Ohsson : *Des Peuples du Caucase*, Paris 1828, p. 123 and the Spanish collection named *Espagna Sagrada*, Vol. XLIII, p. 126.

de dominacion de los Arabes en Espana by Conde, which was published some time ago and which contains pieces of most valuable information[1]. In this work the author has evidently at his disposal all the Arabic manuscripts of the library of the Escurial as well as of certain other libraries of Spain; and although he has not been able to lay his hands on the Arabic manuscripts of the Royal Library of Paris, he has drawn from sources which, but for his industry, would have remained unexplored. Unfortunately Conde was not able to put the last touches to his work, which was perhaps due to an inherent lack of the power of criticism which may be observed right through this work. We also know of another Spanish work of which Conde seems to have been ignorant and which would have been of immense value to him, namely *Cartas para illustrar la Historia de la Espana Arabe*, which is in effect a collection of letters illustrating the history of Spain under the Arabic domination[2]. It was published in Madrid in 1796, and it goes right against certain views expressed in the twelfth volume of Masdeu's History of Spain. The author of this work is very fond of finding fault with other people's views, but sometimes he does not take the trouble of discussing the *pros* and *cons* of what he puts forward. Moreover certain parts of the Arabic passages which he quotes seem to have been altered. In spite of all his faults, however, he often gives ample proof of his far-sightedness, and the problems which he puts forward concerning the races, the conquering armies, the religions professed by them, and the disintegration which almost immediately followed the conquest of the peninsula by elements so heterogeneous, would certainly have deserved Conde's attention.

In taking up the present work we were cognisant of the numerous pitfalls which beset our path; but it seemed

(1) Madrid 1820, 3 Vols. in 4to. Since then two French translations, both in an abridged form, have seen the light of the day: one by M. Audiffret, in the *Continuation de l'art de verifier les Dates;* the other by M. Marles, which is published as a distinct book. A full translation of this work was prepared by M. d'Avezac, who was not only a master of the Spanish language but was also perfectly at home in the history and geography of Spain and Africa. Unfortunately, however, this translation had not been published till this book was written. We should also mention a German work, *i.e.*, *Geschichte von Spanien*, by M. Lembke, Hamburg, 1831. Only one volume of this work has so far been published, and this takes one right upto 822 A. C.

(2) One volume in 4to, by Faustino Borbon who has the advantage of being able to draw from the Arabic Manuscripts of the Escurial Library.

to us that we could still add to the mass of historical facts already known. In addition to this consideration we thought that even for those facts for which our sole authority is the Christian authors, it was still possible to go further than Muratori, Dom Bouquet and other no less eminent savants.

We should like to let the reader know the line which we have adopted in this work. We have tried to pick up from the rather incoherent data left to us by the Chroniclers such pieces of evidence as we thought were contemporary to the events related, or were as little away from them as possible. Taking this into consideration we are of opinion that, however imperfect the Christian writers of the period may be, they seem to be certainly worthy of our best attention, and consideration. Whenever we have found Christian and Arab evidence in agreement with one another, we have admitted that the facts related rest on a sound historical basis ; when, however there is a disagreement between the two, we have put both versions before the reader, and have at the same time given our own opinion as to their veracity and probability. Further we have, as far as possible, drawn from the original sources, and have always taken care to mention those original authorities which we could not consult, for instance in the case of certain events which Conde admits to have drawn from original Arab authors. No doubt it would have been far better to compare these authorities with the originals which still exist in the libraries of Spain ; but unfortunately Conde does not always give any reference to the sources from which he borrows his facts[1].

At the end of the present work we have discussed the various peoples which in conjunction with the Arabs came within an ace of subjugating the whole of the European continent to the Law of Islam. We have sometimes called these races by the generic name of the *Saracens*, a name the real origin of which we do not know, but which has been given generally to all nomadic peoples ; sometimes we have called them '*Moors*', because the Arabs came into Spain directly from Africa, and there was a large number of Africans in the conquering armies. We have, moreover, taken care to distinguish the invasions of the Saracens from those of the Normans, the Huns and other barbarian races which overran the provinces of the domin-

(1) A part of the original extracts made by Conde are now in possession of the Parisian *Societe Asiatique* ; but we have not been able to find in it anything which we might consider material to our subject.

ions of Charlemagne immediately after his death and wrangled over the skeleton of what was once a mighty Empire.

While the Saracens were crossing into France with fire and sword in their hands, and laying waste Northern Italy and Switzerland, their compatriots were crossing into Sicily and Southern Italy, and making themselves master of those fair regions. It should be remembered that these two sets of invaders were entirely distinct from one another, and we have been led to deal with the influence which they exercised over each other.

Even to-day one sees all around one numerous landmarks of the Muslim occupation of France. Here the site of a fortress once destroyed by them, there a river on the banks of which French prisoners were ransomed; in this valley the place where they hid their booty, on that eminence the series of fortresses in which they concerted their plans; such are the footprints of this Asiatic race which was once supreme in South-Western Europe. All this is apart from the oral traditions which are not actually based on any contemporary monument, such as the tradition about a small village on the banks of the Garonne, named Castel-Sarrazin. There is hardly one living in the south of France who does not believe that this place was once an Arab fortress, nevertheless the fact remains that the name is not but the corrupted form of another name by which the place was known in ancient days.[1]

We have at the same time skipped over some episodes which have been dealt with by certain ancient writers in their most detailed aspect, but which have been entirely ignored by modern historians. They are either the work of those who loved to relate all that struck them as marvellous (such as the authors of the tales of chivalry), or on the other hand, they are based on ideas which are altogether erroneous. In such cases we have considered it sufficient for our purpose simply to mention these episodes and their sources.

Here we cannot help saying a few words on some of these episodes, which have a direct bearing on the subject under review. We must remember that these episodes became the foundation of a part of the ancient literature of France, so that they exercised a direct influence on the

(1) The word 'Castel-Sarrazin' is evidently derived from *Castrum-Cerrucium*, a name about which vide *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. I. p. 160. and the *Histoire generale du Languedoc*, by Dom Vaissette, Vol. I. p. 544.

opinion of the ancestors of modern Frenchmen for a very long time.

If we were to peruse the writings of contemporary historians, we should see that the Saracens are often dubbed *pagans* by them. This mistake was due to a number of reasons : in the first place there is no doubt that there was a number of idol-worshippers among the invaders ; then of course ignorant Christians erroneously thought that the Mussulmans considered their Prophet to be God Himself. Later, when at the time of the Crusades there was not a real pagan left in Europe, and when the Mussulmans were the only people to oppose the ambitions of the Western Christians, it became the habit of the Christians to consider Islam and paganism to be entirely synonymous. The extraordinary result of such a contradiction in terms was that the followers of the Qur'ân as well as the idol-worshippers and polytheists even before the days of the Prophet of Arabia—such as the Franks who had invaded Gaul before Clovis, the Greeks and the Romans—were dubbed " Saracens " or " Pagans " without a second thought. For instance a chapter of the Chronicle of William of Nangis begins with the history of " The Kings of France, both Christian and Saracen "[1].

Following the same line of thought, many Arab leaders are included in the *dramatis personae* of the French romance called the *Parthenopeus* which deals with the occurrences at the Court of King Clovis[2]. It is no wonder, then, that we come across certain writings of the Middle Ages, where the magnificent remains of Roman hegemony, such as those at Vienne, Lyons and in Dauphiné, are spoken of as being of Arab workmanship. Nor is it surprising that a time comes in the history of France when the exploits of the Arabs are made to eclipse all others, and, medieval writers, while neglecting real authorities for French history, give never-ending accounts, mostly fictitious, of the campaigns of Charles Martel, Pepin and Charlemagne against the followers of Islam while nearly ignoring their campaigns against the Germanic nations.

(1) *Catalogus Codicum Bibliothecae Bernensis*, by Sinner, Vol. II, p. 244.

(2) *Parthenopeus de Blois*, published by M. Crapelet, Paris, 1834, 2 Vols. in 4to. The poem, Vol. II. p. 77, describes the condition of Muslim Spain as it was from the eleventh century onwards, and says that it was divided into a number of principalities. This shows that the poem could not have been composed very early.

This was not the only source of their error. The brilliance of the name of Charlemagne had eclipsed not only the names of his unworthy successors but also of his father Pepin and his grandfather Charles Martel, so that a number of authors of the chivalric romances and most of the chroniclers gave the great Emperor the credit for some of the most noteworthy acts which, in point of fact, either preceded or followed him. Thus the so-called *Chronicle of Archbishop Turpin*[1] attributes all the Muslim invasions of France from the time of Charles Martel right up to the tenth century to the period of Charlemagne, and at the same time attributes to that period of French history all the events which necessitated the departure of the French warriors to the South to help Spanish Christians, who were menaced by the Mussulmans as well as by armed African bands towards the end of the eleventh century[2]. The same might be said of the romance of Philomène[3], which says that the Saracens were overlords of the whole of southern France, as they really were in the time of Charles Martel for a short while, and gives Charlemagne the credit of their expulsion from France which was really accomplished a long time before him. We do not think it necessary to add here that everyone of these writers has freely changed the proper course of events and has used contemporary colours for painting his picture.

On the other hand, certain writers who composed their works at the time of the struggle of the Kings of France with their principal feudatories, have arbitrarily changed the period of a number of events under review, moving them on to the reigns of Charlemagne and Pepin, and have attributed the success of those enterprises to the predecessors of their patrons. Such is the idea which runs through the *Poem of William the Short-nosed*, which is named after William, Count of Toulouse, in whose

(1) *De vita Caroli Magni et Rolandi*, Ciampi's edition, Florence, 1822, in 8vo. Taking into consideration the events with which it deals, it must have been written after 1100 A.C. M. Ciampi only imperfectly knew the period and the environments with which the book deals, and has therefore made a number of mistakes in transcribing proper names.

(2) The fact was that when the Spanish Muslims were hard pressed by the Christians of Toledo, they called, Yûsuf, son of Tashfîn, to their help. This Yûsuf was the founder of the town of Morocco and of the Empire of the Almoravides.

(3) *Gesta Caroli Magni ad Narbonum et Carcassonam*, M. Ciampi's edition, Florence, 1823, in 8vo. The *Philomene* romance, first written in the Provençal language, was composed later than Turpin's Chronicle.

honour the poem was composed and to whom the poet attributes the merit of having driven the Saracens from Nîmes, Orange and other towns of France[1]. As a matter of fact, it was a long time after that day, that the inhabitants of this part of France not only expelled the Mussulmans out of their country, but actually took part in the final overthrow of the Muslims of Spain.

We can easily understand how such writings, which were glossed on by Italian writers, chiefly by Ariosto, greatly misled subsequent authors. We should like to mention here another source of error. We know that the Huns left their habitations on the banks of the Danube during the first half of the ninth century, and after having crossed the Rhine, put practically the whole of France to fire and sword. The large part of the country which they occupied, and the disastrous results which followed their occupation, recalled the invasion of the Vandals, who had, five hundred years earlier, left practically identical homes, and had, so far as France was concerned, followed the same lines of marĉh. Now among the Huns there was a tribe called the Venedes or Wends. It seems that the German and French writers, especially those of a poetic bent of mind, wanted to establish some kind of connection between the Huns and the Vandals, (a name which at once suggests one of the most terrible products of human barbarism), so that they transformed the name of the *Wends* to *Vendres*, which soon changed to *Vandals* and they calmly applied it to the Hungarian race ! James of Guise, a Belgian writer of the fourteenth century,[2] while speaking of the nations which devastated France in the eighth, ninth and tenth century A.C., says that the word *Vandal* means a runner or a vagabond in the northern languages, and as the people were in the habit of flying from one country to another before finally settling down they were called ' Vandals.'[3]

(1) The *Poeme de Guillaume au-court-nez* is in French and consists of nearly 80.000 lines. The Manuscript is in the National Library of France, Lavallière Section, No. 23, and is divided into a number of sub-divisions.

(2) *History of Hainault*, in Latin, published for the first time in its entirety with French translation by the Marquis de Fortia d'Urban, Paris, 1826 ff., 15 vols. in 8vo.

(3) It is certain that according to the writings of James de Guise, the Vandals came to France by way of the Rhine and that they were really Normans by race. In fact he mentions that they invaded France twice, once in the time of Charles Martel and Pepin (Vol. VIII, pp. 263 ff.) and then during the reigns of Charles the Simple and Louis

James of Guise seems to have borrowed from the *Roman de Garin de Loherain*, a French poem composed about the twelfth century A.C.[1] In the *Roman de Garin* the Vandals are said to have invaded the country in the time of Charles Martel, and the heroes of the poem are described as having later on taken part in the campaigns of Charlemagne.[2] One of the incongruities of the poem is that while mention is made of the martyrdom of St. Nicaise, Archbishop of Rheims, and the death of St. Loup, Bishop of Troyes, both of whom lived in the fifth century, the details of the work belong to the tenth and the following centuries. In fact at the time when the action of the poem is supposed to have taken place, the King of France had retired to Laon, and Paris was governed by a duke. The country between Champagne and Alsace, from which the hero receives his surname of *Loherain*, was already called *Lotharingia* or Lorraine after Charlemagne's grandson, Lothaire. Moreover, Metz and other towns had dukes of their own. The poem calls the Vandals 'Hongres' or Hungarians, and we know that at the same time when it was composed, the Arabs were still masters of Savoy which was then called the *Maurienne*[3].

This raises the question whether the Saracens had nothing to do with the nation which is named Vandal, and if the answer to it be in the affirmative, then another problem comes to our mind, regarding the part which they played in that invasion. The whole question of the identification of the country through which the Saracens must have passed, depends on the following considerations: We come across many passages in the annals of martyrdom and the legends of the Saints composed after the eighth

d' Outremer (Vol. IX, pp. 220 ff.). In the first case he bows his head to the sweet will of the authors of the Chivalric romances, while in the second case he is guided by the correct order of events. Without guaranteeing the etymology of the word 'Vandal' as given by James of Guise, we know that '*Wandeln*' means *to march* in the German language.

(1) The *Roman de Garin le Loherain* was published for the first time by M. Paulin, Paris, 1833. A critical and literary analysis of the poem has been published by M. Leroux de Lincy, Paris, Techener, 1835, in 8vo.

(2) Cf. the *Roman de Garin* Vol. I, pp. 49 ff. with Turpin's Chronicle pp. 81 and 83.

(3) These remarks apply to a passage in an old French work called *la Fleur des Histoires*, mentioned in the Catalogue of the Berne Library, Vol. VI, p. 189, as well as to a passage in an unpublished French poem called *Renard le contrefait* which M. Robert, keeper of the Library of St. Geneviève is going to publish.

century, where mention is made of the destruction of churches and the murder of Christian Fathers by the Vandals. Now we know that during the reign of Charles Martel, Pepin and Charlemagne, the country situated between the Rhine, the Pyrenees, the Alps and the sea was overrun by the Mussulmans. We are also aware of the fact that the *Roman de Garin*, the Chronicle of James of Guise and the *Roman du Renard le Contrefait* more than once mention the Vandals as Saracens. Lastly the real Saracens, especially those of Africa, are sometimes dubbed *Vandals*, thus reminding us of the real Vandals who were led into Africa by Genseric[1].

This question was examined a hundred and fifty years ago by Father Lecointe in his Ecclesiastical History of France[2]. This orator and savant did not hesitate to identify the Vandals and the Saracens, and his opinion was accepted by Dom Mabillon, Father Pagi, Dom Vaissette, in short by some of the most learned men of the period. It was only later on that certain most important ancient French works were brought to light, where the Vandal invasions were described in their fullest detail. In these works it is taken for granted that the Vandals invaded not only Southern and Central France, where in point of fact the Saracens had really penetrated, but were in actual possession of the suburbs of Paris, Lorraine, Flanders and many parts of the valley of the Rhine where the standards of Islam had never flown. Thus was proved the dictum that he who grasps too much loses all.

To sum up : As a matter of fact there is no contemporary authority describing the invasion of France by the Vandal nation in the eighth century. All the evidence which we possess belongs to the tenth century, where the Vandals are called Saracens, and of course the word *Saracen* could not have meant *pagan*. To Dom Mabillon[3] and Dom Vaissette[4] may be given the credit of the remark that certain facts about the so-called Vandals of the eighth century really belonged to another period altogether[5].

(1) *Vide* the *Life of St. Nicholas*, published by M. Monmerqué in the Collection of the *Societe des Bibliophiles Francais*, Paris 1834 p. 258.

(2) *Annales Ecclesiastici Francorum* Vol. IV, pp. 728 ff.

(3) *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, saec. I, part 2, p. 534, and *Annales Benedictini* Vol. II, p. 90.

(4) *Histoire Generale du Languedoc*, Vol. I, notes, pp. 138 ff.

(5) *Vide*, Part I, *infra*; as regards the capture of the Abbey of Luxeuil by the Vandals, vide the *Memoires Historiques sur la ville de Poligny*, by Chevalier, Lon-le-Saulnier 1767, Vol. I, pp. 45 & 66.

It may be objected that these facts have been actually admitted in the great Chronicles of St. Denis which were held in such high esteem by the ancestors of modern Frenchmen. Those Chronicles were put into writing about the middle of the twelfth century, and so far as events prior to that date are concerned, the writer has simply reproduced the most popular stories current in his own time. We have, therefore, little doubt that he must have drawn from the absurd tales embodied in the Chronicle of Turpin.

All this supports what we already know, that right up till the seventeenth century, *i.e.*, till the revival of the study of history as a science, the *Roman de Garin* and other works of that category were almost the only authorities which were consulted by writers on the subject before us. This goes to explain the great confusion of ideas which began in the Romances, passed on to the Chronicles and thence to most of the legends of the Saints.

To return to our subject, we are not concerned with such facts as merely satisfy idle curiosity or deal only with small localities. For a long time a large part of France was overrun or occupied by the Muslims, while some time afterwards Savoy, Piedmont and Switzerland felt the effect of their domination, so that they were in possession of some of the best fortified parts of what is practically the centre of Europe from the Gulf of St. Tropès to the Lake of Constance, and from the Rhône to the Jura Mountains right to up Montferrat and Lombardy. There is little doubt that when the Crusaders hurled Christian Europe against Asia and Africa and brought the Bible and the Qur'ân so much into prominence, they well remembered these raids of the Muslims on those countries. In all these lands which were once occupied by the Muslims, and even in the adjoining countries, their name has ever been present before the peoples' mind, and it has been moreover mixed up with the tradition of ancient and medieval Europe.

In this work we have enumerated various facts in their chronological order, so that if there are any events which might have escaped our notice, they can easily be put in their proper place, and if there are any facts which have not been allotted to their proper date they can be given their true character. In this connection we should like to appeal to the enthusiasm and learning of those who do not wish to remain indifferent to such an

important issue and who have special opportunities for knowing the real facts, either owing to their proximity to the historical places under discussion, or else because they have in their possession documents which have not been properly sifted. The present book although very small in volume, has taken a long time to prepare and is the result of hard and succinct work. It may, however be regarded, only as an outline to be amplified by further dissertations on the subject. Considering the long centuries which separate us from the events which we are going to narrate and discuss, it is impossible to hope to fill in all the gaps which exist. We, trust, however, that the present work will bring a number of new facts to light; and in any case, even if it were to reveal even one dark spot in one of the darkest and most difficult periods in the History of France, we shall consider our industry sufficiently repaid.

The book is divided into four parts. In the first are described the invasions of the Saracens coming chiefly from Spain *via* the Pyrenees, up to their expulsion from Narbonne and the Languedoc by Pepin the Short in 759. The second part deals with the invasion of the Saracens by sea as well as by land till their colonisation of the coast of Provence about 889. The third part relates how the Mussulmans penetrated through Provence to Dauphiné, Savoy, Piedmont and Switzerland. We shall show in the fourth part the general character and the results of these inroads and settlements.

HAROON KHAN SHERWANI.

THE RELIGION OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE[1]

In speaking of the religion of a great artist or thinker, we are not concerned with the outer circumstances of worship or organisation. We do not deal in labels. We have nothing to do with herd instincts, or with the embodiment of the conventional or the institutional. These are usually blinkers to keep the erring "soul" straight, which might otherwise stray to paths not good for it in its unredeemed state. Even a hard-headed physician like Sir Thomas Browne soared from the "wingy mysteries in divinity and airy subtleties in religion" to that other book of revelation, Nature, "that universal and public manuscript that lies expansed unto the eyes of all." With artists there may be a religion even in a conflict with religion as orthodoxly understood. Wagner lost all reverence for "religion" from the date of his confirmation ceremony at the age of 14. And yet we may gather from his powerful dramas and music a truly spiritual expression of soul-music which may well be called religion. In a poet like Wordsworth it is usual to speak of a religion of nature. Perhaps it would be truer to speak of a religion of nature and humanity, art and spirit. To come to contemporary Englishmen, we have Richard Jefferies, beloved of all who are in love with what he calls "mind-fire." His religion escapes from written tradition and systems of culture to what he calls experiences of "soul life."

The religion of Rabindranath Tagore is to my mind the most striking feature in his personality, his poetry, his educational ideals, and his life. It would be futile to seek labels for him or to compare and contrast him with other poets or teachers either in India or in the West. If we must relate him back to formative influences in his own life and surroundings or his heritage and racial or cultural strains, it will not be necessary to dwell long on

(1) A Paper read to the Royal Society of Literature, London.

these. While we can understand his mind, art, and spiritual cravings better by relating them back to such influences, we must seek the core of his message in his own personality as a creative artist.

His English biographer, Mr. E. J. Thompson, calls him "a child of Hindu culture."[1] That expression is hardly adequate even if we take the widest definition of Hindu culture. It is certainly true that some of his finest songs have a tinge of Vedanta Pantheism. But the Vedanta postulates a great impersonal Being, the basis of all Reality, while Tagore's most characteristic note is that of a personal God imagined and described in glowing forms and colours. These are of course metaphorical, but the Formless One is invested with attributes which bring Him into clear-cut personal relations with His votaries. Tagore, especially in his later writings, constantly quotes and bases his conclusions on the Upanishads. But the conclusions themselves point in new directions, and it is fairer to his genius to ascribe at least some of his work to other influences, personal, inherited, or assimilated. His attacks on caste bring him nearer to the teaching of the Buddha, to whom he has paid generous tribute. The Vaishnava poetry of Bengal, the Shakta poems of Ram Parshad, which are almost like folk-poems in Bengal, and the Shaiva poems of the Tamil saints of the South, all strike a personal note of Bhakti or devotion to a personal god or goddess. But when we remember the abuses to which some of this earlier poetry was put, we shall understand the greatness of Tagore all the more in the greater refinement of personality and the more modern outlook of religion which we find in his work.

Tagore's family comes of a Brahman stock, but many generations back, under Muslim rule, they broke with the Brahmans and were called Pirilis for their social and cultural associations with the Muslims. The Sufi poetry of the Muslims finds a perceptible echo in Tagore, although it is unacknowledged and may be unconscious. The tradition of the break with the Brahmans and Pandits found further expression in the unbending conduct of the poet's grandfather, Dwarkanath Tagore. On his return to India from England in 1842, he defied the Brahmans and refused to perform the Prayaschit ceremony in token of repentance for having eaten and associated with non-Hindus. This mutual aversion between the Pandits and

(1) E. J. Thompson: Rabindranath Tagore, Poet and Dramatist (1926), p. 267.

Tagore continues to the present day, and is responsible for part of the unpopularity which his work in Bengali had to suffer until world-wide fame lifted the poet up from the provincialism of his detractors.

The most recent and perhaps most powerful influence in the formation of Tagore, as influences go in the formation of genius, has been that of British culture. This is also unacknowledged and can hardly be unconscious. His family was among the first notable families of Bengal that came under British influence. They were among the earliest supporters of the liberal religious movement which began with Raja Ram Mohan Roy under British and Muslim influences. When the movement took definite shape as a reformed church, the Brahmo Samaj, the Tagore family was among its most influential leaders, and waged a fierce war against idolatry, both in writing and in practice. In the matter of caste the Tagore family remained conservative, and the more democratic members who disapproved of caste seceded into the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. Rabindranath, born into the Adi Brahmo Samaj, which allowed caste, himself tried, without success, to abolish caste from the Adi Brahmo Samaj. He has also attacked time-honoured social practices like child-marriage. He has been accepted as an honorary member of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj.

The growth of all the vernaculars in India, and especially Bengali, shows the intrusive influence of English culture on the Indian mind during the last century and a half. In this way some of the ideas of the English mind have penetrated into circles not educated in English, through the general intellectual atmosphere of India. But the direct study of the English language and English literature has produced an influence on the choicer spirits, whose importance cannot be over-rated. On account of this influence a great deal of the higher thought in India derives its impulses from Western cultural movements. Even the strong reaction against the West, which has set in, in the last two generations in India, and which is expressed in a poetic and beautiful form in Rabindranath, would not have been possible but for that influence and the methods and ideals which it placed before the Indian mind. It has been asserted and denied that Christian mysticism is one of the formative elements in the religion of Rabindranath Tagore. In so far as British and Western influences have penetrated India, the influence of Christianity is self-evident. But mysticism in

all ages and under all religions has a kinship and affinity which must be allowed for, and it would not be wise or right to press the claims of any organised religion as an exclusive factor in the work of a poet and artist like Rabindranath.

Nor must we fall into the mistake of supposing that we can crib and confine so elusive a religion as that of a creative artist into a system of philosophy. I know that Professor Radhakrishnan has written an imposing volume on the philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore. Among the theses he tries to prove are: the utter bankruptcy of Western materialism; the reconciliation of the old Vedanta doctrine with that of a personal God; and the reconciliation of modern science with Hindu philosophy through the poetry of Rabindranath Tagore. I confess that to me the attempt appears to be a hopeless failure. It is absurd to label Rabindranath Tagore. His work as a poet would be of less value if it were merly a re-hash or a restatement of an ancient school of thought. The absurdity is heightened when he is hailed with such epithets as "an optimist[1]." Creative minds, those that reach the higher regions of poetry, are not optimists or pessimists. They describe their inner experiences. They put down their vision in words. It has to be understood as a poet has to be understood, in terms of joy and beauty, and feeling, and not dissected and reduced to a system. Religion, says Rabindranath Tagore[2], "is directly apprehended; it is not to be argued and analysed like metaphysics." To treat it like metaphysics would be almost as great a fault as "to shackle the Infinite and tame it for domestic use[3]."

I said that the key-note of Rabindranath's religion is a personal God. This personality is imaged as a king, as a beggar, as a lover, as a playmate, as a bridegroom, as a father or mother, as a traveller, as a musician or as a world-filling light. But in spite of these vivid descriptions of His personality, God still remains the unknown God, except to those who have seen Him as it were face to face. Such a vision is for the inspired. How can they reveal it to the ordinary man? This is how the Gitanjali[4] expresses it:—

(1) S. Radhakrishnan: Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore (1918) p. 281.
(2) Creative Unity (1922) p. 14.
(3) *Ibid.* p. 16.
(4) Gitanjali No. 102.

"I boasted among men that I had known you. They see your pictures in all works of mine. They come and ask me 'Who is he ?' I know not how to answer them. I say, 'Indeed I cannot tell.' They blame me and they go away in scorn. And you sit there smiling.

I put my tales of you into lasting songs. The secret gushes out from my heart. They come and ask me, 'Tell me all your meanings.' I know not how to answer them. I say, 'Ah, who knows what they mean!' They smile and go away in utter scorn. And you sit there smiling."

But this inscrutable God, almost careless whether the others know or understand him, is very real and personal to his devotees. He gives Himself to His devotee in love and then feels His own entire sweetness in the devotee[1]. He comes unasked, with steps unheard. His eyes are sad as they fall on his devotee. His voice is tired as he speaks low in the guise of a thirsty traveller. The devotee pours water from his jar into his joined palms. The devotee, like a Hindu woman at a well, stands speechless with shame when her name is asked. But the devotee's bliss is in memory of the water given to the God who came in the guise of a thirsty traveller[2]. But sometimes the devotee stands waiting like a woman pining for her absent lover. She waits and waits from morning to noon and on into the shadows of the evening. She waits and weeps and wears out her heart in vain longing[3]. That is one phase. A counterpart to this phase is where the devotee is remiss in his prayers or keeps not God in his heart; yet God's love for him still waits for his love. The men of this world who love him try to hold him secure. But God's love which is greater than theirs keeps him free. The men of the world never venture to leave him alone lest he should forget them. But day passes after day and God is not seen, and yet His love, like the compelling grace of Christian theology, waits for the worshipper's love[4].

On God's radiance are cast coloured shadows by man. That is God's *maya*. He sets a barrier in His own being and then calls His severed self in a myriad notes. This self-separation of the Deity takes body in His creature. This screen which He has raised between Himself and

(1) Gitanjali, No. 65.
(2) Gitanjali, No. 54.
(3) Gitanjali, No. 41.
(4) Gitanjali, No. 32.

His *maya* creation is painted with innumerable figures with the brush of the night and the day. Behind the screen is His seat woven in wondrous mysteries. "The great pageant," says the Gitanjali[1], " of Thee and Me has overspread the sky. With the tune of Thee and Me all the air is vibrant, and all ages pass with the hiding and seeking of Thee and Me." This idea of creation as playfulness, as *Lila* or *Maya* is expounded in many forms. " If this be Thy wish " says Tagore[2], " and if this be Thy play, then take this fleeting emptiness of mine, paint it with colours, gild it with gold, float it on the wanton wind, and spread it in varied wonders. And again when it shall be Thy wish to end this play at night, I shall melt and vanish away in the dark, or it may be in a smile of the white morning, in a coolness of purity transparent." Thus human life and death or the appearance and disappearance of the phenomenal world are mere *Lila*, the Play of God, who is the only Reality. This idea of play is further developed in the description of God as a Playmate. The creature plays with Him and never questions who He is. In the early morning, the creature is called from his sleep as by his own comrade and led running from glade to glade. The creature's voice takes up the tune of God's song and feels neither shyness nor fear. It is when the playtime is over that the sudden sight of glory bursts upon the creature. The world with all its silent stars stands in awe as with eyes bent upon God's feet[3].

God is the Infinite, the Absolute, the only Reality. Science refuses to accept the paradox of the Infinite assuming finitude. But it is the paradox which lies at the very root of existence[4]. It is for the poet to realise and reveal the mystery of the One with the Infinite, the mystery of how the Creator takes shape in His creation, and how we can feel in our own individual personality all His infinitude and all the wonderful life of Nature around us. As Tagore says in his *Fruit-Gathering*[5], " I feel that all the stars shine in me. The world breaks into my life like a flood. The flowers blossom in my body. All the youthfulness of land and water smokes like incense in my heart; and the breath of all things plays on my thoughts as on a flute."

(1) No. 71.
(2) Gitanjali, No. 80.
(3) Gitanjali, No. 97.
(4) Tagore's *Personality*, (1896), p. 55.
(5) Fruit-Gathering, (1916) No. 98.

It is not easy to express in words the relations of God, Nature and Man, or to reconcile the idea of a personal God with the idea of the immanent Essence which is in all things, and which to a Pantheist is God. The problem interests Tagore deeply. Apart from its poetic presentation in various moods in his hymns and songs, he has devoted a special book of prose essays or lectures, "Creative Unity," to its exposition. In a sense it is an authoritative exposition of the central core of his religion, as Bergson's "Creative Evolution" (*L'Evolution Creatrice*) furnishes the master-key to the exposition of the philosophy of motion. Only we must remember that Bergson is first a philosopher, and then a poet, while Tagore concentrates all his soul in poetry. In some respects Tagore's exposition of Creative Unity recalls parallels, both in fervour and in terminology, to the Muslim idea of Unity (*Wahdaniyat*) as expounded by the great Sufi mystics. In Tagore's view poetry cherishes man's faith in his unity with all existence, the final truth of which is the truth of personality. The joy of unity within ourselves, seeking expression, becomes creative. Any one individual can realise in himself an infinite variety, of substance, functions, and faculties, at any given time, as well as infinite variety in time and space. That unity in himself has the simplicity of the Infinite and reduces the immenseness of multitude to a single point. The endless show of variety can only be properly understood by the realisation of this ideal unity. We seek unity in knowledge for understanding; we create images of unity for delight; and we seek union in love for fulfilment. In love the joy is ultimate, because it is the ultimate truth.

When we realise the unity of all in one, we can understand how any one individual can feel himself a part of another or feel that other a part of himself; for both are parts of a single unity, although each in himself constitutes a unit. The harmony thus established leads to the idea of Beauty. For Beauty, according to Tagore, is the self-offering of the One to the other One.[1] Thus Beauty merges in Love and Joy. The grasp of this universal Unity leads to the ideal of Perfection. Faith in God is Faith in the reality of the ideal of Perfection. Perhaps Tagore, with his ideas of Beauty, Love and Personality, may not accept the Vedanta doctrine of the illusory nature of the phenomenal world. He does not in so many words reject that doctrine, and he accepts the

(1) Creative Unity (1922), p. 19.

evanescence of the phenomenal world. But, as might be expected from a creative poet, Creation, Joy, Beauty, seem to him embedded in the idea of Reality. In his own words, "This world is a Creation;.....a living idea,.....an eternal symphony[1]."

The religion of Art and Beauty is well expressed in the aphorism: "Art gives our Personality the disinterested freedom of the Eternal[2]." "Eternal" refers to time, but Art and Poetry have an extension not only in Time but in space and other categories. Poetry, according to Tagore, detaches the idea from everyday facts, and gives its wings the freedom of the Universal[3]. The Universal, the Absolute, the Eternal, as terms applied to God, are understood in every form of religion. Here we can apply them to the personality of man, even though that personality is detached (if it can ever be detached in Tagore's system) from the one and ultimate Reality. It would seem as if we could apply these terms to human personality even through the gates of Death. I do not think that Tagore would accept the persistence of human personality in any other sense. For himself, Death is God's servant, God's messenger, who has crossed the unknown sea and brought His call. "The night," he says,[4] "is dark and my heart is fearful—yet I will take up the lamp and bow to him my welcome....I will worship him with folded hands and with tears. I will worship him placing at his feet the treasure of my heart. He will go back with his errand done, leaving a dark shadow on my morning; and in my desolate home only my forlorn self will remain as my last offering to Thee." Speaking of a lost dear one, he says [5]: "My house is small and what once has gone from it can never be regained. But infinite is Thy mansion, my Lord, and seeking her I have come to Thy door. I stand under the golden canopy of Thine evening sky and I lift my eager eyes to Thy face. I have come to the brink of eternity, from which nothing can vanish—no hope, no happiness, no vision of a face seen through the tears. Oh, dip my emptied life into that ocean, plunge it into the deepest fulness. Let me, for once, feel that lost sweet touch in the allness of the universe." The simile of a detached life being emptied out of its shell and plunged

(1) Creative Unity (1922), p. 35.
(2) *Ibid*, p. 39.
(3) *Ibid*, p. 41.
(4) Gitanjali, No. 86.
(5) Gitanjali, No. 87.

back into the ocean of existence from which it came frequently occurs in Vedantic and Upanishad as well as Sufi literature. But personally I cannot see how, if we are to accept it, we can at the same time accept the permanence of human personality.

The idea of God as the King of Kings occurs frequently in the Gitanjali, but each time a new facet is cut in the gem, a new quality is revealed in Tagore's idea of the Godhead. One of the most daring is that where he suggests that he himself is necessary to God's existence, thus drawing a sharp line of contrast with the idea of the self-sufficiency of God. "Oh, Thou Lord of all Heavens," says he,[1] "where would be Thy love if I were not? Thou hast taken me as Thy partner of all this wealth. In my heart is the endless play of Thy delight. In my life Thy will is ever taking shape. And for this, Thou who art the King of Kings, hast decked Thyself in beauty to captivate my heart. And for this, Thy love loses itself in the love of Thy lover, and there art Thou seen in the perfect union of the two." If we grant the identity of creation with the Creator, perhaps the idea would not appear so inconsistent with the majesty of God as might appear to those whose theology is built on a different basis.

Let us take two other similes of the King. In one[2] He comes down from His throne and stands at a humble cottage door. There is a poor man singing all alone in a corner. He is a mere novice. The King has many masters of music in his hall, whom He can hear at any hour. But the song in this cottage strikes at His love and He comes down and stops at the cottage door with a flower for a prize. Another picture[3] is where the King comes to beg at the door of a beggar who himself had gone begging from door to door. "Thy golden chariot appeared in the distance like a gorgeous dream and I wondered who was this King of Kings. My hopes rose high and methought my evil days were at an end, and I stood waiting for alms to be given unasked and for wealth scattered on all sides in the dust. The chariot stopped where I stood. Thy glance fell on me and Thou camest down with a smile. I felt that the luck of my life had come at last. Then of a sudden Thou didst hold out Thy right hand and say, 'What hast thou to give to Me?

(1) Gitanjali, No. 56.
(2) Gitanjali, No. 49.
(3) Gitanjali, No. 50.

Ah, what a kingly jest was it to open Thy palm to a beggar to beg! I was confused and stood undecided, and then from my wallet I slowly took out the least little grain of corn and gave it to Thee. But how great was my surprise when at the day's end I emptied my bag on the floor to find a least little grain of gold upon the poor heap. I bitterly wept and wished that I had had the heart to give Thee my all." A simple edifying parable from the picture of a Raja and a covetous Bengali peasant, but lifted well up into the sublime by the magic of the poet's art in telling a short story.

The simile of the Fatherhood of God is used, but rather in an unexpected way. "I know Thee as my God and stand apart—I do not know Thee as my own and come closer. I know Thee as my Father and bow before Thy feet—I do not grasp Thy hand as my friend's[1]." We can picture the conditions of family life under which the tender grasp of a friend's hand can well be contrasted with the respect and reverence due to a father's "feet." But the idea of fatherhood in the Hindu system of divinity is incomplete without the idea of Motherhood, which indeed forms the central core in the Shakta system so popular in Bengal. The complementary picture is not wanting in Tagore. "When in the morning I looked upon the light I felt in a moment that I was no stranger in this world, that the Inscrutable without name and form had taken me in its arms in the form of my own mother....The child cries out when from the right breast the mother takes it away, in the very next moment to find in the left one its consolation"[2]. It may be permissible to point out that this complementary idea of Motherhood along with Fatherhood in connection with the godhead, though not accepted in that form in Christian theology, has practically been adopted in the Mariolatry so firmly established in Catholic Christianity.

Apart from Motherhood, perhaps a word ought to be said about the ideal of Womanhood in the Tagore scheme. His own devotion to his wife and his daughter was profound and has inspired some of the noblest of his poetry. Speaking impersonally, he writes in his Reminiscences[3]:— "The ultimate perfection of all womanly love is to be found in reverence; ....where extraneous cause has hampered its true development, woman's love naturally

(1) Gitanjali. No. 77.
(2) Gitanjali, No. 95.
(3) Reminiscences, (1917), p. 166.

grows into worship." In his American lectures[1], he deals with the theme in greater detail. "Woman's function," he says, "is the passive function of the soil, which not only helps the tree to grow but keeps its growth within limits." The passive virtues of chastity, modesty, devotion, and power of self-sacrifice are specified as found in a greater measure in woman than in man. This may not be very satisfactory from a feminist point of view, and probably falls short of the ideal of womanhood as held by the more advanced Brahmo women in Bengal itself. I have heard Indian ladies in public meetings pouring contempt on the Sita ideal. Ultimately I believe that the ideal can only be refined and perfected by the insight of women in a freer social system than we have yet reached in India.

Speaking of human personality, especially in its creative and religious aspects, we must note two special points. They both reveal the idea of a dual personality. One is concerned with the sources of his inspiration, and the other with the springs of his Bhakti or devotion to God. With regard to his inspiration he developed the idea of a *Jiban-Debata*, or genius of his life, a sort of Daemon who went with him and inspired his poetry. He has always sought to derive his inspiration in solitude and from the forces of Nature. The Padma river and the endless plains round his own country home as well as the rose gardens of Ghazipur in the United Provinces or the monsoon-swept seacoast of Karwar in the Bombay Presidency, were sought out by him at various periods of his literary life, to give him contact with the spirit of the Absolute and the Eternal, Who is the centre of his religious meditations. Where poets like Wordsworth sought and took the inspiration direct, Tagore postulated this *Jiban-Debata*, or life spirit. The idea, in the poet's own words, "has a double strand. There is the Vaishnava dualism—always keeping the separateness of the self—and there is the Upanishadic monism. God is wooing each individual, and God is also the ground-reality of all, as in the Vedantist unification. When the *Jiban-Debata* idea came to me, I felt an overwhelming joy—it seemed a discovery, new with me—in this deepest self seeking expression. I wished to sink into it, to give myself up wholly to it. Today, I am on the same plane as my readers, and I am trying to find what the *Jiban-Debata* was[2]."

(1) Tagore's "*Personality*," (1897), p. 172.

(2) Thompson: Rabindranath Tagore, Poet and Dramatist.

In the matter of devotion he imagines in himself a greater self which is one with God and a little self which dogs the footsteps of this greater Self and always comes as a hindrance to his identification with the Universal Self. Let us recall the picture in his own words[1]. " I came out alone on my way to my tryst. But who is this that follows me in the silent dark ? I move aside to avoid his presence but I escape him not. He makes the dust rise from the earth with his swagger ; he adds his loud voice to every word that I utter. He is my own little self, my Lord, he knows no shame ; but I am ashamed to come to Thy door in his company." In another song[2], he describes these two selves again at cross-purposes. One is making a wall and enclosing the other in a dungeon, in which the prisoner weeps. The builder of the wall is proud of the wall and plasters it with dust and sand lest a hole should be left. For all the care he takes he loses sight of his true being. The contrast could not be stated in clearer terms. But it is not clear how this lower or little self is to be identified with the universal system. We could understand it if we were told that our high destiny was obscured for a time by our being enclosed in 'the muddy vesture of decay'. We could also understand the conflict if we could suppose that a higher grace from without tried to reclaim us. The difficulty arises when we try to conceive of both the selves in actual and conscious conflict, and at the same time believe that both the selves are identified with the Universal and the Absolute. If the two selves are at different stages of spiritual evolution, how come they to be conjoined in a single personality ? The problem is different from that of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, or from that raised in the Latin poet's complaint : *Video meliora proboque ; Deteriora autem sequor.* But let us not pursue the question further lest we insult the poet by treating him as a psychologist. His explanation about the *Jiban-Debata* puts him on the same plane as our humble selves.

The freedom of the human will is postulated in Tagore's poetry, but is more particularly referred to in his prose essays called " Sâdhana, the Realisation of Life, " in which the problem of Personality is also dealt with. God has left the soul of man free. " In his physical and mental organism, where man is related with nature, he has to acknowledge the rule of his King, but in his self he is free to disown Him. There our God must win His

(1) Gitanjali, No. 80.
(2) Gitanjali, No. 29.

entrance. There He comes as a guest, not as a King, and therefore He has to wait till He is invited. It is the man's self from which God has withdrawn His commands, for there He comes to court our love. His armed forces, the laws of nature, stand outside its gate, and only beauty, the messenger of His love, finds admission within its precincts[1]." Here we have a daring suggestion, an extension of the Dualism of one of the old Hindu schools of philosophy. The old Dualism referred to Spirit and Matter, or to God and His Creation. Here there is apparently an independent will created, the human will as a reality, to be conceived of in the same plane as the divine will. But what becomes of *Karma*, the chain of causation whose consequences nothing can alter? In the soul of man, according to this passage in Tagore, "will seeks its manifestation in will, and freedom turns to win its final prize in the freedom of surrender." But what happens if there is no surrender? Are we to conceive of a Zoroastrian duality, an Ahriman against Ormazd, a discord in the midst of the "universal" symphony (if "universal" can be used in such opposition)? This of course is nowhere suggested, and we are again left in the beautiful mist of poetry, metaphor, and mystery.

In both religion and art (and we might add also conduct) Tagore's ideal aims at calm and peace and would shut out fervour, storm, and passion. His chosen home in the country, where he aims at stamping his personality on education, is called "Shanti-Niketan," the abode of peace. He would undoubtedly repudiate Keats' "Bards of Passion and of Mirth." Indeed, in express words he has shown a strange insensibility to the beauty and power of English literature. In his Reminiscences[2] he says: "In English literature the reticence of true art has not yet appeared." He describes the long course of that literature in phrases that are amazing in the mouth of one who has himself contributed to that literature. You cannot describe "Shakespeare's contemporary literature" as representing "the war-dance of the day when the Renaissance came to Europe in all the violence of its reaction" etc. Nor can you jump on to "another such day in English literature when the slow-measure of Pope's common time gave place to the dance-rhythm of the French Revolution," which "had Byron for its poet." Nor can we forbear a smile when he gravely tells us that the appear-

(1) Tagore's *Sadhana* (1913), p. 41.
(2) Tagore: *My Reminiscences*, (1917), pp. 182–4.

ance of Wordsworth and Shelley in English literature was due to the newly discovered philosophy of India, " which stirred the soul of Germany and aroused the attention of Western countries[1]." But we are not examining the *Jiban-Debata* in history or literary criticism. We are trying to see how this ideal of repose and tranquillity works out in Tagore's religion and poetry.

He conceives " the Spotless and Serene " as indeed surrounded with colours and sounds and odours but to be found ultimately in the " infinite sky ", and reigning " as the stainless white radiance ", where " there is no day nor night, nor form nor colour, and never, never a word[2]." But no psalm, no hymn, no work of art can give expression to forms of Beauty without fervour and warmth, without joy and passion. Fortunately Tagore's own method involves this joy, this fervour, and this passion. Many examples can be cited, but let us look at a single hymn from the Gitanjali, quivering with the fervour of the devotee's heart and running over with the music and colour in almost riotous profusion. " Let all the strains of joy mingle in my last song—the joy that makes the earth flow over in the riotous excess of the grass, the joy that sets the twin brothers, life and death, dancing over the wide world, the joy that sweeps in with the tempest, shaking and waking all life with laughter, the joy that sits still with its tears on the open red lotus of pain, and the joy that throws everything it has upon the dust, and knows not a word."[3] Perhaps the suggestion is that the ecstasy is a beginning, but the end is silence and peace.

Nor can a description of life and motion in Nature, as seen in Northern India, such as the following, be said to be illustrative of the absence of passion or enthusiasm in poetry. The passage is from *Naivedya*[4], and the translation is that of Mr. E. J. Thompson.

" In files and companies the wild geese flight
To the far south, where feather-grass flowers white
And towering tall, upon the sandbanks lone.
Again, in spring, they come ; aloft, high-flown,
They float, chanting with joy."

An admirable version of a moving scene, familiar to every one who has visited the lonely islands in the great rivers

(1) Tagore's *Creative Unity*, (1922), p. 61.
(2) Gitanjali, 67 and 68.
(3) Gitanjali, No. 58.
(4) *Naivedya*, 25, as translated at p. 191 in E. J. Thompson's Rabindranath Tagore, Poet and Dramatist (1926).

of Northern India in the cold weather. Or again, take that passionate Ode to Beauty, entitled *Urvasi*, and printed in an adequate translation by Mr. E. J. Thompson in his Tagore volume in the Augustan Books of Modern Poetry. I shall content myself with just quoting four lines :—

" From age to age thou hast been the world's beloved,
Oh, unsurpassed in loveliness, Urvasi !
Ah, hear what crying and weeping everywhere rises for thee,
Oh, cruel, deaf, Urvasi."

We can hear an echo of La Belle Dame sans Merci, surely full of the deepest human passion.

But it is true that Tagore's genius in its very restlessness aims at rest and peace and finality. He has always found the noise and bustle of Western life inconsistent with the higher ideals or the spiritual quest, or the creative work of imagination. Men like Richard Jefferies have also gone to nature to seek inspiration and refresh their souls. But human nature interests them just as much as other nature. Speaking of London, Mr. Jefferies says : " The noise of the traffic and the constant pressure from the crowds passing, their incessant and disjointed talk, could not distract me[1]." A religion of active life would not fit in with the scheme of our poet. We cannot imagine him saying like Clough :—

——" We ask action
And dream of arms and conflict ; and string up
All self-devotion's muscles."

Passages can be found in him where the devotee is enjoined to come out of his meditations and stand by the toiler in the fields[2], but the toil itself is that of silence, patience, and tranquillity, like that of the Indian ryot.

We must not leave the subject of Tagore's religion without referring to his analysis of the mind of educated India with regard to religion in the days of his youth. In his Reminiscences[3] he speaks of atheism having been " the dominant note of the English prose writings then in vogue, Bentham, Mill and Comte (*sic*) being favourite authors." According to him Indian educated men fell into two classes. " One class would be always thrusting themselves forward with unprovoked argumentations to

(1) Jefferies : The Story of my Heart, p. 59.
(2) Gitanjali, No. 11.
(3) " My Reminiscences " (1917), pp. 185–6.

cut to pieces all belief in God." " The other class consisted not of believers, but religious epicureans, who found comfort and solace in gathering together and steeping themselves in pleasing sights, sounds, and scents..... under the garb of religious ceremonial. They luxuriated in the paraphernalia of worship. In neither of these classes was doubt or denial the outcome of the travail of their quest." Whatever may be thought of the statement about the dominant note of English religion in the 1880's,[1] the two classes of men holding the two different outlooks on religion still exist in educated India. To make the picture complete, we shall have to add a third class of mind, which dreams in ancient terms of the East, imagines that a spiritual outlook is the monopoly of a certain section of the East, and cannot conceive of spirituality as anything but foreign to the thought and mind of the " materialistic West." This frame of mind has perhaps been strengthened by the poet's own writings. To those of us who read differently the history of the West and of the East and of the many varied cultures of the world, such an attitude is a barrier to a development of that universality which should bring the better minds of all nations together. In India we have yet to work out a synthesis of the spiritual ideals of Muslims and Hindus, especially in their practical bearings on the everyday life of the people. That is our first need. Until we have created an understanding—a solid understanding that will endure and is based on the inner dictates of our own hearts,—we cannot face the rest of the world without our claims being at once put out of court. Subject to this, it is both right and desirable, and indeed urgently necessary, that we should study each others' spiritual ideas with a view to understanding what is new to us, and that we should communicate our own lights, and thus help to advance the interests of human solidarity among all the nations of the world.

(1) In *Gora* (Eng. Translation, 1924), he speaks of " the combination of theism and atheism, dry, narrow, unsubstantial, evolved by eighteenth century Europe." What about Wesley ?

A. YUSUF ALI.

THE RENAISSANCE OF ISLAM

11: The Slaves.

All owned slaves : Muslims, Christians, and Jews. Only the Christian Church,now and then,felt conscience stricken and pointed out that " in Christ there is neither slave nor free "[1]. It strove, at least, to ban slave-trade among its congregation[2]. It was particularly astonishing to Muslims that slave-girls in Christian and Jewish homes were not sexually at the disposal of their masters[3]. The Law of Oriental Christianity regarded sexual relations of the master with his slave-girls as pure fornication, punishable with excommunication from the church[4]. Where such a thing happened the lady of the house was to remove the delinquent by sale. Were the slave-girl to bear a child to her Christian master, the child was to be brought up as a slave to the entire disgrace of the fornicating parent. The Caliph Mansûr once sent three beautiful Greek slave-girls and 3,000 gold pieces to the physician Georges. The physician accepted the money,but sent the girls back with a message that " with such I shall not live in the house, for to us, Christians, only one wife is allowed, and I have one in Belafet." For this the Caliph praised and admired him[5].

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(1) For instance *Syr. Rechtsb.* 2, 161. The Ethiopian thinker, Zar'a Ya'qûb (Circa 1600 A.D.), in his criticism of Islam and Christianity, reproaches the former for destroying the equality and brotherhood of man by sanctioning the slave-trade since all mankind address God as " father " (*Philosophi abessini* ed. Littman, p. 11 of the translation.) (2) *Syr. Rechtsb.* 2 165. In Islam, too, there is a tradition of the Prophet : ' The worst of humanity is he who sells men.' Al-Qummî, *Kit. al-'Ilal* Berlin, fol. 206 (b). (3) *LeLivre de la creation,* ed. Huart, IV, 38 and 46 of the translation. (4) Sachau, *Rechtsb,* 2. 161. (5) Elias Nisibensis (about 400 of the Hegira) in the *Corpu Scriptorum Orientalium Christianorum,* 179.

On the other hand a child, born of a Muslim from his slave-girl, became immediately free[1]. The mother, too, could neither be alienated nor sold and, indeed, after the death of the master, became free. It is curious to note that even several masters could, at one and the same time, possess and co-habit with a slave girl[2].

While in the Byzantine Empire it was forbidden to people of other faiths to hold Christian slaves[3] (even the Christian Church in the Islamic Empire forbade Christians to sell Christian slaves to non-Christians on pain of excommunication[4]) the Muslim Law permitted Christians and Jews to own Muslim slaves[5].

In the 4th/10th century, Egypt, South Arabia, and North Africa, were the chief markets for black slaves. Their Caravans brought gold and slaves from the south. About the middle of the 2nd/8th century 200 dirhams was the average price of a slave[6]. The Abyssinian Kâfûr, later ruler of Egypt, is said to have been purchased for 18 dînârs in 312/924, a very small price considering he was a eunuch[7]. In 'Omân they paid between 250-300 marks for a good negro-slave[8]. About 300/912 a " sweetly pretty girl " fetched 150 dînârs (1,500 marks)[9]. When the Wazîr As-Sâhib (Ibn Abbad) purchased a Nubian male slave, for 400 dînârs[10], the price was considered a trifle excessive; for even a pretty dark-coloured Nubian girl, the most highly prized as concubines, could be had for 300 dînârs[11].

The relative sterility of the negro-women in the Northern countries accounts for the Muslim world not being flooded with imported negroes and their bastards[12].

Like the negro-servant today the black house-slave was chiefly employed as door-keeper[13]. In a society which, above everything else, valued good poetry and fine music, artistically talented and trained boys and girls

(1) At least the first child. On the position of subsequent children the schools differed. The Hanafite view in d'Ohssen, VI, 11-12. The Shafiite view in Sachau, *Muh. Recht*, 174. (2) al-Kindi, 338. (3) Cod. Just. C. I. Tit. 9 and 10. (4) Sachau, *Rechtsbucher*, 2, 109, 147. (5) Sachau, *Muh. Recht*, 173. (6) Aghani, III. 55. (7) About 180 marks, Wüstenfeld, *Die Statthalter von Agypten*, IV, 47. (8) *'Aja'ib el-Hind*, 52. For an ordinary slave in the Byzantine Empire they then paid 240 marks. Vogt, Basile 1, 383, (9) *Guruli Matali elbudur*, 1, 196. (10) Ibn al-Wardî, 46. (11) Idrîsî, Ed. Dozy, 13. (12) Jâhiz, *Opusc*, 78. (13) Report of a Chinese in the XIIIth century A.D. in Fr. Hirth: *Die Lander des Islam nach Chinesischen Quellen*, 55.

would inevitably be in great demand. A famous musician, at the time of Al-Rashîd, had often as many as eighty slave girls in training[1]. And for such girls so trained the price was from 10 to 20,000 marks[2]. Some of the poorer artists gave lessons at the houses of great slave-dealers[3]. Of the professional female singers in the Capital in 306/918 there were very few who were not slaves[4]. As with us, famous singers and female artists had their fancy prices. About 300/912 a female singer was sold in an aristocratic circle for 13,000 dînârs (130,000 marks), the broker making 1,000 dînârs[5]. In 326/937 Ibn Raiq—ruler of Mesopotamia—paid 1,400 dînârs for a female singer, a sum regarded as extravagant by the people[6].

As regards prices, the white slaves—aristocracy of the slaves—stood on quite a different footing. A good-looking, but untrained, white slave-girl fetched 1,000 dînârs or more[7]. To Khwarezmi, 10,000 dînârs were offered for a slave-girl[8]. When in the 4th/10th century, by reason of reverses on the western frontier, the one source of supply—Byzantium and Armenia—was closed, the price of the white slaves went up[9]. For the citizens and the clients of the Empire could not be made slaves according to Law; particularly not, as in other countries, for commission of crimes. Even Muslim parents could not sell their children; as the Jewish father might sell his daughters who were under age[10]. Even when in the 3rd/9th century the Egyptian Christians were taken prisoners in an open rebellion and were sold as slaves at Damascus, the procedure was regarded as unlawful and provoked fierce resentment.

On the other hand, for those sects which claimed Islam as their monopoly, other Muslims stood outside the pale of Law. In the century of the Karmathians, this became a matter of great importance, for the theory permitted them to make their captives slaves. And thus many peaceful citizens in Arabia, Syria and Babylon, suddenly found themselves robbed of their freedom. In an attack

(1) *Aghani*, V, 6. (2) Michael Syrrus, ed. Chabot, 514 where Mahdî is confounded with Ibrâhîm al-Mausili. (3) *Aghani*, XXII, 43. (4) Abâ'l-Qâsim, ed. Mez. (5) Ibn al-Jauzî, fol. 88a. (6) Al-Sûlî, *Auraq*, 142. (7) Istakhrî, 45. (8) *Yatimah*, IV, 151. (9) Muk, 242 (See Roberts'*Social Laws of the Quran* pp. 55-56. For fuller notes on the subject see at the end of the Chapter, Tr.) (10) Krausz, *Talmud. Arch*, II, 84; *Le Livre de la creation*, ed. Huart, p. 38 of the translation. The sale of a Muslim Circassian girl is forbidden by the Canon Law to this day.

on the pilgrim-caravan of the year 312/924 about 2,000 men and 500 women were marched off as slaves to the Karmathian capital. Among the victims was the philologer Al-Azharî (d. 370/980) who was assigned as booty to certain Beduin adventurers. For two years he roamed about as a slave with them in the desert. This captivity enabled him to gather together rich material for his 'Dictionary'[1].

In the rest of the empire the supply of white slaves was confined to Turks and members of that inexhaustible race which has given the caste its European name, "the slav(e)s." The latter was rated higher than the former as merchandise. Says Khwarezmi[2]: We take to Turks when no other slaves are available. The chief article of export from Bulgar—capital of the Volga Bulgarians—was slaves who were thence taken to the Oxus[3]. Samarqand was the greatest slave-market, noted for the supply of the best white slaves, and depending like Geneva or Lausanne of our time on its educational industry[4]. The second channel of import for slaves of Slavic nationalities lay through Germany to Spain and the Mediterranean harbours of Provence and Italy[5]. The slave-dealers in Europe were almost all Jews. The slaves came almost exclusively from Eastern Europe as is the case today with the "white slave traffic[6]." With the slave-trade there is clearly connected the settlement of Jews in the East Saxon towns of Magdeburg and Merseburg (Caro, *Wirthschaftageschichte der Juden*, 1,191.) In the transport of slaves they were well-fleeced at any rate by the Germans: the Coblenz customs-regulation exacted four dînârs for every slave (Caro, 1,192) and the Bishop of Chur levied two dînârs per head at the Wallenstadt Customs-House (Schaube, 93).

Finally the third route for the slave-trade likewise led from the western Slave countries, then at war with Germany

(1) His own account of the matter. Yâqût, *Irshad*, vi, 299. (2) *Yatimah*, IV, 116. (3) *Muk*, 325. (4) Ibn Haukal, 368. (5) The prohibition of the Venetian Doge in 960 to board slaves on a steamer referred only to Christian slaves (Schaube, *Handels-gesch. der rom. Volker*. 23). The treaty of Venice with the Emperor Otto the Great (967 A.D.) forbids only Christians of the royal territory to buy or sell slaves (Ibid 6). Even much later in Genoa slave-dealers were a striking phenomenon (Ibid, 104). (6) Bishop Agobard of Lyon (9th century A.D.) mentions in his book *de insolentia Judaeorum* some instances of Jews stealing or even purchasing Frankish Christian children for sale to Spanish Muslims. I have taken this passage from Baudissin's *Euloigus und Alvar*, Leipzig, 1872, p. 77.

and consequently productive of human merchandise, to the East over Prague, Poland and Russia—a route followed by Rabbi Petachja in the 6th/12th century. In the 4th/10th century Prague was the starting-point, being a centre of the then slave-trade. Saint Adalbert gave up his bishopric in 989 A. D. because he could not redeem all the Christians whom a Jewish dealer had purchased[1].

In the towns they had a slave-market (*Suq erraqiq*) in charge of a special officer. We possess detailed information about a slave-market built at Samarra in the 3rd/9th century. It consisted of a quadrangle intersected with alleys. The houses contained lower and upper rooms and stalls for slaves[2]. It was a degrading punishment for a slave of the better class to be sold in the market instead of at a private house or through a prominent dealer[3]. The reputation enjoyed by slave-dealers was not unlike that of the horse-dealers of today. An Egyptian Governor was denounced from the pulpit as " a mendacious slave-dealer[4]." " How many brown girls, of impure colouring have been sold as gold blonde ! How many decrepit ones as sound ! How many stodgy ones as slim and slender ! They paint blue eyes black, yellow cheeks red, make emaciated faces chubby, remove the hair from the cheek, make light hair deep black, convert the straight into curly, thin into well-rounded arms, efface small-pox marks, warts, moles and pimples. One should not buy slaves in markets held on festival or similar days. How often then has a boy been mistakenly purchased for a girl ! We have heard a slave-dealer say : " A quarter of a dirham of Henna increases the value of a girl by 100 dirhams." They made the hair appear longer by tying on to the ends similarly coloured hair. Bad odour from the nose was remedied by scents and teeth were whitened by potash and sugar or charcoal and powdered salt.

The dealers advised the girls to make themselves pleasant to the old and bashful, but to be reserved and distant with the young to inflame their passion and to capture their hearts. They coloured the finger tips of a white-girl red ; of a black one red and yellow-gold ; thus imitating nature which works with flowers through opposites."

These statements come from an Introduction by the well-known Christian physician Ibn Botlân (first half of

(1) Caro, 1, 191 ff. (2) Yâ'qûbî, *Geography*, 259.
(3) Misk, VI, 391. (4) Kindî, 110.

the 5th/11th century) to the art of making good purchases of slaves. This little book combines with theory a good deal of ancient practical experiences in the traffic of slaves.

" Indian women are meek and mild but they rapidly fade away. They are excellent breeders of children. They have one advantage over other women : It is said : ' On divorce they become virgins again.' The men are good house-managers and experts in fine handicrafts, but they are apt to die from apoplexy at an early age. They are mostly brought from Qandahar. The women of Sind are noted for slim waist and long hair. The Medinite woman combines suavity and grace with coquetry and humour. She is neither jealous nor bad-tempered nor quarrelsome. She makes an excellent songstress. The Mekkan woman is delicate, has small ankles and wrists and languishing eyes. The Taifite, gold-brown and slim, is full of fun and levity but is lacking in fecundity and is liable to die at child-birth. On the other hand, the Berber woman is unrivalled for breeding. Pliant to a degree, she accommodates herself to every kind of work."

" According to the broker, Abû 'Othmân, the ideal slave is a Berber girl who is exported out of her country at the age of nine, who spends three years at Medînah and three at Mekka and at sixteen comes to Mesopotamia to be trained in elegant accomplishments. And, thus, when sold at twenty-five, she unites, with her fine racial excellences, the coquetry of the Medinite, the delicacy of the Mekkan, and the culture of the Mesopotamian woman.

" At the markets negresses were much in evidence ; the darker the uglier and the more pointed their teeth. They are not up to much. They are fickle and careless. Dancing and beating time are engrained in their nature. They say : were the negro to fall from heaven to the earth he would beat time in falling[2]. They have the whitest teeth and this because they have much saliva. Unpleasant is the smell emitted from their armpits and coarse is their skin.

" The Abyssinian woman, on the other hand, is weak and flabby and frequently suffers from consumption. She is ill-suited for song and dance and languishes in a foreign country. She is reliable and has a strong character

(1) Berlin, 4979, fol. 135 b, ff.

(2) The negro must always dance. Like the German when he has shaken off the work-day mood he feels an unconquerable passion to sing. The negro, similarly, on every occasion takes to his *Ngoma* K. Weulie, *Negerleben in Ostafrica*, 84.

in a feeble body. The women of Bujjah (between Abyssinia and Nubia) have golden complexion, comely countenance, delicate skin, but an unlovely figure. They must be taken out of their country before circumcision, for often it is done so clumsily that the bones become visible. The men are brave but are prone to steal and, so, they should not be trusted with money. And for this reason, precisely, they make bad house-managers. Of all the blacks, the Nubian woman is the most adaptable and cheerful. Egypt agrees with her, for as at home she drinks the Nile water there too. Elsewhere she is liable to the diseases of the blood.

" Fair skinned, the Turkish women are full of grace and animation. Their eyes are small but enticing[1]. They are thick-set and are inclined to be of short stature. There are very few tall women among them. They are prolific in breeding and their offspring are but rarely ugly. They are never bad riders. They are generous; they are clean in their habits; they cook well; but they are unreliable.

" The Greek woman is of red-white complexion, has smooth hair and blue eyes. She is obedient, and adaptable, well-meaning, faithful and trustworthy. The men are useful as house-managers, because of their love of order and disinclination to extravagance. Not infrequently they are well-trained in some fine handicraft.

" The Armenian is the worst of the white, as the negro is of the black. They are well-built, but have ugly feet. Chastity is unknown and theft is rampant among them. But they know not avarice. Coarse is their nature and coarse their speech. Let an Armenian slave be an hour without work and he will get into mischief. He only works under the threat of the cane or the stress of fear. When you find him lazy—it is simply because he delights in laziness and not because he does not feel equal to work. You must then take to the cane, chastise him and make him do what you want."

Even in the earlier centuries the practice had grown up of calling male and female slaves not " Slaves " but boys and girls. As always this too was alleged to be a command of the Prophet. Piety, and chivalry, moreover, forbade corporal chastisement of slaves. " The worst

(1) A poet of the 4th/10th century praises the Mongolian eyes of the Turkish boys in these words " too small for the eye-stick " (Yâqût, IV, 82).

man is he who takes his meal alone, rides without a saddle-cloth or beats his slaves " is a noble sentiment handed down by Abû'l Laith as-Samarqandî (d. 387/997) as a saying of the Prophet[1]. In the 4th/10th century even the language of the Qurân " the faithful are brothers " is put forward in condemnation of one who beats his slaves. " Be a friend to thy slave and let a slave be a friend to thee " is put into rhyme[2].

In the description of an ideal Yamanite chief, about 500/1,106, it is expressly stated that he never beat a slave[3]. Even under the first Omayyads an Egyptian Qâdhî grants freedom to a slave-girl who has been hurt by her mistress. She is made over to a pious family which assumes responsibility for her and her education[4].

The Christian Church of the East threatened with excommunication those who, directly or by refusal to maintain, forced their slave-girls into prostitution[5]. The Muslim brothel was mostly worked with slave-girls, as many stories show. The Law, indeed, ignores it as it professes to give no quarter to prostitution. As against this attitude of the Muslim Law the Church has preserved a trace of the spirit of ancient frankness.

The recommendation of Qurân is to marry orphans, " pious servants and handmaidens [6]." Very beneficent, indeed, was the principle which enabled the slave to buy his freedom and, this particularly so, as both male and female slaves could engage independently in work. Mas-'ûdî tells of a slave who was a tailor that he paid two dirhams daily to his master, keeping the rest of his earnings for himself[7]. Moreover it was regarded as a good and pious deed to grant, by will and testament, freedom to a certain number of one's slaves. Thus in the 3rd/9th century the Caliph al-Mu'tasim directed the emancipation of 8,000 slaves on his death[8]. This same Caliph ordered, at the bloody storming of an Armenian fortress, that the families taken into slavery should not be separated or torn asunder[9].

The favourite slave-girl of a well-to-do merchant could proceed very far : she could show herself surrounded by female attendants fanning her[10].

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(1) *Bustan al-'arifin* (*Tanbih al-ghafilina*). Cairo (1304) p. 222. (2) Abu Hayyân at Tauhîdî, *Ris. fi's-sadaqah* (Const. 1301) p. 169. (3) *'Umara al-yamani*, ed. Derenbourg, 9. (4) Al-Kindî, 317. (5) Sachau, *Mitteilungen des Orient.* Seminars, X, 2, p. 93. (6) Qur'ân, 24, 32. (7) Mas'ûdî, IV, 344. (8) Mich. Syrus, 543. (9) Mich. Syrus, 537. (10) *Mughrib* of Ibn Sa'îd, Tallquist, 15.

On the night of the 15th of Ramadhân, the well-known preacher Ibn Samûn spoke of sweets. A slave-girl of a rich merchant happened to be among the audience. The next evening a slave brought 500 biscuits to him, each containing a gold-piece. The preacher brought the gold pieces back to the merchant who told him that they had been sent with his consent[1]. Even the male slave could capture the master's heart. Such is the delight which the Oriental takes in one who combines beauty with intelligence. Thus, does the poet Sa'îd al-Khâlidî praise one of his slaves[2] :—

" Not a slave but a son is he with whom God has blessed me,
" On his cheeks are roses, anemones, apples and pomegranates,
" All arranged in rows as in a garden brimming with beauty and bloom.
" Cheery, witty, unique, a fine sparkling gem—above all else,
" The holder and trustee of my purse.
Never do I miss anything
" He spends but, to my extravagence, he objects
" But, in spending, he never forgets the rule of the golden mean.
" Conversant, like myself, with *ars poetica*—he
" Strives ever and anon to improve himself therein.
" Connoisseur of poetry, he accurately assesses the worth of fine diction.
" He looks after my books, and under his care
" They all keep fine.
" He folds my clothes and keeps them like new.
" Among mankind he is the best of cooks

* * *

" When alone with him he lets the wine freely flow

* * *

" When I laugh, happy he is ; when I rage, he is in fear and trembling.
" In literary circles this excellent slave became a proverb[3].'

The poet Kushagim of Aleppo, (d. 330/941), too, makes a touching reference to his slave Bishr[4]: " Who will,

(1) Ibn al-Jauzî, Berlin, fol. 142 b. (2) *Ma'alim et-Talkhis*, Berlin, fol. 15 b. (3) The 'alibi, '*Umad al-Mansub*, Z D M G ,VI. 54. We learn there that he was also called Ressas. (4) Dîwân, 181 ff.

now, look after my inkpot, my books, and my cups as he did? Who will fold and glue the paper? Who, in cooking, will make the lean rich? Regardless of the opinions of others—he always thought well of me. Loyal he ever remained even when the trusted one failed." Ma'arrî does not omit to send his greetings to the slave Muqbil in a letter addressed to his master: "though black of hue, he is more to us than a Wazîr whose love and loyalty cannot be relied upon[1]."

Highest was the rank of the armed slave who "bore in his knapsack not only the staff of the marshal" (Munis, Jauhar) but even the sceptre of the Sovereign (Kâfûr in Egypt, Subuktagin in Afghânistân). Already at the beginning of the 'Abbâsid rule a Turkish slave was the governor of Egypt (162-164/779-781) of whom Mansûr used to say:

"There is the man who fears me and not God[2]." Of pederasty we need not speak here.

The ideas were precisely the same here as in the Frankish empire where also *freedmen* attained the highest position of honour and, as such, received the homage and obedience of free-men. There, too, quondam slaves were especially generals, governors and royal guardians[3]. But in the East the slave rarely succeeded in permanently getting the better of the freeman as was the case with the European slave; for the continuance of the institution of slavery stood in the way of the effacement of the distinction between the slave and the freeman[4].

On the whole, opinion was not very favourable to the slave. "When the slave is hungry he sleeps; when satiated, he fornicates," ran a saying and the poet Mutanabbî sings: "Expect nothing good of a man overwhose head the slave-dealer's hand has passed[5]."

And so thought Homer:—

> "See, the ruling Zeus robs half of the manhood from him on whom dawns the day of servitude[6]."

But despite all favours of fortune, legal guarantees and the happy position of the modern Oriental domestic slave we must not paint in too roseate a colour the status of the Muslim slave in the Middle Ages.

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(1) *Letters*, ed. Margoliouth, 41. (2) Al-Kindî, 123. (3) Chr. Meyer, *Kulturgesch. Studien*, 91,(4) This is not borne out by the facts. Tr. (5) Dîwân, 546. (6) Ody, XVII, 322.

In the 4th/10th century all the provinces indeed swarmed with run-away slaves and the governors were specially advised[1] to arrest them, to put them in custody and, whenever possible, restore them to their owners.

The slave, turned out on the streets, by the Chief of the police (Nazuk), brought tears to his master's and a kâtib's eye when he begged to go back to him. The latter he made weep the more because of the dînâr he had given him.[2]

The run-away slaves are likely to have been mostly agricultural slaves. Even the army of the only dangerous slave insurrection of the century (3rd/9th century) consisted of the negroes who cleared out the salt-marshes at Basrah till they came to be productive soils. The salt-hills piled up by the negroes were mountains high. Ten thousands of them were employed on the canals of Basrah[3].

(1) *Rasa'il* of Sabî Baabda. (2) *Kit. al-Faragh*, 1, 54. (3) *Kit. al-'Uyun*, Berlin, IV, fol. 7 a.

NOTE.

I. The Acquisition of Slaves

" The greatest of all divisions, that between freeman and slave, appears as soon as the barbaric warrior spares the life of his enemy when he has him down, and brings him home to drudge for him and till the soil." The two main causes of slavery are want and war, and of these two it may be said that war is the more potent. And so with the Muhammadans, the acquisition of slaves was chiefly connected with warfare. In Sûrah 47 Muhammad* commands his followers thus (verse 4 f.) :—

" When ye encounter the unbelievers, strike off their heads, until ye have made a great slaughter among them ; then bind (the remainder) in fetters. (5) And after this give (the latter) either a free dismissal, or exact a ransom, until the war shall have laid down its arms."

The usual expression for female slaves in the Qur'ân as we have already seen is, " that which your right hands possess."

It will be seen that Muhammad* says nothing in the Qur'ân regarding the purchase of slaves.

According to Muhammadan law, a slave is (i) a person taken captive in war, or carried off by force from a foreign hostile country, and being at the time of capture an unbeliever. (ii) The child of a female slave whose father is (a) a slave, or (b) is not the owner of the mother of the child, or (c) is the owner of the mother, but who does not acknowledge himself to be the father. (iii) A person acquired by purchase.

War and slavery, as one would expect, are also closely bound together in the Old Testment. In Num. chap. 31, the children of Israel are commanded to wage a war of vengeance against the Midianites. And in verse 7 ff, we read :—

" And they warred against Midian, as the Lord commanded Moses and they slew every male.....(9) And the children of Israel took captive the women of Midian and their little ones ", etc.

As far as strangers were concerned, the Israelites were allowed to buy, sell, or transfer their male and female slaves. So we read in Lev. 25, 4 ff :—

" And as for thy bondmen, and thy bondmaids, which thou shalt have ; of the nations that are round about you, of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids. (45) Moreover of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they have begotten in your land ; and they shall be your possession. (46) And ye shall make them an inheritance for your children after you, to hold for a possession ; of them shall ye take your bondmen for ever."

As among the Muhammadans slaves consist partly of children of female slaves, and partly also of those that are acquired, so in the Old Testament we have the two expressions, " he that is born in the house" and " he that is bought with money." This shows us that among the Israelites as among the Muhammadans the number of slaves might be multiplied by birth. This, of course, is true of all peoples who trade in slaves ; since the slaves are the " possession " of their masters, their children also belong to them.

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* We take it that this note is not by Mr. Khuda Buksh, but by the German author whose work he is translating. No Muslim would, of course, write in this way of the Qur'ân—Ed. "I.C."

A further agreement between the Muhammadan and Old Testament laws consists in the limitation of slaves to foreigners. In Lev. 25, 39 ff., we read :—

> " And if thy brother be waxen poor with thee, and sell himself unto thee ; thou shalt not make him to serve as a bondservant : (40) as an hired servant, and as a sojourner, he shall be with thee ; he shall serve with thee unto the year of jubilee. (41) then shall he go out from thee, he and his children with him....(42)....they shall not be sold as a slave is sold."

And so with the Muhammadans, who are strictly forbidden to take believers as slaves. The Muhammadan like the Israelite is to regard his fellow-believer as a brother.

Among the Babylonians, however, it was otherwise. Slaves were recruited both from within and without. If a son, whether natural or adopted, sinned against his parents, his father could sell him as a slave. And likewise the husband had the right to dispose of a quarrelsome wife for money. Also the captured enemy naturally took the position of a slave ; especially did the white (light-complexioned) slave from Gutium and Shubarti at that time appear to be much desired.

II. The treatment of Slaves

We have already seen how the Qur'ân insists upon the just and humane treatment of the widow and orphan. And a like treatment is demanded also for slaves ; and that in accordance with the teaching that all men belong to God, and are therefore in a certain sense alike. So we read in Sûrah XVI. 73 :—

> " God hath caused some to excel others in worldly possessions ; yet those who thus excel do not give of their wealth unto those whom their right hands possess (their slaves), so that both may have an equal share thereof. Do they, therefore, deny the beneficence of God ? "

Also Sura 4, 40 :—

> " Honour God, and associate none with him ; and show kindness unto parents, relations, orphans, the poor, the neighbour who is of kin to you, and he who is not, and to your trusted friend, and the traveller, and to those whom your right hands possess ; for God loveth not the arrogant and the proud."

In the year before his death, the Prophet, during a farewell pilgrimage at Mina, delivered an address to his followers, in which, among several other injunctions, we find the following :—

> " And your slaves ! see that ye feed them with such food as ye eat yourselves, and clothe them with the like clothing as ye wear yourselves ; and if they commit a fault which ye are inclined not to forgive, sell them ; for they are the servants of the Lord, and are not to be tormented."

If Muhammad could not abolish slavery, he has certainly done what he could to secure for slaves humane treatment. And if present-day Muhammadans disregard his injunctions, it is not fair to hold the Prophet himself responsible for it. Also, as already observed, it must not be forgotten that the legislation of the Qur'ân was enacted for a seventh-century people. The position and treatment of slaves among the ancients in different lands naturally differed in accordance with the character of the various peoples, as well as the character of the slaves themselves, that is e.g., whether they be foreign or home-born. And there was also a difference of treatment by the same peoples at different

times. But if the enactments of the Prophet had only been faithfully observed by his followers, the treatment of slaves in Muhammadan countries would in all cases compare very favourably with what it was among the ancients.

Also the treatment of slaves, as enacted in Muhammadan law, taken all in all, can only be regarded as just. As we have already seen in the case of adultery, female slaves were held to be less guilty than free women, and consequently their punishment was to be less severe. And especially did the Law enact that they should be sufficiently supported, and not made to suffer.

On the other hand, it must be remembered that slaves, like any other property, were transferable. A Muhammadan has the right to sell his concubine, at least as long as he has no child by her. And even if he have a child by her, he can always deny the paternity* (although this does not often happen). And in any case, the slave would have to continue to serve him, and be his concubine, that is unless he, when she has borne a son to him, presents her with her freedom by way of compensation.

III. The Emancipation of Slaves

The founder of Islâm not only insisted upon the humane treatment of slaves, but also that it should be made possible for them to secure their freedom, when they had shown themselves worthy of it by their conduct. Accordingly the emancipation of slaves among the Muhammadans must be regarded as a meritorious act. Sûrah XXIV, 33 reads :

" And those of your slaves who desire a deed of manumission, write it for them, if ye have a good opinion of them, and give them of the wealth of God, which he has given you."

The manner in which this emancipation is brought about in Muhammadan countries varies. Sometimes complete and immediate emancipation is granted to a slave gratuitously, or for a money compensation to be paid later. This is done by means of a written document, or by a verbal declaration in the presence of two witnesses, or again by the master presenting the slave with the certificate of sale obtained from the former master. Also, in conformity with the Prophet's demand in Sûrah XXIV, 33, future emancipation is sometimes agreed upon to be granted on the fulfilment of certain conditions ; or more frequently, on the death of the owner. In the latter case the owner cannot sell the slave with whom the agreement has been made. Also, as the owner cannot alienate by will more than one-third of the whole property that he leaves, the Law ordains that, if the value of the said slave exceed that portion, the slave must obtain, and pay to the owner's heirs the additional sum. We shall see further on that for certain offences, such as manslaughter, etc., the freeing of a captive is reckoned as part-punishment.

It is not impossible that Muhammad, to some extent, at any rate, was acquainted with the Old Testament enactments concerning the emancipation of slaves (cf. Deut. 15 12 ; Ex. 21, 2 ff ; Jer. 34, 15, 17 ; Ezek. 46 (17). While, however, the Old Testament deals only with the emancipation of Israelite slaves who had become bondmen through debt Muhammad speaks of the emancipation of all slaves. Roberts, *Social Laws of the Quran*, pp. 53-60.

Also Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, 1, 554 ; Lane *Modern Egyptians*, 168 ; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka* II, 18 ff.

* Not in law—Ed. "I.C."

(To be Continued.)

MASTERPIECES OF MOGHUL PAINTING

A Critical Study.

THE Moghul miniatures have their own wide circle of constant admirers ; they must also endure their share of neglect from those for whom Moghul painting possesses no appeal. Their worst enemies however are to be found in the ranks of their admirers ; for although imitation is said to be the sincerest form of flattery, the imitations of this style of painting have done more harm to the reputation of the Moghul School than its severest critics. Who that has lived for any length of time in India does not know only too well the vendor of bad " Moghul " paintings? This gentleman is usually furnished with some introduction from a mutual acquaintance, and so has to be treated with all the respect due to an enemy armed with a dangerous weapon ! It is no use telling him that we are busy, or that we are for the moment deficient in those auriferous, if mundane aids, without which the transfer of property—even such an aesthetic commodity as art—from one individual to another, is very apt to hang fire ! If you tell the troublesome visitor in your politest manner that the pressure of immediate business unhappily renders an inspection of his valuable paintings (which he carries in a bulky parcel under his arm) impossible, he will only welcome this postponement as an earnest of the sincerity of your good intentions towards him, and will ask smilingly for the favour of an appointment at any time that suits your convenience, not his. If you lament that dearth of the needful which places you under the painful necessity of foregoing the pleasure of purchasing even the most tempting of his pictures, he will cheerfully tell you that he does not want you to *buy* anything at all ; the utmost boon that he craves is that you should merely *look* at his wares, as though he really believed that you inherit the " golden touch " of Midas and can convert his pictures into bullion by merely taking them in your hands ! Besides,

it is very hard to avoid that sneaking natural hope which lies deeper than the scepticism engendered by bitter experience, which leads you on to your favourite delusion (for are we not all said to be mad on some one point or other, if only people can find out which ?) that your visitor *may* turn out to be a genuine purveyor of beauty after all. It is only when you have yielded, and consented to see his "Moghul" pictures; when he has untied the cloth portfolio, and laid these sham treasures before you in their shameless effrontery (which, to do him justice, may have deceived their possessor himself) that hope dies within you, and you deal with the tiresome intruder—as best you can !

The Moghul paintings differ in one respect from other kinds of painting. They are generally seen in their extremes. They are usually either very good or desperately bad. India is strewn with inferior examples of "Moghul" painting (so-called) as thickly as a certain nefarious path is paved with good intentions ! What wonder if frequent disappointment ends by irritating some into solemnly vowing that Moghul art is a fraud, or at least a mirage ? Where do all these miserable failures of pictures come from ? Who has multiplied these crudities, which parody a distinguished Style, and a famous Manner of painting more effectively than "Punch's" annual caricaturing of the pictures of the year at the Royal Academy ? The comfort is that the good pictures in the Academy's exhibition continue to shine in spite of the "Punch" artist's witty travesties of them, and that the Moghul Masterpieces of painting remain, to restore confidence shaken by the cheap versions which ape them.

For the purposes of this article, the aim and object of which is to reaffirm, illustrate, and justify, (by a reference to concrete examples,) the excellence of Indian Painting, the writer has selected more particularly four pictures, of which three are Moghul, while one is described as "Indo-Persian."[1] These have recently been added to the Indian Cabinets in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, having been purchased (with others) by the Trustees of the Museum from the well-known collection of the late Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis at Satara. These four pictures will be found to be veracious witnesses. The "Indo-Persian" picture is the smallest member, as it is also the oldest, of this interesting quartette. The

1 All Moghul Paintings of course may be so described. This picture however shows most Persian influence.

Parasnis Catalogue calls it " The Oldest Delhi Miniature," but gives it no other title. The painting is only four inches in height and two in breadth. The incident depicted is thus described : " The saint is riding a fierce lion. Before him is standing a person of middle age, wearing a rose-coloured coat and scarlet cap. A most beautiful mountain scenery (*sic*) is shown in the background." The date is given as the early 17th Century. The cap of the pedestrian (who is represented in an attitude of supplication) is not scarlet, but crimson. He has a skin over his shoulders, and a short pink tunic secured by a cord round the waist. The " saint " whose brown beard contrasts with the grey hair of the other, wears a white turban, a coat of indigo blue embroidered with gold, and striped pyjamas. He holds a serpentine staff in one hand, which points towards the pilgrim. The " lion " is no lion but a well-favoured handsomely drawn leopard. The landscape is a wilderness of piled-up hills, tumuli, and woods, and terminates within half an inch of the top of the picture in a series of distant wooded peaks against a deep blue sky. In the middle distance is a lake with a hut (a hermitage perhaps) on the banks, and some half-effaced object in the water. The breadth of treatment in this picture is wonderful. In spite of its exceedingly small dimensions, the composition of the figures and landscape is easy and spacious ; while there is nothing cramped or finnicky in the execution. The face of the " saint," though comprised within one eighth of an inch, is full of expression, a convincing portrait. There is a little shading on the leopard's head, back, and legs, the outlines of the animal being so skilfully managed that they convey a sense of softness which admirably expresses the quality of fur. This exquisite treatment is also utilised in the leopard's skin suspended from the pilgrim's shoulders. The colouring of the landscape is very delicate and varied. The dark greens of the foliage are contrasted with the mauves and golden ochres of the rocks ; the passages of green being subtly variegated, as though the artist had put forth his utmost skill in the delineation of these verdant contours. This painting makes one doubtful whether Mr. Vincent Smith is altogether correct in his criticism that (to Indo-Persian artists) " the scenery was of interest only in its relation to human beings as a background on which to exhibit the action of men and women.[1]" In a different category of art, but hardly less

1 " History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon "—page 496.

beautiful, is the second of these pictures—" Moghul Princesses : a Moonlight view." The Parasnis Catalogue says, " this is painted by Jahangir's famous artist, Manohar, and is superb on account of its delicacy and wonderful details. It is painted about 1605 A.D." The date given is that of the year of Jahangir's accession. Mr. Percy Brown has observed, in his book on Moghul Painting, that " the work of this artist may be studied in several of the books illustrated during Akbar's reign, so that he was a man of some repute when Jahangir came to the throne."

This picture is an oblong, six and a half inches in length and five in height. Its subject is a group of ladies waiting expectantly on a terrace. The arrangement of the figures is of the simplest description, but very effective and original in design. There are six ladies on the left hand side of the picture whose richly detailed robes are set off by the sad-coloured draperies of the old woman (a duenna apparently) who occupies the foreground, and might be compared to a sober grey moth keeping guard over a galaxy of brilliant butterflies ! The whole central space of the composition is vacant, except for the carpet which extends from the sumptuous pavilion on the right, to near the centre of the terrace, and has obviously been spread out, with its cushions, for the reception of the expected visitor—no doubt a Prince. Upon the wide vacant spaces of white marble, and the yellow carpet, a full moon is shining ; its mellow light falls on a distant lake fringed with velvety trees, and bordered by hills. The isolated figure of a maid, carrying perfumes on a salver towards the ladies, is seen entering from the right hand side. The architectural features form a rectangle where the corner of the Pavilion springs from the low balustrade of the terrace. The cold white of the empty foreground is somehow interesting,—due to the skill with which yellow, gold, and crimson are introduced (as a relief) in the carpet, the cushions, and the rolled up *purdah* of the Pavilion on the one side, and the gorgeous dresses of the ladies on the other. The artist has been much too clever to make one conscious of the mathematical spacing of this composition. Its apparently artless arrangement is in reality the result of very careful consideration. If we care to analyse the methods used in composing this beautiful scene, we shall find that the spaces between the horizontal and vertical divisions are most skilfully planned ; the distance from the top of the picture to the line of the horizon of the lake is roughly a third of the width

of the whole subject. The fact that the outline of the distant hills is midway between the top of the picture and the balustrade, is concealed, because of the subordination of its subtle values to the more definite line of the water. There had to be bold arbitrary division of the nebulous night scene from the concrete realities of the building and the people, as befitted the decorative, rather than the realistic intention of the artist; so this separation is secured by the cutting edge of the balustrade which seems to (but does not) bisect the composition horizontally. The height from the finial of the balustrade to the cornice of the pavilion is precisely the same as that from the base of the picture to the base of the balustrade; the narrow dimensions of the latter, and the striped cushion, which only barely protrudes above it, preclude these similarities from becoming too evident. Again, the interesting perspective of the carpet prevents its studied symmetry from provoking a comparison of its width with that of the lake; though the two measurements are identical. In fact we have in this picture a learned and fascinating lesson in the distribution of vertical and horizontal lines, and in "camouflaging" the methods by which the result is obtained. This is not the art of a sentimentalist; and has little in common with the individualistic, emotional aspects of art in Europe in our own time. Yet this carefully constructed picture is full of poetry.

The third of these paintings is the largest of the four which have been selected for examination. Its size is considerable for a Moghul painting—nearly thirteen inches in height and about eight and a quarter in breadth—with the addition of a decorative border exceeding half an inch in width. It delineates forty nine persons. The Parasnis Catalogue gives the title of this piece as, "Jahangir at Ajmere;" its date as early Seventeenth Century; and attributes it to Govardhan. It is a marvel of art and the best example I have seen of several similar subjects[1].

This picture shows Jahangir seated beneath a splendid canopy surrounded by courtiers, to one of whom he is giving orders. Three religious sages are kneeling before him, "perhaps reciting stanzas from the Koran." Servants are distributing food to the poor who are seen

1 The Frontispiece in Mr. Percy Brown's book "Indian Painting under the Mughals" (Oxford Press) attributed to the same artist, is somewhat similar in arrangement but not equal in merit. Plate XX in the same volume shows the same view of the shrine of Khwâja Mu'în ud dîn Chishtî, Ajmere, as appears in the above.

crowding the foreground of the picture. The upper half of the composition is divided by the wall of a garden from the lower half. It contains a view of the shrine of the saint, Khwaja Mu'în ud-dîn Chistî[1] with devotees; while the battlements of the Fort of Taragad in the background are seen along the distant sky-line. Jahangir and several of his courtiers are clothed in upper vests of transparent Dacca muslin—a fabric which, we are told, was of a woof so delicate that when floating on the surface of water, it became invisible. These principal figures are all magnificent examples of portraiture. They are drawn larger in size that the " common herd " of mendicants and servants. The drawing and colouring of the picture is very good everywhere, and in some of the heads (always the strongest feature with the Moghul artists) rises to a level which could hardly be surpassed. If this seems very high praise, let the sceptic examine the head of Jahangir; of the man in the parti-coloured turban behind him; of the stout individual in the white turban on the Emperor's left hand; and the ancient, with flowing beard (the most wonderful of all) who forms the centre of the trio kneeling before the throne. On these, the artist has clearly lavished his utmost skill. The crowd massed triangularly across the left hand bottom corner of the composition is full. of life and expectancy, but inferior in characterisation. The distant landscape is conventionalised, and such perspective as exists in the upper half of the picture (for the lineal division between the two scenes is almost undisguised) is on a different plane to that of the lower half. These two sections are beautifully unified however by colour and tone, which are exquisite throughout. This is certainly one of the most memorable Moghul paintings I have ever seen, and goes far to explain and justify the eulogies which Jahangir is pleased to expend on some of the artists, in his delightful book of memoirs.

The last of these pictures represents a single figure. It is a portrait of Aurangzebe as a young man. Clad in a light flowered tunic with fur collar over an under-garment of royal purple, which is shown at the breast, cuffs, and skirt, he stands against a simple background of light jade green. He wears a crimson turban roped with pearls, and surmounted by an aigrette; the conventional halo surrounds his head, and he holds a small flower in one hand and a sword in the other. The drawing of the head and hands falls short of that profound research which delighted

1 Parasnis Catalogue.

us in the previous picture, and convinced us of its absolute truth. But this portrait summarises essentials, and ignores non-essentials, and the result is a very vital likeness. Its generalisations of drawing tend everywhere to strength, delicacy, and breadth. Here, one can cordially endorse the enthusiasm of the Parasnis Catalogue, which describes this picture as, " a masterpiece of Moghul art, perhaps the most wonderful and life-like portrait of Aurangzeb in the world's collection."

The four pictures which have here been partially described, are accessible to all who may visit Bombay. But even without seeing the works themselves, it is hoped that the reader will be able to draw some conclusions from these slight descriptions. In the first place we should weigh the significance of the portraiture which is brilliantly demonstrated in these Indian paintings. Indian Art then, cannot be a purely philosophical affair, as one would imagine from some of the comments of critics on the subject. These pictures show that the Moghul artist learned the tenchique of his calling thoroughly, and studied at the feet of Nature. Another shrewd hint derived from these examples is, that the power of drawing from Life, is common both to East and West. So after all, we decide that there is no such thing as two different categories of drawing, namely, Indian and European; that there are only two sorts of drawing anywhere, good drawing and bad drawing; and that India's contributions to the former category are among the best of their kind.

We do not agree (after looking at these pictures) with a popular writer's dictum, " Essentially the Indo-Persian drawings are a branch of Asiatic Art to be judged by the canons of that art, and not according to the standard fixed by the Renaissance Masters; or as a French critic expresses himself, ' The student must throw over his artistic education, every critical tradition, and all the æsthetic baggage that has accumulated from the Renaissance to our own days.' " These pictures prove the absurdity of such exaggeration. The same fundamental canons of art that are traceable in the pictures of Manohar and Govardhan, are also to be found in those of Paolo Uccello, Gentile da Fabriano, and Orcagna. It is the original point of view in these Moghul masterpieces, genuinely and un-sophistically Eastern in its decorative expression, which delights us; like the joyous ring of the precious metal which distinguishes the true coin from the false.

W. E. Gladstone Solomon.

ANCIENT ARABIAN POETS

Ibn-Abi-Duwad, the Humane Qadi.

(Owing to a mistake of my typist in copying the manuscript, some errors crept into the last few lines of my article, which appeared in the July No. of 'Islamic Culture' Vol. III. No. 3 (1929).

In line 34 on page 425, the word "standing" is repeated twice, the line should read:

"That standing or sitting *give no repose"*

As the remaining passage, commencing "Such uncomplimentary verses, etc," contains several omissions, I have, in this issue, set out the whole corrected paragraph.—H. M. Leon).

Uncomplimentary verses were not, the usual lot of Ibn-Abî-Duwâd, for his praises were celebrated by a number of contemporary poets. The Arabs of that date continually used poetry as a means of expressing their admiration for their patrons and eulogising them. They would doubtless have fully agreed with the definition of an English author[1]

"Prose: words in their best order;
Poetry: the *best* words in the best order."

'Alî-ar-Râzi relates this anecdote on the subject:

"I beheld the poet Abû Tammâm with Ibn-Abî-Duwâd, to whom he was making a man recite a poem, wherein were these lines:—

"The generosity of Ahmad-ibn-Duwâd, which he has shown to me, has caused all the *huzn* (afflictions) of evil Fortune to be forgotten! Never did I travel to distant regions without owing my conveyance and substance to his *karam* (bountifulness)!"

"Ibn-Abî-Duwâd here asked him if that thought was his own or if he had borrowed it? To which Abû-Tammâm replied that it was his own, but that he made therein an allusion to the following verse, the composer whereof was Abû-Nawâs:—

"If my words, through confusion, appear to be
Intended to praise any other than thee,
I pray thee to forgive, that thus they are turn'd
For 'tis but for thee that my soul has sore burn'd."[2]

(1) Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834)—*Table Talk*, 12th July, 1827.

(2) I have been unable to locate these exact lines in the poems of Abû-Nawâs. It may be that all his poems have not been preserved.

Abû Tammâm had passed a considerable number of days (some say three whole months) at the door of Ibn-Abî-Duwâd without being admitted to see him, for which reason he complained bitterly of his conduct to one of his friends.

" Am I a dog to stand without the gate,
From early morn to, thus, his pleasure wait ?
Thinks he, that I must stand and inward vexed grown
Until, as to a dog, he throws to me a bone ? "

Sometime after, he obtained an audience, and thereat Ibn-Abî-Duwâd said to him, " O Abû Tammâm hast thou reproached enough ?" To which he replied " *Kafayat* (It is enough) but reproaches are made to *ashkhas* (individuals) and thou art *bani-adam* (all mankind)![1] and how can reproaches be made to them ? "

" Where came you by that idea ? " asked the Qâdi. To which Abû Tammâm replied " I borrowed it from the knowing one (meaning Abû Nawâs), who said of al-Fadl-ibn-ar-Rabî' :—

" Allah is not to be blamed if in His unerring wisdom he unite the noble qualities of all mankind in a sole individual ! "

" To the man who gleans wisdom as a bee extracts honey from every flower, Mind is an inexhaustible mine of riches and a kingdom ever ready to be enriched and developed by new ideas and discoveries ! " replied the Qâdi.[2]

On the appointment of Ibn-Abî-Duwâd to the office of Inspector of Grievances, Abû Tammâm addressed his complaints to him in a poem, which contains the following passage :—

" Since your *ghaflat* (neglect) causes the ruin of *saj'* (poetry) and shu'arâ (poets),

" No one need wonder if *saj'* and *shu'ara* perish through the neglect of the *ghuraba* (foreigners)—

" Yet *nazm* (poetry) like a heavily laden *naqat* (she-camel) stirs *min taraf ila'taraf* from side to side, and endeavours to rise upon its feet with the *huml zalim* (heavy burden) you have put upon it since you became a *musallih* (redresser of wrongs).

(1) " Thou art all mankind," because thou possessest all their combined good qualities.

(2) " Mind is a kingdom to the man who gathereth his pleasure from Ideas "—Martin F. Tupper (1810–1889)—*Ideas.*

" Did '*arud* (poetry) not give to poets a permanent form, men, ambitious of glory, would never learn from whence, why and how you were."

The above extract has been briefly rendered into English in the following lines :—

" Since, by your neglect, poets are ruin'd and poetry gone to decay,
" No one need be amaz'd the hired stranger so scorns them to-day.
" Yet, like a camel, poesy, heavy burden'd and sore,
" Tries hard to regain its feet and to proceed, as of yore.
" Were poesy to cease to give facts permanence in rhyme,
" Then mighty deeds would be lost and forgotten in time ;
" And no one would know and, not knowing, could say,
" Whence and how came the honour you hold this day."

The allusion in the original verses to the *ghuraba* (foreigners) is doubtless to the Turkish officers and mercenary troops in Al-Mu'tassim's service to which I have already alluded. The employment of mercenary troops originated in the Caliphate of Abdullah al-Mâ'mûn [198-218, A.H.—813-833 of the Christian era], and, on the death of that monarch, these troops, at the first, refused to render homage to Qâsim al-Mu'tassim, preferring rather, in their growing insolence, to elect 'Abbâs, son of the late Caliph ; but he, summoned from Tyanâ, at once swore allegiance to his uncle, and the army followed. Tyanâ was abandoned, the rising walls demolished, and whatever could not be carried away committed to the flames. To-day nought remains of the city save the heaps of rubbish, amidst which portions of columns and domes may still be seen.

" Some temple's mouldering tops between,
With venerable grandeur mark the scene,"[1]

After the completion of the destruction of Tyanâ, Al-Mu'tassim returned to Baghdad.

" Manners with fortunes, humours turn with climes,
Tenets with books, and principles with times."[2]

Mu'tassim followed and even surpassed his brother, Al-Mâ'mûn, in the two weak points of his rule, namely, intolerance, so far as Mutazelite doctrines were concerned, and preference for the Turkish soldiery. Hence, probably, the allusion to the *ghuraba*, in the poem.

(1) Oliver Goldsmith (1728–1774), " *The Traveller*," Line 109.
(2) Alexander Pope (1688–1744). " *Moral Essays*," Epi.1, Line 172.

The same poet, Abu-Tammâm, made his eulogium in a poem commencing :—

" Didst thou see the fair faces, as sweet as rose-buds,
Which shone on us between al Liwa and Zarud ? "[1]

This same poem also contains this elegant thought :—

" When Allah wishes to reveal to the knowledge of the world that excellence which, in its modesty, remains folded up, he permits an envious tongue to attack it. Did fire not inflame whatever it approaches, the sweet odour of aloes-wood had remained unknown."

The allusion here to the employment of fire for the purpose of causing the fragrance of the aloes-wood to be emitted therefrom (it being a well-known fact that aloes-wood does not emit its perfume until burned) reminds one of a somewhat similar allusion in Milton's " Paradise Lost" (Book V, Lines 349 *et sequitur*) :—

" If by fire
Of sooty coal th' empiric alchymist
Can turn, or holds it possible to turn,
Metals of drossiest ore to perfect gold."

The term aloe is applied to a genus of liliaceous plants, including trees, shrubs, and a few perennial herbs, with thick fleshy leaves, usually spinosely toothed and rosulate at the summit of the caudex. The Arabic names for these plants are *'ud* and *sabr*. The former of these words, *'ud*, being employed to denote the lignum aloe, and the latter the drug. In Persian the same distinction is made, the plant being termed *dirakht-i-sabir* (usually " aloe-tree "—*dirakht*—a tree). In Turkish the Arab word, *sabr*, denotes the drug, the tree itself being termed *'ud-aghaji* (aghaj—a tree).

The drug known as " aloes " is the inspissated juice of several species of aloe. It is obtained from the leaves, sometimes by cutting them across, when the resinous juice exudes and is evaporated into a firm consistence, sometimes by pressing the juice and mucillage out together, and in other cases by dissolving the juice out of the cut leaves by boiling and then evaporating to a proper consistency.

(1) The valley of Liwa, or the retired spot on the edge of the desert, is frequently mentioned by the Arabian poets.

The bitterness of the drug "aloes" has caused the term to be applied in English literature to anything bitter to the feelings as in the following examples :—

"And sweetens in the suffering pangs it bears,
"The *aloes* of all forces, shocks and tears."
Shakespeare : *A Lover's Complaint.*

"Bytter alowes of herde adversyte."
John Skelton : "*Magnyfycence*" line 2383. (pub. 1524).

"He purgeth and bringeth low by the bitter aloes of the Law."
Samuel Hieron : *Works*, Vol. II., p. 203. (pub. in 1614).

"Hee attempers his actractivest pastimes with a bitter aloes."
Richard Braithwaite : *The English Gentleman* (pub. 1641) line 256.

"And sure, in time, he'll find the pleasures he now knows,
Will turn to gall and wormwood and bitter aloes."
Henry Quilliam : "*The Rake's Progress.*"

The "Bitter aloe" is described among ancient writers, by Pliny and Dioscorides, and its bitterness alluded to by Juvenal, (*plus aloes quam mellis habet*).

The aloe, which yields a fragrant odour, when burnt, is mentioned four times in the Jewish and once in the Christian sacred scriptures. In the Old Testament we find—

"As the valleys are they spread forth, as gardens by the river's side, as the trees of *lign-aloes* which the Lord hath planted, and as cedar-trees besides the waters."
Numbers, XXIV. 6.

"All thy garments smell of myrrh, and *aloes*, and cassia,
Out of the ivory palaces, whereby they have made thee glad."
Psalms, XLV. 8.

"I have perfumed my bed with myrrh, *aloes* and cinnamon."
Proverbs, VII, 17.

"Calamus and Cinnamon, with all trees of frankincense ;
Myrrh and *aloes*, with all the chief spices."
Song of Solomon, IV. 14.

In the New Testament in the Gospel attributed to St. John we find it thus mentioned :

> " And there came also Nicodemus, which at first came to Jesus by night, and brought a mixture of myrrh and *aloes*, about a hundred pound weight."
>
> St. John, XIX, 39.

In all the above-quoted passages, with the exception of the first, it signifies a perfume used upon garments or a bed. It was probably the gum of the *Aloexylon* and *Aquilaria ovala* of Malacca and of the *Aquilaria agallochum* of Bengal. It was distinct from the common bitter aloe used in medicine and from the American aloe. In Numbers XXIV. 6. the word indicates a tree.

According to Arab writers there were many different varieties of the *aghaluji* or *'ud* found in different parts of India and Ceylon, differing from one another in value according to the greater or less compactness of the wood, though all had the property of yielding a fragrant vapour if burned when dry[1]. These Arabian authors speak of its use in perfuming clothes and persons, thus illustrating the above-quoted passages from Psalms, XLV. 8., and Song of Solomon, IV, 14, and there are parallels to the usage mentioned in Proverbs, VII, 17.

One Arab author wrote an extensive treatise to show that the passage in Psalms XLV. 8, was a prophecy referring to the advent of the Holy Prophet, Muhammed (On whom be everlasting peace and blessings).

What the early Arab travellers have to say about *'ud* and other fragrant woods may be seen in Dymock's work, *Pharmacographa Indica*, Chap. III, pp. 218-220. As regards the importance of this substance into Western Asia in general and Palestine in particular no difficulty arises when it is remembered that a trade was carried on by China with India and Arabia in early times. The wood may have been imported by the Phœnicians, and thus be mentioned in the Bible, side by side with myrrh, cassia, cinnamon, etc., the spices of Arabia and India.

After this lengthy, but, I trust, interesting digression, let us now return to the biography of Ibn-Abî Duwâd.

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(1) See the Arabic references discussed at length in Celsus, *Hierabat*, 1, 185–171.

His praises were not only sung by Abu Tammâm, but were also celebrated by Marwân ibn-Abû'l Janub in the following verses :—

" The tribe of Nizar possesses all glory and honour despite its foes !

" Tell those who pretend to surpass that Nizar, from whose loins spring the tribes of Khindif and 'Iyâd.

" Tell them that the Apostle of Allah and the Khalifs belong to that *Asl* (origin) which is ours, and that Ahmad-Ibn-Duwâd comes from it also[1].

" Until the day when men shall call unto one another[2] no such persons will ever be found in any family but ours !

" To it alone belong a Prophet sent by Allah, the successors in his covenant, and he who is directed in the right way and who directs to good."

When Abû-Hiffân 'Abdullah-ibn-Ahmad-ibn-Harb-al-Muhazzami[3] heard these verses, he recited the following :—

"Tell those who pretend and lay claim to surpass the tribe Nizar, princes in the earth ruling over slaves !

" Tell them that the Apostle of Allah and the Khalif belong to that family which is ours, but that we *nakar wa ankar* (disclaim and disavow) the pretended descendant of *'Iyad* .

" 'Iyâd itself shall not be one of our tribes, if it admit the pretensions of Ahmad-ibn-Abî-Duwâd."

When the Cadi, Ibn-Abî-Duwâd heard these verses he said :—

"No one ever gave me so severe a *jurah* (wound) as that boy al-Muhazzami has done ; were I not unwilling to show that I pay attention to him, I would inflict upon him such a punishment as none ever suffered before ! He has gone up to one of my proudest honours, and undone it loop-by-loop, button-by-button (*zarr-min-zarr*) and utterly destroyed it."

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(1) The Arabic word, *asl*, used here means those who are descended from one common ancestor. The " family," that is to say all those who reside under the same roof, are designated as *ahl albayt* or *'iyal.*

(2) The Day of Judgment. See Qur'ân, sura XL. *Al-Mumin* (" The True Believer "), ayat 34.

(3) Abû Hiffân 'Abdullah-ibn-Ahmad-ibn-Harb-al-Muhazzami is stated to have been born at Basra. He dwelt at Baghdad, and was considered to possess great literary acquirements : the celebrated Al-Asmai was one of his masters. The date of his death is uncertain.

It is related that one of the Qâdi's secretaries, a great favourite of his, one Suleimân-ibn-Yûsuf, ventured to call Ibn-Duwâd's attention to Al-Muhazzami's insulting observation, and offered, personally, to go and give the offender a good thrashing; whereupon the Qâdi replied; "Oh Suleimân, it is evident that thou art not possessed of the wisdom of either of those great men whose name thou bearest—knowest thou not that he who notices that which is *mustahik* (contemptible) becomes himself *muhtaqar* (contemptible)? The wise man always treats *Haqarat* (contemptibleness) with contempt!" [1]

Ibn-Abî-Duwâd used to recite frequently the following lines, but did not say whether they were his own composition or another's :—

"Thou, O Allah, art no feeble aid;—

"Success in all affairs is ensured by Thy powerful aid.

"To-day we stand in need of thy succour;

"The physician is only called in when the disease is violent."

Al-Marzubani has recorded, and thus furnished us with, some of the preceding anecdotes, but another historian narrates the following on the authority of Abû'l-'Aîna :— "The Khalif Qâsim al-Mu'tassim became displeased with Khâlid -ibn-Yazîd-ibn-Mazyad as-Shaibani, the son of that famous chieftain, renowned for his bravery, Yazîd-ibn-Mazyad-as-Shaibani, who died during the Caliphate of Harûn al-Wâthiq, at Daibil, a town in Armenia, in the year 230 of the Hejira (A.D. 844-45), and recalled him from the government of Môsul that he might appear before him to answer for his inability to make up a sum of money which he was called upon to pay and also to answer to other accussations.

"What man that sees the ever whirling wheel
Of Chance, the which all mortal things doth sway;
But that thereby both find and plainly feel
His mutability in them doth play
Her cruel sports to many men's decay."

The Khalif-al-Mu'tassim, therefore, held a special sitting of the tribunal for the purpose of condemning Khâlid to

(1) Compare Horace (*Satires*, Book I, 6, 5) :—*Ut plerique solent, naso suspendis adunco ignotos.* (As many are wont to do, you turn up your nose at men who are unknown), and Schiller: *Verachtung ist der wahre Tod* (Contempt is the real death).

punishment, and refused to listen to the intercession of Ibn-Abî-Duwâd, on whose generosity the accused had thrown himself. The Khalif having taken his seat, the Qâdi-al-Qudât (Ahmad-ibn-Abî-Duwâd) went to a place inferior to his own, whereupon Al-Mu'tassim said : " Abû-'Abdullah[1], you are sitting out of your place ! " To this the learned Qâdi replied : " It is *layeq* (meet) that I should not sit in my place, but in a lower." " *Lima za* ?" (Why so ?) asked the Khalif. " Ahmad-ibn-Abî-Duwâd replied : " Because the public say that my place is not the place of one who can intercede and whose intercession will be heard."

" Go back to your place," said Al-Mu'tassim.

" Shall I go," said the Qâdi, " as one whose intercession has been heard, or as one whose *tawassat* (intercession) has been rejected ? "

" Nay," replied the Khalif, " go as one whose intercession has been heard."

The Qâdi-al-Qudât went up, accordingly, to his place and, when seated, said : " *Al-'awam* (the populace) will not be aware that the Commander of the Faithful has pardoned Khâlid, unless he receive a robe of honour !"

The Khalif ordered him to be clothed in a robe of honour.

Abû-Duwâd continued : " There is due to him and to his people six months' salary, which must be paid to them, so, if thou, O Khalif, givest orders that they receive it now, it will serve instead of the customary present."

The Khalif said : " I shall direct it to be done." The historian goes on to relate that when Khâlid went forth from the tribunal clothed in his robe of honour with the money borne before him, the people were waiting in the streets to witness his degradation and punishment, and one of them called out to him : " *Al-hamdu l'illah* (Praise be to Allah) for thy escape, O prince of the Arabs ", to which Khâlid replied " *Sakut* (silence !) By Allah ! the prince of Arabs is truly Ahmad-ibn-Abî-Duwâd, the noble and the just Qâdi-al-Qudât of the Commander of the Faithful ! "

(1) The Khalif here addresses him by his surname, which was a mark of great friendship.

Great jealousy and mutual dislike existed between the Qâdi-al-Qudât and the Wazîr Ibn-az-Zayyât[1]; so much so, that the latter refused to receive the visits of a friend of the Qâdi's specially commissioned by him to direct his affairs; the Qâdi-al-Qudât, on hearing of this, went to the Wazîr and said: "I assure you that I do not come to you, as others do, to obtain from you either augmentation of slender means or exaltation from lowly rank; but the Commander of the Faithful has placed you in a post which obliges me to visit you: when, therefore, I do so it is on his account; and when I remain absent, it is on yours." —He then arose and retired with dignity. "Ahmad-ibn-Abî-Duwâd," says the historian, "was indeed a man possessed of such noble and honourable qualities as surpass description."

Of him, one could almost quote the words of England's greatest poet, and say:—

"This was the noblest Roman of them all
He, only, in a general honest thought,
And common good to all, made one of them.
His life was gentle; and the elements
So mixed in him that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world, "This was a man!"
Shakespeare, Julius Cæsar, Act. V., Sc. 5.

(1) The Wâzîr, above-mentioned, must not be confused with Hamza-ibn-Habib az-Zayyât, whose full name was Abû-Omâra Hamza-ibn-Habîb-ibn-Omâra-ibn-Ism'aîl, and was a native of Kûfa, and a client, by enfranchisement to the tribe of 'Akrama-ibn-Rabî' at-Taimi, but is more generally known by the surname of Az-Zayyât. He was one of the seven readers of the Qur'ân, and had Abû'l-Hasan al-Kisai for a pupil. He, himself, had been taught to read the Qur'ân by al-Aamash. The appellation of *Az-Zayyat* ("*the oilman*") was bestowed upon him because he used to transport oil from Kûfa to Hulwân, and bring back *jubun wa jauzat* (cheese and walnuts). He died at Hulwân, in the 156th year of the Hejira (772-3 A.D.) aged 76 years. Hulwân is a city at the further extremity of Babylonian 'Irâq, on the borders of Persian 'Irâq.

HAROUN MUSTAFA LEON.

(*To be continued*).

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

MR. KHUDA BUKHSH'S SHEAF OF GLEANINGS FROM THE GERMAN.

IN a brief Foreword Mr. Khuda Bukhsh informs us that " this second edition of his Contributions to the History of Islamic Civilization is not merely a reprint of the first but contains a great deal of new matter. In fact the second volume is entirely new." We have the first volume now before us, and, while much of its content will be familiar to our readers, it is so full of interest that it will bear reading many times over. The most important part of it is a translation of Von Kremer's *Kulturgeschichtliche Streifzuge auf dem Gebiete des Islam*, and all of it, even those pages which have Mr. Khuda Bukhsh for author and not merely translator, is redolent of German midnight oil. The minute care, the endless pains, the meticulous accuracy which Muslim experts of the first, second and third Islamic centuries applied to the collection of the data for Islamic history are hardly to be found to-day anywhere among believers; but they are found in the German Orientalists, and no Muslim who wishes to form an objective, modern view of his religion and its history can afford to be ignorant of German " scientific " criticism. It is, therefor, in our opinion, an important service that Mr. Khuda Bukhsh is rendering to the Muslims of India by translating some of the best work of German scholarship into a language accessible to them. The desire for perfect impartiality—the pose of scientific superiority to anything so little academic as religious prejudice—is apparent nearly always in this German criticism, in contrast to the run of English criticism, which is either coldly adverse or absurdly patronising. There are still a vast number of Englishmen, even academic Englishmen, who, metaphorically if not actually " shudder," as did the late Mr. Gladstone, " at the approach of

(1) *Contributions to the History of Islamic Civilization.* By S. Khuda Bukhsh. Vol. I. Second Edition. University of Calcutta, 1929.

an unbaptised person"; and there are still some Englishmen, who, like Carlyle, view with a strange complacency their own discovery that Islam is not paganism as it was supposed to be in the Middle Ages. The place of Al-Islâm in history is as yet undefined for English Orientalists. For German Orientalists it is fixed. Our Prophet (God bless and keep him) is for them as much a Prophet as Moses or Jesus (on whom be peace). They accept prophethood as an Oriental psychic phenomenon, and treat all prophets equally, while disbelieving in Divine Revelation, which they, dispassionately and in a tone of perfect courtesy, seek to explain away ascribing it to natural causes occurring in conjunction to an exceptional degree. They are not Muslims, and their point of view can never be the Muslim standpoint. They enthrone themselves in a seat of judgment and judge upon the evidence before them. They do not state the case for Al-Islâm. If the case for Islâm is ever to be stated, Muslims will have to state it. And it is precisely in order to enable them to prepare their case for lucid statement before the tribunal of modern thought, which really does exist in Germany and to some extent, also in France, that the study of all this German criticism and research is valuable. These German "higher" critics are not infallible. Their judgments are often debatable, occasionally wrong. They impose upon the Muslims only by their ability to quote glibly from Arabic sources, equally accessible to the Muslims and more easily intelligible to them. Our only quarrel with Mr. Khuda Bukhsh is that in his Introduction and those portions of the present work of which he is the author, he appears too ready to accept all their findings as conclusive. For instance on p. 5 he ascribes the many traditions telling of miracles wrought by our Prophet (God bless and keep him) to a deliberate desire on the part of Muslim biographers "to draw a picture of Mohammad which may not yield to the Christian portrait of Jesus." While every Muslim is free to believe or disbelieve in those miracles, there is no doubt that many of his companions believed that they had witnessed such miracles. Their testimony is recorded for us in pure Hijazi dialect in such simple touching words as carry the conviction of sincerity. False traditions nearly always show a trace of literary artifice and also of Syrian or Iraqian dialect. Mr. Khuda Bukhsh writes (following Dr. Goldziher as he tells us that he does throughout his Introduction): "Though Moham-

med was never weary of impressing on his followers the fact that he was a man of like passions unto them, he has, nevertheless, been invested with the power of working miracles and doing supernatural things. The miracle related in the gospel of St. John II, 1-11, has served as a model for a number of Mohammedan legends which were woven into the life of the Prophet at a tolerably early period." There is really no reason to charge the early Muhaddithîn and "some ten" of the Companions of our Prophet with forgery or plagiarism because several of the miracles related as performed by him are of the same kind as a miracle related as performed by Jesus Christ. The same miracle has probably been ascribed to every wonder-working man who ever trode this earth, and never was there such a wonder-worker as Muhammad (God bless him !). When the Prophet was present all things seemed to go miraculously well for the believers, when he was absent things subsided to the normal plane. For the sceptical and the scientific the source of the legends is the same in all cases : if they are false, the credulity and devotion of the disciples ; if they are true (and the age which scoffed at miracles as quite impossible is past) then to the presence of a tremendous psychic personality. There is another error in the above short quotation. Dr. Goldziher assumes, as do most Western critics, that the Prophet utterly disclaimed the power of working miracles. That is not the truth, as a little study of the holy Qur'ân will convince anyone. What is stated over and over again is that he had not *control* of miracles—a very different matter. The miracles would happen not when he willed but when God willed, so that it was stupid of the idolators to ask him for miracles as if he were a common conjurer.

Again, much that Goldziher, and therefor Mr. Khuda Bukhsh, ascribes to later Christian influence is to be found in the Qur'ân itself—*e.g.* the religious superiority of the poor over the rich. And those demonstrable sayings of Jesus Christ which are found embodied in the Hadîth had probably a different origin than here imagined. They were deliberate plagiarism. Practically the whole of the gnostics and some other Unitarian Christian sects embraced Al-Islâm in very early days, and for them to relate the saying of one Prophet as the saying of another Prophet was no dishonesty, since according to their most cherished belief the spiritual personality behind all the Prophets—the voice which spoke through them—was one and the

same. There is at least one passage in the Qur'ân in which the word Shahîd (or rather its plural) is used in the sense of martyr for the faith, in spite of Dr. Goldziher and Mr. Khuda Bukhsh's assertion (p. 10 Introduction). In fact the whole passage concerning Christian influence is contestable and such as no Muslim can accept as a conclusive judgment. When we come to the following :

" I may add here that even the Christian idea of penance was early engrafted upon Islâm. Ibn Khallikân relates that the Amîr 'Abdu'r-Rahman, having violated the Prophet's ordinance of continence during the fasting month, 'consulted the jurists respecting the mode of manifesting his repentance and expiating his sin.' Yahya ibn Yahya replied : ' A sin of that kind can be expiated by a fast of two consecutive months.' " —

we know not what to think ! To cite so late an instance of a kind of expiation enjoined so frequently *in the Qur'an itself* seems hardly scholarly. Was there no idea of penance even among the pre-Islamic Arabs ? Is penance in truth a Christian and not rather an idea common to all humanity. After so much special pleading to prove Christian influence, it is a pleasure and relief to find a really Muslim utterance :

" Ibn Hazm, the prime minister of Abdur-Rahman V seems to have accurately grasped the principles of Christianity, for he says : ' We need not be astonished at the superstition of men. Look at the Christians ! They are so numerous that God only knows their numbers. They have among them men of great intelligence and princes of great nobility. Nevertheless *they believe that three is one and one is three ; that one of the three is the Father, another the Son, another the Spirit ; that the Father is, and is not, the Son ; that a man is, and is not, God ; that the Messiah is God in every respect, and yet not the same as God ; that He who has existed for all eternity, has been created.* One of their sects, the members of which they call Jacobites and which number hundreds of thousands, believe even that the Creator himself was scourged, crucified and put to death ; so that the universe for three days was deprived of its Governor.' "

It is a fact that then, as now, Muslims were generally much better informed of the tenets of Christianity than Christians were of the simple doctrine of Al-Islâm. In a later, very interesting chapter, we have a short account of the calumnies against our Prophet and the Qur'ân which,

sanctioned by the Church, were counted knowledge in the Middle Ages. It was the prevalent belief that Muslims were idolators.

In considering the influence of Islâm on Christianity, Mr. Khuda Bukhsh (still following Goldziher, we must suppose) does not, in our opinion, sufficiently emphasize the fact that both the Renaissance of learning and the Reformation in religion (which caused the reform of the Roman Church no less than of the Protestants) were very largely due to Muslim influences, as Gibbon, an intellectual giant compared to our German specialist, very heartily conceded.

On pp.64 and 65 (we are now in the translated German text) we find the same kind of special pleading, to which we have already made objection, used in order to show that two Muslim sects (the two extremes), the Murji'ah and the Mu'tazilites, owed their birth to Christian influences. The religious platitudes of John of Damascus (whose doctrines, as here quoted, have been the common stock of all religious teachers since the world began), are quoted as the origin of doctrines plainly taught in the Qur'ân itself. " The opinion that God wishes only what is good and that He is the source of goodness is maintained by John with extreme emphasis. Just as light proceeds, says he, from the sun, so goodness emanates from God. We find foreshadowed in the writings of John of Damascus the doctrine of the Mu'tazilite that God can only reward or punish men according to their deeds ; that he has not created mankind to destroy them or to play, according to his caprice, a cruel joke on them. This doctrine forms the fundamental basis of the Mu'tazilite conception of God and already appears to have been accepted by the Murji'ah " The description above given of the doctrine of the Mu'tazilities, if we substitute " does only " for " can only " (which is wrong anyhow) is a description of the plain teaching of the Qur'ân on the point in question. As that doctrine forms no part of Christian theology, it would appear more logical to say that John of Damascus underwent Muslim influence strongly. If his teaching was what is here stated, he had nothing to teach any Muslim, nor can it be shown historically that any Muslim ever consulted or paid heed to him.

We do not for a moment deny that Christian influences have played upon Al-Islâm but we strongly assert that they were seldom direct as here claimed and came rather

from within the Muslim body which absorbed so many earnest converts in the early years than from without, and that those influences were of a different nature from much that is here stated on the ground of pure conjecture.

From a really weighty article on " The Arabs before Islam," we quote the following, as showing the shrewd scepticism of the pagan Arabs confronted with the various missionaries who came their way :

" In general, says Dozy, Christianity with its miracles, its dogma of the Trinity and its teaching about the Crucifixion of God, possessed but scant attraction or charm for the cynical and intelligent Arabs. We might recall the instance of the Bishop who, about the year 513, wanted to convert Al-Mundhir III, King of Hirah. The king was hearing the bishop attentively, when one of his officers came to him and whispered something in his ear. Thereupon the king, all of a sudden, was plunged in profound grief. On the priest respectfully asking him the reason of his grief he replied : Alas ! What sad news ! I have just learned that the Archangel Michael is dead. Impossible ! said the priest. Someone has deceived thee. Angels are immortal. To be sure, pertly replied the prince, and you wish me to believe that God himself is dead. Judaism attracted the Arabs more. A great number of Jews, after the suppression of the revolt against the Emperor Hadrian, took refuge in Arabia. Different Arab tribes, coming in contact with them, embraced their faith, and these were perhaps the only ones who were sincerely attached to their faith. Judaism was even for sometime the state religion of Yaman. But Judaism did not satisfy their cravings. The longing for a better religion continued unabated."

In " A Historical Sketch of Muslim Learning " (which, a footnote informs us, was originally a paper read at Patna by Mr. Khuda Bukhsh) we are glad to find these words : " I emphatically dissent from the author of *the Spirit of Islam*, when he says that " whilst the Omayyads discouraged the peaceful pursuits of the mind, the children of Fâtimâh with characteristic liberalism favoured learning." At the time when Mr. Ameer Ali wrote his famous book he was but voicing the prevalent view even in learned circles. But research has much advanced since then, and the most remarkable fruit of modern research has been the striking vindication of the Omayyads. It would not yet be politic, or even perhaps possible in view of the rooted beliefs of a section of Muslims, to publish all that has

of late years come to light concerning the events which followed the murder of the Khalîfah 'Uthmân. But it is perfectly clear that the opposition of the pious to the Umayyads at the time was on account of their departure from the practice of the first four Khalîfahs, their establishment of a secular empire with a dynasty more than anything else. It is also clear that the Umayyads had the suffrage of Syria, all North Africa and Spain, with a large part of Arabia even at the moment of their downfall. The little so-called Caliphates of North Africa date from the fall of the Omayyads—the end of the true Caliphate in the opinion of those Muslims. Much of the glory that is now ascribed to the 'Abbasids belongs more truly to the Omayyads, and even the stories about Hârûnu'r-Rashîd in The Thousand and One Nights were originally told of an Umayyad Caliph, Hishâm. As Mr. Khuda Bukhsh observes: "Whatever else may be said against the Omayyads of Damascus they can justly claim the honour of having nursed Muslim learning in its infancy." If we take them out of the shadow of the truly Islamic regime which preceded them, when for a few years the Muslim empire was in truth the Kingdom of God on earth and judge them, as so many of their contemporaries could not judge them, as mere earthly rulers, we are forced to admit that seldom in the history of nations have there been wiser rulers than Mu'awiyah Al-Walîd, 'Abdul Malik and Hishâm. 'Umar ibn 'Abdul 'Azîz is in a class apart, ranking even, for the opponents, with the rightly-guided Khalîfahs.

To add yet more to the value of his useful and most interesting work Mr. Khuda Bukhsh gives, as his last chapter, copious extracts from the Arabic text of the Jamharatu'n-Nasab of Ibn Hazm taken from a MS. in Khuda Bukhsh's Oriental Public Library, Bankipur: "This MS. does not tell us when it was copied, but on the fly-leaf the year 785 A.H. is given as the date when this MS. passed into the possession of one Syed 'Alî ibn Syed Mahdî who claims descent from Idrîs the founder of Fâs (Fez). On another folio there is a small passage which apparently purports to be the settlement of an account of the owner of the MS. This is important, inasmuch as it bears the date of the settlement, *viz* Tuesday, the 2nd of Sha'bân 978 A.H. On the third folio occurs a passage which suggests that this MS. was in existence as early as 653 A.H." We quote these details for the information of the learned. In introducing the Arabic extracts Mr.

Khuda Bukhsh says : " they contain so many important, and hitherto unknown, things that I cannot refrain from giving them *in extenso*." The present reviewer has read every word of the extracts, but has not discovered a single important matter hitherto unknown to him (barring, of course, the detail of the pedigrees) except the mention of a murder in the streets of Seville which must surely be already known to students of the period. The particular importance of these pedigrees is that the countries to which the descendants emigrated are given and that a wide field of history is illuminated by the Arab author's running commentary.

It is a pleasure to meet with a work by an Indian Orientalist in which there is systematic transliteration (subject to occasional misprints). We notice on p. 264 a word *wazirat* which is neither Arabic nor English. It should be either vizierate or wizârat. Probably this also is a printer's error. The book is stoutly bound and very clearly printed. All that it lacks is an index, which we hope that Mr. Khuda Bukhsh will give us with the second volume. It adds lustre to a name already illustrious in the history of Islamic culture in India, and is no discredit to the Calcutta University.

M. P.

THE LEGENDARY AURANGZEB[1].

The Poet Sa'dî dreamed a dream. He thought he saw the devil in person, and the devil appeared not as a hideous monster but as an angel beautiful and sad and good. The poet said : " How is it that we always think of you as ugly and evil ?" The devil, with a sad smile, a shrug, replied : " The pen is in the hand of the enemy." That has been the misfortune of the greatest and the best of all the descendants of Timûr : the pen that writes of him has been in the hand of the enemy. By reforms of which the aim was the welfare of the people of India he offended on one side the Christians who had profited by the vices of the court and city, and on the other hand of a considerable section of the Hindus who chose to regard some evils at which he struck hard as an essential part of Hinduism. Men like Bernier and Manucci, pleasure-loving materialists, could have no sympathy with a character like that of Aurangzeb, but the hostility

(1) *The Reign of Aurangzeb.* By Upendra Nath Ball, M.A., Professor of History, Dyal Singh College, Lahore ; author of " Hindu India," " Mediaeval India " etc. Lahore, Atma Ram and Sons.

of the Hindus was overcome in his own day, and it is certain that a large number of his Hindu contemporaries admired him greatly and served him devotedly, both at the beginning of his reign and in his old age. The modern Hindu aversion to him is chiefly due to the influence of European histories based upon the views expressed by Bernier and Manucci, both partisans of the more engaging but comparatively worthless Dara Shikoh. False opinions have passed current for facts, and even the publication of historical documents which prove them to be false has not impaired the currency or stopped the publication of such opinions. In the latest book on Aurangzeb, Mr. Upendra Nath Ball has, we are sure unwittingly, repeated many of the traditional falsehoods. For example on p. 35 we read :

" He (Aurangzeb) promised him (Murâd Bukhsh) all help to occupy the throne. After seating him on the throne Aurangzeb would become a *Faqir* engaged in constant prayer. As a guarantee of his good faith he sent to Murâd one hundred thousand rupees. The unsuspecting Murâd became very happy and collected large troops for marching upon Delhi."

The actual treaty between Aurangzeb and Murâd Bakhsh is extant (the Persian text and English translation are to be found in the article by Syed Hashimi in Vol : II of Islamic Culture, page 195) and it proves indisputably that there was no pretence whatever that Murâd was to be the emperor. In the treaty he is promised a subordinate kingdom (of which the extent is stipulated) as the reward of his loyal support of Aurangzeb. Prince Murâd Buksh knew well that he stood no chance whatever on his own account ; he wished to make sure of something handsome for himself, while Aurangzeb for his part was most willing to preserve one of his brothers from the consequences of defeat in the fratricidal struggle which had become a family tradition in the House of Timûr and at the same time gain a very useful ally. Aurangzeb was in character and abilities as manifestly superior to his brothers as was Napoleon the Great to all the other Bonapartes. It was only after the fall of Agra that Murâd Buksh (who had his court of flatterers) became a rival to Aurangzeb and talked of over-throwing him ; and it was for that betrayal that Aurangzeb kidnapped and imprisoned him.

Other old fabrications are repeated by Mr. Ball in like manner ; which is a pity because his little work is otherwise

entirely praiseworthy, quite unpolemical in tone and very well arranged. He has drawn in all good faith from sources which are now known to be polluted.

For the reasons why Alamgîr reimposed the Jiziyah or poll-tax on the Hindus, Mr. Ball has had recourse to Manucci, who thus states those reasons :

" ....first, because by this time his treasures had begun to shrink owing to expenditure on the campaigns ; secondly, to force the Hindus to become Mahomedans." The two reasons stultify each other, since, if the Hindus became Mahomedans, they would cease to pay the Jiziya. Any Muslim jurist could have told Mr. Ball the true reason, which was not uncomplimentary to the Hindus since the imposition of the Jiziya implied their recognition as People of the Scripture, not mere idolators. The Jiziya was levied from Christians, Jews and Zoroastrians, communities possessing a Scripture of Divine revelation, and it is a strong refutation of the charge of hatred of the Hindus commonly brought against Aurangzeb that he acknowledged the right of the Hindus to the special treatment to be secured by payment of the Jiziya. The people who paid the Jiziya could not be called upon to do military service, and it became a sacred duty for the Muslims to protect them.

We hope that every Indian historian will soon come to realise that Manucci and Bernier are untrustworthy guides for anything except details of social life at that period. Bernier was perfectly honest as far as he went, but the same cannot be said of Manucci, who went much further, claiming indeed to know everything there was to know concerning India at that time ; he was a man of decided bias and a propagandist. It is time that Indian history was written from Indian sources which, for the Mughal period, are sufficiently abundant. Otherwise it is very like the case of the blind leading the blind.

M. P.

We have received a copy of an admirable little work by Prof. L. Bogdanov of Santiniketan, *The Afghan Weights and Measures*, which presents in a very interesting form a quantity of useful information to be found nowhere else. Professor Bogdanov, as those of our readers who remember his article on the Afghan Periodical Press, will agree, has a positive genius for making apparently bone-dry subjects fascinating. His pamphlet on Afghan Weights and Measures is as absorbing in its interest as any novel.

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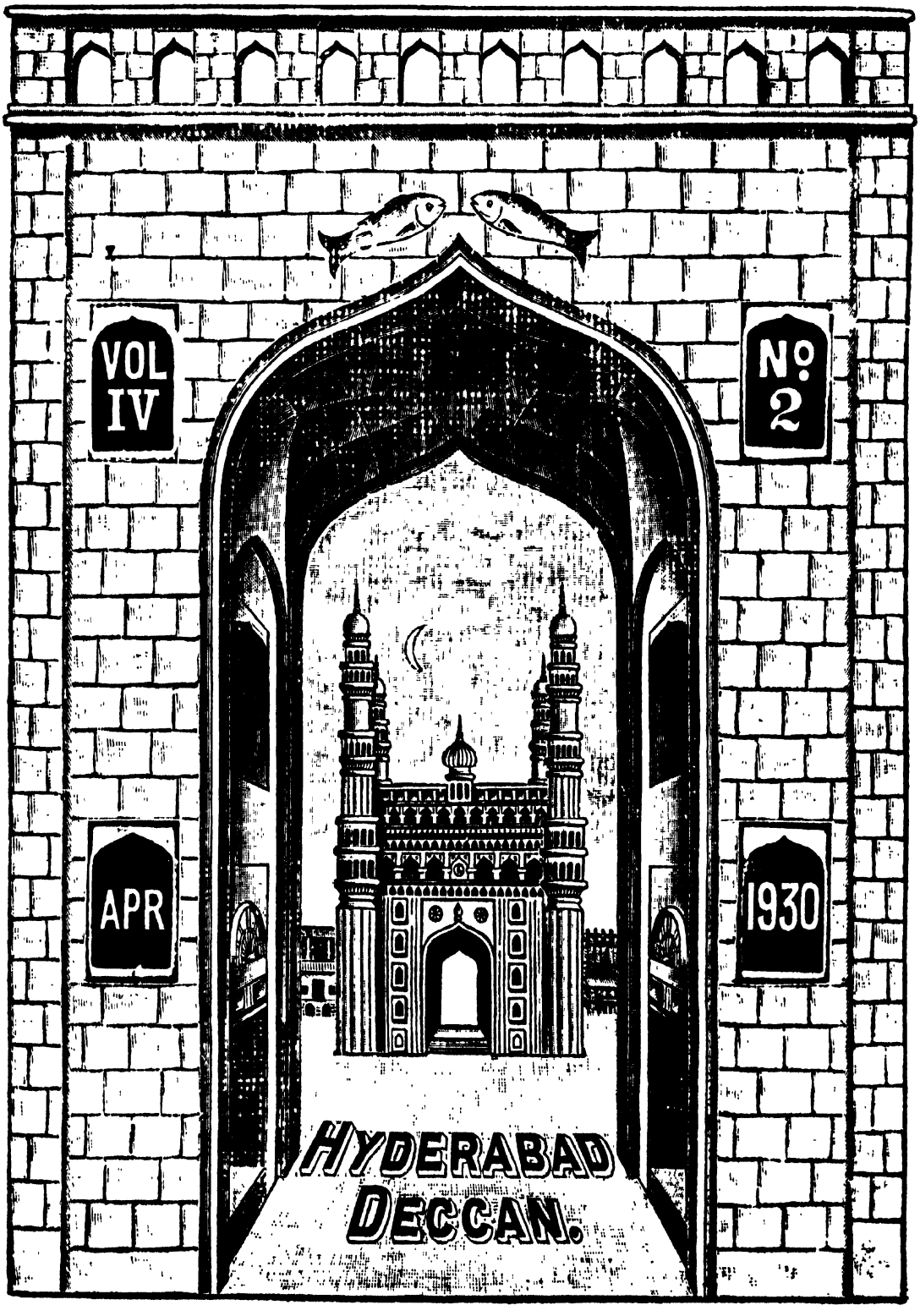
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IBN QUTEIBA'S 'UYUN AL-AKHBAR

(Translated into English.)

THAT peculiar branch of learning which is called Adab may be said to have come into existence towards the end of the second islamic century and among its earliest representatives are Al-Jâhiz and his younger contemporary Ibn Quteiba. Of the two, Al-Jâhiz is by far the more original, but Ibn Quteiba (who was born in 213 at Kûfa, held the office of Qâdi at Dinawar for some time, passed most of his life at Baghdad and died there in 276) seems to have been the first who treated the subject systematically. His *'Uyun al-Akhbar* is a well ordered presentation of knowledge such as a man of education was expected to possess and to make use of both in speaking and in writing. More especially it was meant to serve the purposes of that class, the very basis of whose existence was the possession of such knowledge, the clerks in the Government offices, called Kâtib : the heirs of the Dabiran of the Sassanian period and the predecessors of the Munshis of later times. The literature of Adab comprised within itself a good deal of the intellectual inheritance of both Arabic and Iranian civilisation along with a sprinkling of quotations from Jewish, Christian, Greek and Indian sources. Ibn Quteiba was a prolific writer who treated in his books the various branches of learning, including theology, and in his *'Uyun* he shows himself a man of very considerable reading. He usually quotes the sources whence he drew his information either in the form of an Isnâd or by adding the title of the book, from which he took it. It would be worth while to study these sources in more detail, but this can only be done when the complete text of the 'Uyûn is available. So far, only six out of the ten books into which the work is divided have been published, but it is expected that within two or three years the new edition undertaken by the Dâr al-Kutub al-Misrîya in Cairo will be finished. There is also an earlier

edition by C. Brockelmann, which however was discontinued after the publication of the fourth part. Whilst the Egyptian edition has been made the basis of this translation, the text of Brockelmann and his notes have also been drawn upon.

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

And may Allah bless our Master Muhammad and his family and his companions and give them peace.

Saith the Imâm Abû Muhammad 'Abdullah ibn Muslim ibn Quteiba al Dînawari : Praise be to Allah whose blessings frustrate the skill of those who wish to describe them, and whose benefits exceed all numbers and whose compassion comprises the sins of all who act immoderately ; and praise be to Allah from whom no prayer can be withheld, and with whom no petition is in vain and with whom no endeavour goes wrong ; who is pleased with small thanks for big favours, who covers the great sins with confirmed repentance and wipes out with the contrition of one hour the transgressions of years. And praise be to Allah, who sent among us the messenger of good news, the warner, the illuminating light that directs towards His approval, calls to His love and leads on to the way to His paradise, opens for us the door of His compassion, and keeps closed before us the door of His anger. May Allah and his angels that stand near, bless him and his family and his companions for ever—as long as the sea runs high and as long as the sun rises—and for all the prophets and messengers.

Now after these preliminary words : for every benefit that Allah has bestowed there is a due, and for every blessing he has granted there is a fee ; the fee of property is alms, the fee of noble birth is humility, the fee of high rank is the expending of it, the fee of learning to spread it. The best of learning is that which is most useful and the most useful of it that which is most praiseworthy in the end, and the most praiseworthy in the end that which has been learned and taught for Allah's sake and with which Allah's countenance—He is high—has been sought.

We pray to Allah—He is high and great—to make us practise what we know, and to make us grasp the best of it, to make us seek his noble countenance through what we gain and bestow, to make us realise the beautiful blessings conferred on us by Him, to make us praise him gratefully at the time of night and day. For he is the nearest of those who are called upon in prayer and the best of those who are asked.

When I had become aware of the wide spread of the decrease, of the disappearance of learning, of Government being too busy to set up a market for Adab, so that it became effaced and erased, I took it upon myself to compose a book on knowledge and on the rectification of tongue and hand for the benefit of those of the scribes whose education was scanty : a book through which I reached my soul's desire for them, and my heart's ease, and in which I registered for their sake all that God had presented me with for the day of victory. But I impose upon them the condition not only to study it, but also to learn by heart the original sources of the sayings, so as to introduce them as similes into the interspaces of their lines when they write, and to make use of their beautiful conceits and their elegant expressions when they speak. After having undertaken to look after part of their equipment, zeal called me to satisfy their wants, for I was afraid lest, if I left them to themselves for what remained and trusted them to select it, their perseverance might not last against neglect and out of weakness they might not find their riding beasts easy so that they might turn away from the end, as they had turned away from the beginning; or lest they might attempt this with weakness of purpose and languidness of application so that strengthlessness of natural disposition and disgust at inconvenience might overpower them. Therefore I finished for them what I had begun, and coated with plaster the building of which I had laid the foundations ; and I behaved to them in this, like one who acts kindly towards him he loves, rather like a tender father towards a son who shows filial piety. But I shall be satisfied with their hasty thanks, relying upon God for reward and remuneration.

This book although not dealing with Qur'ân or Sunna, the religious law or the knowledge of what is lawful and what is forbidden, yet leads on to the heights of things and shows the way to noble character ; it restrains from baseness, turns away from ugly things, incites to right conduct and fair management, to mild administration and to rendering the land prosperous. For the way to Allah is not one nor is all that is good confined to night-prayers and continued fasting and the knowledge of the lawful and the forbidden. On the contrary, the ways to Him are many and the doors of the good are wide ; and the soundness of religion depends on the soundness of time and the soundness of time on the soundness of

government, whilst the soundness of government depends—beside the help of Allah—on leading aright and providing proper understanding.

These *'Uyun al-Akhbar* I have arranged as an eye-opening for those whose upbringing is scanty, as a reminder for the learned, as an education for the leaders of men and those whom they lead, as a place for the kings to rest in from the toil of endeavour and weariness. I have classified it into chapters and connected one chapter with one that is its like, one narrative with one that resembles it, one word with its sister; in order that he who studies may find it easy to learn, and he who reads remember it, and he who is in search for something turn to it. Through it the minds of the learned are impregnated, the thoughts of the wise are assisted in being brought forth; it contains the fresh butter of pure milk, the ornament of culture, the fruits of prolonged thought, the choice of the words of the eloquent, of the intelligence of poets, of the lifestory of kings, of the traditions of preceding generations. Of all this, I have collected for you a great deal in this book, that you may train your soul with the best of it, that you may straighten it with its thiqâf[1], free it from its bad qualities, as you would free the white silver from its dross; and drill it to accept good behaviour, upright mode of life, noble culture and grand character, as taught in it. Let it enter your speech when you hold a conference and your eloquent style when you write; with its help you will succeed in what you ask for, you will use beautiful words in intercession, and escape blame by means of the best of excuses, when you apologize. For words are the pitfalls of hearts, and lawful sorcery. Make use of its culture in the company of your ruler, and in setting aright administration, in making his policy mild, and in managing his wars. Enliven your company through it, whether in earnest or joke, render your proofs obvious with the help of its similes, humiliate your adversary by taking them into account; in order that truth may manifest itself in the most beautiful shape and that you reach your aim with the lightest of provision and gain your goal calmly; and that you may overtake the tracked beast, bending part of your rein and walking gently and come in first. All this, provided your natural disposition be in compliance, your temper ready and your feeling tractable; should this not be the case, those whose intelligence points out to them the defects of their soul, and who consequently manage it well

(1) Thiqâf is an instrument used for the straightening of lances.

and cover its defects with patience and reflection ; who put the remedies of this book on the illness of their natural disposition, drench it (the soul) with its (the book's) water and strike fire from it through its lights, will find this book to restore the sick and sharpen the blunt and arouse the drowsy and awake the slumbering ; until with the help of Allah even they come near the ranks of those that are gifted by nature.

I did not think it right for this book of mine to be a bequest for those who pursue this world, as opposed to those who pursue the next world ; nor to the chief men, as opposed to the masses nor to the kings as opposed to the subjects. On the contrary, I have given everyone of these parties their share and made their part copious. And I have included in the book novelties from the beautiful sayings of the ascetics concerning the world and its misfortunes, and decay and death ; sayings that they quote to each other, whenever they assemble, and which they introduce into their correspondence, when they are separated one from another ; sermons and sayings about asceticism, self-restraint, fear of God, certainty of belief and the like of these. Perhaps Allah will lead back through them those who turn aside, bend towards repentance those who deviate, restrain those who act wrongly, and make smooth through their delicacies the hardness of hearts. But with all this I did not deprive the book of strange curiosities, witty and sagacious sayings, words that please and others that make laugh ; lest there should remain outside the book any one of the roads that travellers have travelled or any way of speech to which speakers have had recourse; and in order to give rest to the reader from the toil of seriousness and the tiring effect of truth for " the ear is wont to reject, while the mind has eager desire " (for what it deems elegant). For a joke if it be suitable or almost so, and fitting in with its time and the conditions that bring it forth, is not bad nor to be disapproved of, belonging neither to the big nor even the small sins, if God will. Therefore this our book will take you in the end to the chapter on jests and merriment and to such of them as have been handed down from Sharîfs and Imâms. If then you, who show a grave mien, come across a saying you hold in light esteem or you find good or you admire or you laugh at, know our method and our intention. Remember also that if you, in your asceticism, can dispense with it, there are others, easygoing in those things in which you exert yourself, who may want it. The book has not been composed for you to the

exclusion of others and could not therefore have been arranged according to your outward predilections. Had it been influenced by the fear of those that don grave miens, half of its beauty would have gone and half of its juice, and those would have turned away from it whom we should love to turn towards it along with you.

This book resembles a table on which the tastes of the dishes differ according to the difference of the appetites of the eaters. If you come across in it a saying in which there is plain speaking with regard to the pudenda or in the description of gross things, let not humility, or the affectation of it, induce you to turn away your face in disdain, for it is not the names of the limbs of the body that cause people to fall into sin; sin rather consisting in reviling reputations, telling lies, eating the flesh of people[1] in secret. Said the messenger of Allah, " Who so asserteth his relationship in the manner of the time of ignorance (by exclaiming when calling for aid: I am N. N. the son of N. N.) say you to him: 'Bite thou the membrum of thy father,' and use not a metonymical term for it ".[2] And Abû Bakr al Siddîq replied to Budeil ibn Warqa[3] when he had said to the Prophet, " If these had been touched by the incision of the weapons, they would have betrayed thee " as follows: " Bite the prepuce of the clitoris of Al-Lât![4] Shall *we* betray him? " And 'Alî ibn Abî Tâlib said, " He whose father had a long membrum (*i.e.*, whose father had many sons), can use it as a belt (to protect himself with). And the poet has said in exactly the same way[5]: —

(1) A metaphor for slandering that was already in use in the language of the Babylonians (akalu qarsê) and that was taken over from them by the Aramaic speaking people (ekhal qarsê); the Arabs probably transferred it into their language under Aramaic influence.

(2) In Ahmad ibn Hanbals Musnad V 136 the tradition reads:

أن رجلا اعتزى بعزاء الجاهلية فاعضه ولم يكنه فنظر القوم إليه فقال للقوم إنى قد أرى الذى فى أنفسكم إنى لم أستطع إلا أن أقول فعذا ان رسول الله أمرنا إذا سمعتم من تعزى بعزاء الجاهلية فاعضوه ولا تكنوا

(3) Budeil the leader of the Khufa'a embraced Islam in 8 A. H.

(4) Al-Lat whose name is mentioned in Sura LIII as one of the goddesses believed by the Qureish to be Allah's daughters was worshipped in a temple near al Tâ'if which along with the idol, was destroyed in 8 A. H. Her name which means " the goddess (al-tahat) was probably known already to Herodotus who in III8 calls her Alilat.

(5) The verse is ascribed by some to Al-Nabigha, see Nabigha XXXI ed. Ahlweldt (Six diwans). Brockelmann refers also to Al-'Ahir, Bayan II 81.

" Had my Lord wished it, the membrum of your father would have been long like the membrum of Al-Hârith the son of Sadûs ".[1]

Said al Asma'i : Al Hârith ibn Sadûs had twenty male children. When it was said to Al-Sha'bî, "This is contrary to analogy." he replied, " What has the membrum to do with analogy ? " But this is not what you find in the verses of Jarîr and Al Farazdaq,[2] because there you have reviling charges against sisters and mothers, slandering of careless married women. Understand the two things, and distinguish between the two kinds, for I do not give you license to let loose your tongue with obscene speech so as to make this your habit in every circumstance and your wont in every speech, rather my license is confined to every story you relate or tradition you hand down, lest the use of allusion diminish it and indistinct speech take away its sweetness. And I should like you to make a little use of this, according to the habit of the pious ancestors, in letting loose the soul according to its natural disposition and in the wish to keep it back from hypocrisy and affectation; and do not imagine that people have committed a fault, whilst you keep aloof, that they have impaired their religion, whilst you have abstained from sin. Similarly, if you come across an incorrect expression in one of the curious sayings, do not let it escape your memory that we have used it intentionally and want you to use it intentionally, because correct pronunciation sometimes deprives a story of its beauty and takes away half the sweetness of a witticism. I will give you an example of this : It was said to Muzabbid[3] of Medina when he had eaten some food that oppressed him : " Vomit." He replied, " I do not vomit. Should I vomit a bone full of marrow and meat of kid ? My wife shall be divorced ! Should I find this vomited, I should eat it. " Don't you see that if you had supplied these words with their full vowels and hamzas, their beauty would have gone, and whosoever heard them would have considered them in bad taste ; for the best in

(1) The Banû Sadûs are said to have been the viceregents of the Kings of Kindas. Ibn Qutaiba, *Ma'arif* 28; Ibn Dureid, *Ishtiqaq*, 211.

(2) Both these poets delight in gross satire.

(3) The reading of the name is doubtful, see the note in the Egyptian edition; it has often been pronounced Mazyad. There are many stories told about this man, who must have lived into the time of the Khalif Al-Mahdi (158-169 H.), see *Aghani* V47 XIII 116 seq ; Zâhir, *Bukhala* ed. Vloten 9; Baihaqi ed. Schwally 642; Ibn al Jauzi, *Adhkiya* translated by O. Rescher 180, 202 J. Horovitz, *Spuren griechischer Mimen im Orient* 68 ; A. Christensen in *Acta Orientalia* III 21.

them is that the beauty of the conceit atones for the roughness of the expression, so that he who relates them is like the one of whom an earlier poet[1] has said :

" Mix the generosity of Talha of noble deeds when they boast
" With the miserliness of Ash'ath and ask for proofs and be a judge
" Khuza'a will this be free from both meanness and generosity
" And you do not count for her meanness nor generosity."

And similarly Malik ibn Asma[2] said with regard to a girl-slave of his

" Is my sight covered within me on account of love?
" Or are you the most perfect of human beings in beauty ?
" Many a saying in which I delight is of the kind
" For which those long, that bestow praise, composed in the measures of verses
" Beautiful language, though she sometimes pronounces incorrectly
" But the sweetest of sayings are those that are incorrectly pronounced ".

If you come across a story or a piece of poetry that is beneath the quality of the book and what it is built on, know that there are two reasons for this. The first is that there is to be found little that refers to the subject, although there is need for treating it. The second is that if the beautiful is connected with its like, both their lights decrease and that which is superior does not become manifest through that which is inferior ; whereas, if it is connected with what is inferior to it, the want in the one allows you to see more clearly the excess in weight of the other. And the pivot of the matter and its mainstay on one point requires it that you should compel your soul to do it, namely introduce the word in its place and connect it with its cause ; without considering people to be mistaken in uttering their opinion whilst you refrain from doing so. And if you see a state of affairs that fits in with a saying

(1) The poet is Dibil (148-246 H.) who was a descendant of a client of the tribe of Khufa'a. The verses were addressed to al Muttalib ibn Abdallah, himself a descendant of the Khufa'a. See *Aghani* XVIII 44, 48.

(2) The poet was a contemporary of Al Hajjâj who had also married his sister Hind, see *Aghani* XVI48 ; Ibn Quteiba, *Shir* 492.

you have at hand, bring it in; and if you see an opportunity the vanishing of which you fear, seize it. For it used to be said: seize the opportunities for sayings, because for a saying there are hours, in which wrong may damage it, and the right not help it. And they also said: there is many a word that says: leave me alone.

If you see a chapter in this book which you do not think saturated, do not condemn us for neglect until you have examined all the chapters. For there is many a subject for which there may be two or three places, so that we may distribute those things that refer to it to its various places. Thus, for example, the showing of kindness through words, belongs to the chapter on government, to that on needs and to that on rhetoric; or the use of excuses to that on government and that on brethren; or avarice both to the chapter on natural constitution and to that on food: or old age to that on asceticism and that on women.

And know that we have been going on collecting these things in our young days and in mature age from those who are above us in years and knowledge and from our companions and brethren: from the books of the foreigners and their histories; from the eloquence of scribes in some paragraphs of their letters; from such as are inferior to us, without refusing to accept from the young in years on account of their youth, nor from those whose station is low on account of their lowliness, nor from the stupid handmaid on account of her ingorance, much less from anyone else. For knowledge is the stray camel of the believer, whencesoever he takes it, it helps him. No harm is done to truth's dignity, through hearing it from idolators; nor to advice through its being elicited from those that brood hatred; just as little as shabby cloths disparage a beautiful woman nor the seashell the daughter of the shell (*i.e.*, the pearl), nor its coming out of sweepings the fine gold. And he who leaves off taking the good from its place, mars the opportunity and opportunities pass like the passing of clouds.

Abû'l Khattâb narrated to me; he said: I have been told by Abû Daûd in the name of Suleimân ibn Mu'âdh in the name of Simāk in the name of 'Ikrima in the name of Ibn 'Abbâs. He said: "Take wisdom from the one from whom you hear it; for sometimes one who is not wise speaks wisdom and sometimes a shot comes from one who is not a shooter." And this is likewise in our book, because it treats of culture and the good and bad qualities

of people ; and the good cannot be confounded with the bad, and where it belongs cannot remain hidden from the one who hears it. But as for the knowledge of religion and of that which is lawful and forbidden. this is based on our subjecting ourselves and submitting to authorities, and it is not permitted for you to take it from any one except you consider him as evidence for yourself and no doubts with regard to him trouble your breast. The same is our way in making our selections from the sayings of recent authors and the poetry of the modern, for if they are choice in expression and beautiful in meaning, the fact of their author being recent does not diminish their value in our opinion, just as their priority in age does not raise it ; for everything old is new in its time and every noble lineage starts with one who makes himself a lord without being of noble descent. It is only the way of common people to exalt what is absent, to lower what is present, to shun what is given generously, to love what is being withheld, to make much of those that were prior in age and to pardon their slips ; but to consider impure those that came later and to charge them with crimes ; whereas the wise look at things with the eye of justice, not of predilection and weigh them with a straight balance.

When I had divided these narratives and verses and arranged them, I found that in spite of the differences of their branches and the large number of their chapters yet they could be collected into ten books ; after I had found it necessary to exclude from them four separate books, each of which stands by itself ; the book of drink,[1] the book of knowledge[2], the book of poetry[3] and the book on the interpretation of dreams[4].

The first book of those collected here, is the book of government. It contains the narratives about the station of government, the differences of its circumstances, its mode of life, the deportment the ruler stands in need of with regard to his companions ; about his addresses, his transactions, his consultations ; the principles he has to adhere to in selecting his officials, judges, chamberlains, scribes and governors, in order that they may follow his ways in their decisions. It also contains curious sayings and verses homogeneous to these narratives.

(1) The *Kitab al sharab* was published by A. Guy in the review Al Muqtabas (Damascus 1925) Vol. II.

(2) *Kitab al-ma'arif* edited by F. Wüstenfeld (Gottingen 1850), dealing with history.

(3) *Kitab al-shi'r wal-shu'ara* ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden 1904).

(4) *Kitab ta'wil al-ruya*, a copy of which is not known to exist.

The second book is the book of war. It resembles the first book and for that reason I have connected it with it and have made both into a single part. It contains narratives about deportment in war, its stratagems, injunctions to armies, equipment, weapons, horses, departure, journey, augury, omen, orders to the fighters and those who set out on expeditions; narratives about cowards and the brave, the cunning of war, something of the history of the Abbasid rule and of the Tâlibis, narratives about the chief towns; and curious sayings and verses homogeneous to these narratives.

The third book is the book of nobility. It contains narratives about the symptoms of nobility in early life and its causes among the grown up, about high aims and the risking of one's soul in order to reach the heights, the differences in intentions and wishes, on humility and haughtiness, pride and bashfulness, intelligence and prudence, anger and strength, awe, humility and manliness, on dress and perfume, on society and conversation, on building, on joking and refraining from affectation, on taking the middle course in things, on the objections against excesses and shortcomings, on ease of life and poverty, on trade, buying and selling, on selling on credit, on the noble acts of Ashrâf and Sayyids: and curious sayings and verses homogeneous to these narratives.

The fourth book is the book of natural disposition and character. It comes near the book of nobility wherefore I have connected it with it and made one part out of the two. It contains narratives on the resemblance of men in their dispositions and their blemishes, about bad behaviour such as envy and slander and backbiting and lies, and insolence, bad character, bad neighbourhood, abuse, avarice, foolishness; curious anecdotes about fools; on the natural dispositions of living beings, both men and Jinn, cattle and beasts of prey, birds and insects, small animals and plants; and curious sayings and verses homogeneous to these narratives.

The fifth book is the book of learning. It contains narratives about learning, about scholars and students, about books and learning by heart, about the Qur'ân and tradition and dogmatic theology, injunctions of tutors, rhetoric and eloquence, cleverness in reply and speech, about beautiful allusions, sermons and speeches in assembly; and curious sayings and verses homogeneous to these narratives.

The sixth book is the book of asceticism. It comes near the book of learning, wherefore I have connected it with it

and have made the two into one part. It contains narratives concerning the qualities of ascetic people, their dicta about asceticism, on secret intercourse, sayings on wordly life, night-prayers, death and old age, self-restraint, certitude of belief, gratitude, striving, abstemiousness, satisfaction, the speeches of the ascetic before Khalifs and Kings ; their sermons and similar things ; and curious sayings and verses homogeneous with these narratives.

The seventh book is the book of brethren. It contains instigations to choose brethren and to select them ; narratives about love and friendship, and the duties of a friend to his friend, kindness to people and pleasant conversation with them ; encounters, visits, embraces and farewells ; presents, visits to the sick, condolence and congratulation ; on bad brethren, on relations, and children ; excuses and blaming of the brethren, mutual enmity and hatred ; and curious sayings and verses homogeneous to these narratives.

The eighth book is the book of needs. This comes near the book of brothers wherefore I have connected it with it and made the two into one part. It contains narratives about filling needs by discretion and self-constraint, painstaking, gifts, bribery, pleasant speech ; about those that are reliable in needs and can be expected to fulfil them, on the granting and the refusing of needs, on promises and their fulfilments, on the bright or stern behaviour of those that are asked on being asked, on the suppression of habitual favours ; on thanks and praise and how to make them beautiful, on inspiring others with the desire to fulfil needs, on the working out of favours, on coveting and importunity, on abstemiousness and refraining, and curious sayings and verses homogeneous with these narratives.

The ninth book is the book of food. It contains information concerning good dishes, about sweets and *sawiq*[1], milk and dates ; the bad food which the poor Arabs eat, on the scourge of poverty, on the culture of eating, on hunger and fast ; narratives of eaters and insatiables, invitations to meals, hospitality, narratives of those that are stingy with regard to food, the training of the bodies through food that suits them, diet imposed on the sick, the drinking of medicine, the disadvantages of dishes, their benefits and advantages ; little pinches from the

(1) *i.e.*, parched grain made into a kind of gruel, being moistened with water or clarified butter or fat of a sheep's tail.

medicine of Arabs and Persians ; and curious sayings and verses homogeneous with these narratives.

The tenth book on women comes near the book on food. The Arabs call food and conjugal intercourse the two good things and they say : " The two good things you want, have left him." So I have connected this chapter with the preceding one and have made one part out of the two. It contains narratives about the differences in women with regard to character and make, those that are chosen for conjugal intercourse, and those that are avoided, on differences of men with regard to this, on beauty, on good and bad looks, on ugliness, blackness, deformities, impotence ; on elders and nuptial gifts, on asking in marriage ; on the injunctions of the Walis when conducting the bride to the husband ; on the managing of women and courting their society, on sexual intercourse, on childbirths and their evils. (As for the stories of the lovers among the Arabs I thought the book of the poets more suitable and have therefore taken only a few of them into this book.) The tenth book also contains curious sayings and verses homogeneous to these narratives.

The contents of these ten books I have put together for your benefit in the beginning of the first of them, in order to save you from the toil of searching and the weariness of trying to find, and the prolonged thinking over, whenever the need for something that I have included in it arises ; and in order that you may betake yourself to the right place whenever you want something, and to draw out the very thing or one that can fill its place and suffice you. For these narratives and verses, although they are selected sources, yet they are too many to be encompassed or to be looked at from behind, or for their end to be reached, so as to dispense with this (table of contents).

Thus I have made the burden light although I brought together a great deal ; I have abridged although I have expanded, and have been careful about these curious and laughable stories, like one who is glad at coming out well in the collection of booty and with safe return from a far journey. I could not do without that amount of them that I included in the book, in order that its chapters be complete thereby. And we pray to God to cancel one through the other, to pardon bad on account of good, jest on account of seriousness ; and to return to us after that with His favour and to cover us with His forgiveness ;

and after our longlasting hope in Him, our good presumptions regarding Him and our reliance on Him, to protect us from disappointment and privation.

BOOK OF GOVERNMENT.

The Place of The Ruler, his Mode of Life and Administration.

Muhammad ibn Khâlid ibn Khidash told me : we have been told by Salm ibn Qutcîba from Ibn Abî Dhib from Abû Hureira : the Prophet said : you will covet the office of a ruler bût after that it will be anguish and repentance on the day of resurrection ; how good is the nursing woman and how bad the one who is weaning from her young one.

Muhammad ibn Ziyâd al-Ziyâdi told me : I have been told by Abdul-'Azîz al Dârwardi, he said : we have been told by Sharîk from 'Atâ ibn Yasâr : a man said in the presence of the Prophet : " A bad thing is the office of a ruler." Whereupon he replied : " A good thing is the office of a ruler, for the one who seizes it rightly and lawfully."

Zeid ibn Akhzam al Tâ'i told me : I have been told by Ibn Qutcîba from Abû'l Minhâl from 'Abdu'l-'Azîz ibn Bakra from his father, he said : when Kisra died, the Prophet was informed of this, whereupon he said : " Whom have they appointed his successor ? " " His daughter Bûrân."[1] " No people will be successful, who entrust their affairs to a woman."

Zeid ibn Akhzam told me I have been told by Wahb ibn Jarîr, he said ; my father told me : I heard Aiyûb relate in the name of 'Ikrima in the name of Ibn 'Abbâs that when he came to Medîna in the time of the Harra[2] and asked. "Whom have the people appointed governors?" They said ; " They have appointed 'Abdullah ibn Mutî' head of the Qureish and 'Abdullah ibn Hanzala ibn al-Râhib head of the Ansâr." Whereupon he replied : " Two Amîrs, by Allah ! The people have perished ! "

Muhammad ibn 'Ubeid said : I have been told by Muawiya ibn 'Amr from Abû Ishaq from Hishâm ibn Hassân : Al Hasan used to say : " There are four things entrusted

(1) On Bûrân see Nöldcke, Geschichte der Perser und Areber 382-90 ; between Khusrau II and Bûrân there were some shortlived rulers.

(2) *i.e.*, the battle on the Harrat Wâqim near Medîna, in which the Umeyâds defeated the people of Medîna in 63 A. H.

to the rulers of Islâm : judicial authority, booty, Friday prayer and Jihâd."

Muhammad (ibn Ubeid) told me : I have been told by Abû Salâma from Hammâd ibn Salâma from Aiyûb from Abû Qilaba : Ka'b said : " The relation between Islâm, the ruler and the people is like that between the tent, the pole, the ropes and the pegs. The tent is Islâm, the pole the ruler, the ropes and the pegs the people : everyone of them is dependent on the other for its well-being".

Sahl ibn Muhammad told me : I have been told by Al Asma'î : Abû Hazim said to Suleimân ibn 'Abdu'l-Malik[1] : "The ruler is a marketplace : everything that is saleable there, will be brought."

And I read in one of Ibn al Muqaffa's books : " Men with few exceptions follow the religion of the ruler, therefore there should be with him a good sale for piety and manliness, so that impiety and baseness should be unsaleable in the countries of the earth." Further I read in it[2] : "There are three kinds of kingships, the kingship based on religion, the kingship based on firm resolution, the kingship based on partiality. If the kingdom based on religion establishes for its people their religion—and it is their religion which endows them with their property and imposes upon them their duties—this will satisfy them and make the angry among them sit down in the seat of those that are satisfied, so as to acknowledge (the rule) and consent to it. As for the rule of firm resolution, things endure through it, but it does not escape attack and anger, although the attack of the weak can do no harm to it as long as the resolution of the strong remains. But as regards the rule based on partiality, it is the play of an hour and ruin for all time.

Yazid ibn Amr told me from 'Isma ibn Suqeir al Bâhili : I have been told by Ishâq ibn Nujeih from Thaur ibn Yazîd from Khâlid ibn Ma'dân, he said : the Prophet said : " God has his guards ; his guards in the sky are the angels, his guards on earth those that are in charge of the dîwân."

(1) The Umeyâd Khalif who ruled from 96-99 A.H.

(2) The book referred to here is Ibn al Muqaffa's *Kitab al Adab al Kabir*, and the passage quoted by Ibn Quteiba is to be found in Ahmad Faki Pasha's edition of the *Adab al Kabir* (Cairo 1911) p. 18. There are also Dutch, French and German translations of this book, see O. Rescher in *Mitteilungen des Seminars fur Orientalische Sprachere* Vol. XX : C. Brockelmann in *Feitschrift der Deutschen Mongenlandischen Gosellschaft* Vol. LIII p. 321; O. Rescher, *Abriss der Arabischen Litteraturgeschishte* Vol. I. p. 321.

Ahmad ibn al Khalîl told me : I have been told by Saî'd ibn Salm al Bâhili : he said : I have been told by Sh'uba from Sharaqî from 'Ikrima : with regard to the verse in the Qur'ân (Sûra XIII 12) " He has got pursuers before him and behind him to keep guard over him by the command of Allah ", he said : the soldiers guard the rulers.

I have read in one of the books of the Indians[1] : " The worst of property is that of which nothing is spent, the worst of brothers is he who separates, the worst of rulers he of whom the innocent is afraid, and the worst of countries that in which there is neither plenty nor security."

In the same book I read[2] : " The best of rulers is he who resembles a vulture surrounded by corpses ; not the one who resembles a corpse round which vultures turn." This is a beautiful conceit and like unto it is the word of him who said : " A ruler whom the subjects fear is better for the subjects than a ruler who fears them."

A Sheikh of ours told me from Abû'l Ahwas from a nephew of Abû Wâ'il from Abu Wâ'il : he said : 'Abdullah ibn Mas'ûd said[3] : " If the leader of the community is just, he will get the reward, and you will have reason to be grateful ; and if he acts wrongfully, he will be burdened with the load, whilst you will have to put up with him patiently.

The same related to me from Abû Qudama from 'Alî ibn Zeid, he said : Umar ibn al Khattâb said : " There are three misfortunes : first, the neighbour of a residence who, when he sees something beautiful, keeps it secret and when he sees something bad, spreads it ; secondly a woman who when you enter to her bites you with words. and whom, when you are away from her, you do not trust ; thirdly, a ruler, who when you do good, will not praise you, but who when you do evil will kill you."

I have read in the Yatima[4] : "The few disadvantages of the ruler as compared with his advantages may be likened to the rain which is the irrigation of God and the blessing

(1) The book referred to is the *Kalila wa Dimna*, translated from Pahlevi into Arabic by Ibn al Muqaffa', the Pahlevi version having been translated from the Panchatantra. The passage quoted here is to be found in Cheikhos edition (Beyrouth 1905) p. 216.

(2) *Kalila, ed. Cheikho p.* 87.

(3) Abdullah ibn Mas'ūd, one of the Ashâb who died in 32 or 33 H.

(4) This is the title of one of Ibn al Muqaffa's books ; on its relation to the same author's *Kitab al Adab* see C. Brockelmann and O. Rescher as quoted in note (2) previous page 20.

of heaven and the life of the land and those on it. Sometimes travellers suffer danger through it and a building crumbles down on its account and there occur thunderbolts in it and its floods stream forth, so that men and beasts perish; the seas rage through it and misfortune becomes intense on those who dwell on it and men are not protected from it. When they look on the traces of God's mercy on the earth, which he has brought to life, and the plants which he has brought forth and the sustenance that he has spread and the mercy that he has dispensed, let them exalt the favour of their Lord and be thankful for it and let them suppress the memory of those special misfortunes that befall special people. Similarly the winds which Allah sends forth in a state of dispersal before his mercy (rain), nad with which he leads on the clouds; which he uses as fertilisation for the fruits and as breath for his servants to inhale and to move about; with the help of which their waters run and their fires burn and their wheels turn. Yet, though sometimes they do harm to many people on land and on sea, harm that befalls their lives and their properties, so that they complain of it and suffer from it; this does not remove them from the rank to which Allah has raised them and the order to which he has appointed them for the sustenance of His servants and the performance of His benefits. And similarly winter and summer, the heat and cold of which Allah has made helpful for the land and its produce and for the bringing forth of grain and fruit: for the cold concentrates them by the permission of Allah, and the heat brings them out by the permission of Allah and ripens them. And there are other advantages as well, and although sometimes disadvantages and harms are connected with their heat and their cold and their hot winds and their hurting cold, yet they are never referred to anything but the good and the useful. With regard to the night too, which Allah has made for rest and cover, the man in the desert will feel lonely in it, the unfortunate and suspected will have to contend against it, whilst the wild beasts rush on in it, the reptiles glide along in it, the thieves and robbers seize their opportunity in it. Yet the little of its damage cannot lower the estimation of its advantage, cannot put blame on it, nor take away from men the duty of thanking God for the gifts he has bestowed on them through it. Similarly the day which Allah has made into light and life, yet sometimes men suffer from the harm of its heat in summer; in its early mornings wars and predatory incursions visit them,

during it toil and anxiety and many things of which people complain disturb them, and they seek rest in the night and its quiet from them. If some of the happiness of this world would comprise the whole of its inhabitants without harming any, and if its benefits were without trouble, its ease without difficulty ; in that case this world would be paradise itself, whose joy is not mixed with any adversity nor its gladness with any grief, and in which there is no fatigue nor weariness. But all the principal things of the world which do harm to some, are a benefit to the generality ; whilst those things which benefit some, are a general misfortune."

It used to be said : Government and religion are two brothers. the one of whom cannot subsist without the other.

And I have read in the Tâj[1], as coming from one of the kings : " The cares of men are small and the cares of kings are great ; the hearts of kings are occupied with all things that are big, the hearts of the subjects are occupied with the lightest of things. The ignorant amongst them put forward excuses in spite of the ease of their lazy life, but will not excuse their ruler in spite of the difficulties of his troubles. Therefore Allah renders his rule powerful, leads him aright and grants him victory."

Ziyâd heard a man blame time. whereupon he said : " If he knew what time is, I should have him punished, time is nothing else but government itself."

The wise used to say : The justice of the king is more useful to the subjects than the abundance of the time.

Al Heitham related from Ibn 'Aiyâsh from Al-Sha'bi[2] : One day Muawiya went to the Banû Hâshim and said : O Banû Hâshim, do tell me, are your claims on the Khilâfat to the exclusion of the other families of Qureish based on people's approval of you, or on their being agreed on you as apart from your relationship (to the Prophet), or on relationship as apart from common agreement, or on both of them ? Now if this thing comes through approval and general agreement as apart from relationship, I do not think that relationship has confirmed a right or formed the basis of rule. If however it is relationship as apart

(1) On the *Kitab al Taj* see G. K. Nariman, *Iranian Influence on Moslem Literature*. p. 67 seq. ; further W. Bjônkmanns article *Taaj* in the Encyclopedia of Islam.

(2) Al Sha'bi who lived from 20-110 H. is one of the authorities frequently quoted for the history of the Umayyads.

from approval and general agreement, what could have prevented Al 'Abbâs the uncle of the Prophet, his heir, him who had the privilege to give the pilgrims to drink and who had made himself responsible for the orphans, to seek it for himself, after Abû Sufyân had pledged for him the Banu 'Abd Manâf. If the Khilâfat depends on approval, common agreement and relationship together, in that case relationship is only one fact among others that qualify for Imâmat and Imâmat does not depend on it alone, whilst you claim it on relationshiponly. But we say : That one among Qureish has the first claim on it, towards whom people stretch their hands in token of allegiance and towards whom they move their steps out of longing, and towards whom their love flies out of trust ; the one who strives for it rightly and obtains it properly. Your policy is one by which hearts become narrow. When you are asked about one outside you on whom there is general agreement, you say : (It is a question of) right. But if they agree on its being a question of right, this right turns you out from your claim. Look, if people have taken away your right, pursue them ; but if they have taken their own right, leave it to them. Because it is no good to you to think a thing to belong to you, that people do not believe to belong to you. Now Ibn 'Abbâs has said: We claim this on the right of the one, without whose right you would not sit on this seat of yours. But we say : Some people's refusal to be satisfied with us and to agree upon us, is a right that they have spoiled and a share, of which they have been deprived. The others have agreed upon one who is excellent and has committed no fault either coming or going, and the excellence of another man cannot detract from that of an excellent man. Allah says : He will give His grace to everyone deserving grace (Sûra XI 3). The reason that prevented us from pursuing this rule after the messenger of God, was an order to us from him with regard to which we have accepted his word and have submitted to his explanation : had he ordered us to take it in the same way in which he forbade us, we should have taken it or excused ourselves. There is no blame on him who gives up his right, but there is blame on him who pursues that which does not belong to him ; everything that is right is useful, but not every mistake is harmful. Thus the case of law came before Daûd and Sulcimân[1], Daûd was not made to understand it rightly,

(1) The reference is to Sura XXI 78 seq. and the story told by the commentators.

whilst Sulcimân was ; but this did not harm Daûd. And as for relationship it helped the heathen, but helps even more the believers. The Messenger of God said : Thou art my uncle and the brother of my father and he who hates Al 'Abbâs hates me and your Hijra is the last, just as my Prophetship is the last. And he said to Abû Tâlib when he died : O my uncle, say : there is no God but God : so that through this I may intercede for you tomorrow ; this is a thing which will not happen with any one of men. Saith Allah who is exalted (Sûra IV 22) : " His relenting is not for those who do evil, until when death comes before one of them he says : now I repent ; nor yet for those who die in disbelief. For such as these have we prepared a grievous woe."

Al Riyashi told me from Ahmad ibn Sallâm, the Maula of Dhufeif from a Maula of Yazîd ibn Hâtim from one of his Sheikhs : Kisra said : " Do not stay in a place in which there are not five things : a powerful ruler, a just judge, a fixed market, a learned physician, a running river."

Al Riyashi told us from Muslim ibn Ibrahim from Al-Qâsim ibn 'al-Fadhl from a niece of Al-'Ajjâj from 'Ajjâj : Abû Hureira said to me : " Where do you belong to?" I said : " To the people of 'Irâq". He said : " The people of Syria, in whose colour blackness and whiteness is mixed, are about to come to you, in order to take away your poor-rate ; when they come meet them with it and when they enter, keep standing in the remotest part and do not interfere with them. And beware of abusing them, for if you do it ; your reward will go, although they have taken your rate ; whilst if you remain steadfast, it will be added to your balance on the day of judgment." According to another version his words were: " When the tax-collector comes to you, say : Take the right and leave the false : and if he refuses, do not prevent him when he proceeds, and do not curse him when he retreats, lest you be disobedient and alleviate the burden of a tyrant."

It used to be said : Obedience to government is of four kinds, from inclination, fear, love or religious sentiment.

In one of the books of the Persians I have read a letter of Ardashir the son of Babak[1] to his s ubjects which reads as follows : " From Ardashir the victorious, the man of splendour, the king of kings, the heir of the mighty ; to the learned, who are the bearers of religion, and the

(1) The *Ahdnama* of Ardashir, called in Pahlevi Andarj nâmak see Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Artachschir-i-Pupakan* (Gottingen 1879) p. 27.

horsemen who are the guards of the seat of power, and the writers who are the ornament of the kingdom and the agriculturists who make lands prosperous :[1] Peace be upon you ! We are, praise be to God, well. And out of our excessive compassion we have remitted from our subjects our tax that had been fixed for them. At the same time we send you our written injunction : do not put on secret hatred as your innermost garment, lest the enemy crush you : nor monopolise things till they become scarce, lest dearth enwrap you ; marry amongst the near relations[2] because it makes blood kindred closest and keeps up lineage ; do not think this world to be anything, because it does not last for anyone, but do not cast it off all the same, because the next world can only be reached through it."

And I have read a letter from Aristotle to Alexander[3] in which it is said : " By ruling the subjects through acting kindly towards them, you will gain their love. For your pursuing this from them through your kindness will make it last longer than would constraint. And know, that you can only become the owner of the bodies, therefore step over them and pass on to the hearts through kindness. And know that the subjects if they are capable of speaking, are also capable of acting. See to it that they do not speak and you will be safe from their taking to actions."

And I have read in the *Kitab al A'in*[4], that one of the kings of Persia said in an address of his : " I rule only the bodies not the intentions, I decide according to justice, not on approval, I examine actions, not secrets." Similar is also the saying of the Persians : " That king manages best, who leads on the bodies of the subjects to obedience through their hearts."

And they said : " It is not fit for the governor to strive after the honour which he receives unwillingly from the

(1) These are the four classes into which society was divided during the Sassanian period : the âsravân or ecclesiastics, the artishtarân or warriors, the dabîran or clerks, the people consisting of the washtrioshân or agriculturists and hutukhshân or artisans. See A. Christensen, *L empire des Sassanides* 19.

(2) This refers to the Khwêdhugh das of which the *Shayast ne shayast* VIII 18 says that it neutralises mortal sin. See Christensen ibid 53.

(3) The text of the *risalat Aristutalis ila'l Iskandar fi'l siyasa* was published along with a Latin translation and notes by J. Lippert (Berlin 1891), but the passage quoted by Ibn Quteiba does not occur therein.

(4) On the A'în see A. Christensen l.c. 96 ; G. K. Nariman l.c. 60 ; J. Markwart in *Ungarische Zahubucher* Vol. VII p 93. Mas'ûdi, *Kitab al Tanbih* 104 translates *a'in nama* by *Kitab al rusum*. The *A'în nama* too had been translated by Ibn al. Muqaffa', see *Fihrist* 118.

common people, but rather after that, which he may claim as his right through good character, right ideas and management."

Al Riyashi told me from Ahmad ibn Sallam from a Sheikh of his : " When Anoshirwan appointed a man, he ordered his scribe to leave in the diploma of appointment room for four lines, so that he might add his decree in his own handwriting ; and on having the diploma placed before him he wrote : Manage the best of the people by love, and mix for the common people desire with fear, and manage the low people by fright.

Al Madâ'ini said : " Somebody arrived at Mu'âwiya's and Mu'âwiya asked him, Have you got any news from places far away ? He replied : Yes, I alighted at one of the waters of the Beduins and whilst I was there, a Beduin made his camels go down to it and when they had drunk he struck them on their flanks and said : " Against you to Ziyâd (shall I complain)." When I asked him, what he meant by this, he replied : "They are left to pasture by themselves, there has never a shepherd managed them for me since Ziyâd has become governor." This pleased Mu'âwiya and he wrote about it to Ziyâd."[1]

'Abdu'l-Malik ibn Marwân said : " Act equitably towards us, O you subjects ; you expect from us the mode of life of Abû Bakr and of 'Umar, but you do not act towards us nor towards yourselves as the subjects of Abû Bakr and 'Umar did. We pray to God to help everybody against everybody."

'Umar ibn al Khattâb said : "For this thing (rule) the only one fit is he, who is mild without weakness and strong without violence."

'Umar ibn 'Abd'ul-'Azîz said : " I am resolved to bring out for the Muslims a rule of justice, but I fear their hearts will not bear it, therefore I bring out along with it, covetousness of wordly things, so that when the heart, fly away from the one, they put their trust in the other."

Mu'âwiya said : [2] " I do not use my sword where my whip is sufficient and I do not use my whip where my tongue is sufficient. If there were left between me and the people a single hair, it would not be severed." When it was said, How so ? he replied : " If they would stretch

(1) On Ziyâd see the monograph by H. Lammans, *Ziad Ibn Abihi, Vice-roi de l'Iraq* (Rome 1912, extract from the *Rivista di Studi* Orientali Vol. IV.)

(2) On Mu'awiya's hilm see H. Lammens, Etudes sur de regne de Muawiya I *cr* (Beyrouth) p. 66-108.

it I should leave it and if they would leave it I should stretch it."

Similar to this is also the saying of Al-Sha'bi abouthim : " Mu'âwiya was like a careful camel, that is skilful in walking and does not place her feet unless she sees. When people kept silent he went forward, when he got a reply, he drew back."

There is also a saying of 'Umar about him : " Beware of the brown one of Qureish and the son of their noble one ; him who does not sleep except in good pleasure, who smiles when angry and who takes that which is above him from beneath."

Once a man held gross language towards him and when he was asked : " You are forbearing towards this man ? " he replied : " I do not interfere between people and their tongues, so long as they do not interfere between us and our rule."

It used to be said : " There is no rule except through men, and men do not subsist except through property, and no property except through cultivation and no cultivation except through justice and good policy."

Ziyâd said : " Act kindly towards the farmers, you will remain fat as long as they are fat."

Al Walîd[1] wrote to Al Hajjâj ordering him to describe his mode of life, whereupon he replied : " I keep my prudence awake and let my inclination fall asleep : I draw towards myself the leader who is obeyed in his tribe, I entrust war to the one who is resolute in his affairs, I confer the collection of the land-tax on him who makes copious the trust deposited with him ; I distribute to everyone who is quarrelsome a share from my own that brings him a piece of my good will and solicitude and I turn my sword towards the impure who does evil, but reward the one who does good and is innocent. Thus the suspicious will be afraid of the onslaught of punishment, whilst those who act kindly will hold fast by their share of reward."

He used to say to the people of Syria : " I am to you like the ostrich who goes away from his young ones : he keeps away from them filth and removes stones from them and shelters them from rain and protects them from lizards and guards them against wolves. O people of Syria, you are shield and cloak and you are implements and shoe."

(1) Al-Walîd I who ruled from 86-96 A. H.

When Suleim, the maula of Ziyâd, boasted of Ziyâd before Mu'âwiya the latter said : " Be silent ! Your master has never gained by his sword anything like what I have gained by my tongue."

Al-Walîd said to 'Abdu'l-Malik : " O father, what does good policy mean ? " He said : " The reverential fear of the chief men along with their true love, the tractability of the hearts of the common people on account of the fair treatment meted out to them, the putting up with the lapses of the skilful."

In the books of the Persians it is said : The hearts of the subjects are the treasure-stores of their kings ; what they have deposited in them they may be sure to be in them.

One of the kings described his policy by saying : " I never jested in promising or threatening, ordering or forbidding ; I never punished on account of my being angry ; I expected satisfactory work on the basis of reward, and retributed according to hard toil, not according to inclination ; and I deposited in the hearts fear unmixed with hatred and love unmixed with boldness ; and I provided everyone with food but prevented redundance."

And I read in the Book of the Tâj : Abarwêz when in prison[1] said to his son Sheroya : Do not make great largesse to your soldiers lest they dispense with you, nor put them in a strait lest they grumble. Give them a comfortable pay, restrain them in a friendly way, enlarge their hope, but do not enlarge their pay.

Similar to this is a saying of Al-Mansûr that he addressed to his commanders : " That Bedawi was right who said : Let your dog starve and he will follow you." Whereupon Abû'l Abbâs al-Tûsî[2] got up and said : "O Prince of the Faithful, I am afraid someone might make a hint to him with a loaf of bread whereupon he will follow him and leave you."

'Umar wrote to Abû Mûsa al-Asha'ri[3] : There is in men an aversion against their government and I take refuge in God lest unknown sedition overtake me or you, or rancour manifested. Perform the ordinances if only during one hour in the day and if two things are presented

(1) Khosrau II Parvîz was imprisoned and put to death by his son Sheroya.

(2) *i.e.*, al Fadhl ibn Suleimân.

(3) He was 'Umar's governor in Basra and for one year also in Kûfa. This letter has also been quoted by al Zâhiq, *Bayan* Vol. II p. 27.

before you, the one of which is for Allah and the other for the world, prefer your share with God; for the world passes away while God endures. Frighten the transgressors and make them into one hand and one foot[1]. And visit the sick of the Muslims, be present at their funerals, open your door for them and busy yourself with their affairs; because you are one of them, only God has made you the one whose burden is the heaviest. I have been told, that you and the people of your house have adopted an aspect with regard to dress, food, riding beasts, the like of which the Muslims have not got. Take care, O Abû 'Abdullah, not to become like the beast that passes by a fertile valley and has no other concern but to grow fat, for its death comes only through being fat. Know that if the governor declines, the subjects decline too, and the most wretched of men is he through whom men become wretched. And greetings!"

Hishâm ibn 'Urwa said: "One day Abdullah ibn Al-Zubeir prayed and therefater remained silent with downcast eyes for a while so that people said: He speaks to himself. Then he turned to us and said: May the son of Hind not be far! If there are in him resources, we shall not find them in anybody after him for ever. If we were to put him to fear, the angered lion is not bolder with his clutches, so how could he be put to fear by us! And if we were to deceive him, no wayfarer amongst the people of the earth is more cunning than him, so how could he be deceived by us! By Allah, I wish we might be allowed to enjoy him as long as there remains in this—pointing to Abû Qubeis—a single stone; his intelligence will not be impaired nor will his strength decrease." We said: The man, by Allah, has become wild. He (Hishâm) said: To this he used to add: He was, by Allah, like the one whom the poet of the Banû Udhra describes:

"One who rides the platforms, jumps on to them
"A fine speaker in his address, speaking aloud.
"The foreparts of speech flock to him
"When the loquacious babbler becomes corrupt in his speech."

Abu Hâtim told me: "I have been told by al Asma'î from the grandfather of Suran (and Suran was an uncle of Asma'î's; he said: People spoke to abdû'l-Rahman ibn

(1) See Zamakhshari, *Al-Fa'iq* Vol. II p. 337

فى الحديث اجعل الفساق يدا يدا و رجلا رجلا فانهم اذا اجتمعوا وسوس الشيطان بينهم بالشرا فرق بينهم

Aûf asking him to get 'Umar ibn al-Khattâb to deal leniently with them, after he had frightened them all and even the virgins in their apartments. But 'Umar said : " I find for them nothing but this ; if they knew what there is for them with me, they would have taken my garment from my shoulder."

He further said : A woman proceeded towards him and said : " O Abû Umar Hafs,[1] Allah may help you ! He said : What is it, why are you stupefied ? She said : I was frightened through your baldness."[2]

Ashja' al Sulami said with regard to Ibrâhîm ibn 'Uthmân :[3].

" Nothing becomes the ruler but strength
" Which covers the innocent through the redundance of the sin of the sinner
"Amongst governors there is one who throws himself into things without consideration
" Nor fear, whilst of the sword the two edges drop with blood.
" The fear of you prevents souls from talking about a thirg
" You dislike, although they do not know it"

It used to be said : The worst of Amîrs are those that are remotest from the readers of the Qur'ân, and the worst of Qur'ân-readers are those nearest to the Amirs.

A governor of 'Umar ibn 'Abdu'l-Azîz wrote to him with regard to Hims : The fort of the city of Hims has fallen to pieces and if the Prince of the Faithful thinks it right to allow me to put it right, (I shall do it). Whereupon 'Umar replied : " After compliments : its fort consists in justice, with greetings."

A Bedawi, speaking of an Amîr, said : " When he governed he did not make his eyelids commensurate with each other and let loose his spies after his eyes: he was absent from them and yet present, the one who acted rightly was full of hope, the wrongdoer afraid."

Ja'far ibn Yahya used to say : " The land-tax is the prop of the kingdom. For a little justice much can be

(1) The meaning seems to be, that the women addressed the Khalif with Abu Umar Hafs, instead of " Abu Hafs Umar.'

(2) Here similarly she said Sala'tu firqataqa meanig fariqtu sal'ataka.

(3) He was head of the police under Harun al Rashd, see Ibn Quteiba, *Shi'r* 564 ; Tabari III 651 seq.

obtained, and for a great deal of injustice only a paltry thing can be gained."

And in one of the books of the Persians it is said: "Ardashir said to his son: O my son kingdom and religion are two brothers, the one cannot do without the other. For religion is the basis and kingdom the guard; that which has no basis falls to pieces, that which is not guarded, perishes. O my son, hold your conversation with the people of high rank, give your presents to the fighters, your joyful countenance to the people of religion, your secret to those amongst the intelligent who are troubled by that whereby you are troubled."

And it used to be said: "Whatever qualities the king may have, there are five which he should not possess: he should not be a liar, for if he is a liar neither his promises will be hoped for nor his threatenings feared. He should not be a miser, for if he be a miser, nobody will give him sincere advice and yet administration can prosper only through sincere advice. He should not be sharp tongued, for if he be sharp tongued in addition to his power, his subjects will perish. He should not be envious, for if he be envious, he will not show regard to anyone, but people can only be in the right condition in their dignity. He should not be a coward, for if he be a coward his frontiers will decay and his enemies be emboldened against him."

Mu'âwiya proceeded towards Medîna and when he entered the house of 'Uthman, 'Aisha the daughter of 'Uthmân said: Woe, alas for my father! and she wept. Mu'âwiya said: O daughter of my brother, people offered us obedience and we offered them safety; we showed them mildness beneath which there was anger, they showed us obedience beneath there was rancour. Everyone has his sword with him, whilst he sees the place of his helpers; and if we break their covenant, they break ours and we do not know whether it will be against us or in our favour. But for you to be the daughter of the uncle of the Prince of the Faithful is better, than to be a woman belonging to the collateral class of the Muslims."

'Abdullah ibn 'Abbâs wrote to Al Hasan ibn 'Alî: "The Muslims have entrusted you with their affair after 'Alî, therefore get ready for war and fight your enemy and blandish your companions and buy from the niggardly his religion with a thing that does not notch your religion. Make the people of the noble houses your governors, so that you may keep their tribes in order through them,

and there will be a community. For some of those things that people dislike, as long as they do not encroach upon what is right and its consequences lead to justice and the forthcoming of the strength of religion, are better than many of those things they love, as long as their consequences bring about injustice and the weakness of religion."

Muhammad ibn 'Ubeid told me from Mu'âwiya ibn Amr from Abû Ishâq from al A'mash from Ibrâhîm: Whenever a deputation came to 'Umar he asked them about the state of their affairs, the current prices, those of their countrymen he knew, and about their chief: Did the weak ones enter his house, did he visit the sick? If they said yes, he said: Praise be to God! if they said no, he wrote to him telling him to come and see him.

JOSEF HOROVITZ.

(To be continued)

*SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE IN MEDIÆVAL INDIA**

III. The Tenth and Eleventh Centuries.

Authorities.—In considering our second period of Mediæval India, which began about the tenth and eleventh centuries, we shall miss the graphic word-pictures of a romancist like Bana. On the other hand we have the serious account of Indian thought by the Muslim philosopher and mathematician, Al-Biruni, who wrote about 1030 A.D., and who has incidentally mentioned many facts and customs which throw light on Indian social life. In addition we have many notices of India in the Muslim geographers and historians, but they are fragmentary, as the Muslims had limited access beyond Sindh, the Panjab, and the sea-coast. They are, however, valuable in elucidating and supplementing information from other sources. In dramatic literature we have Raja-Shekhara's Kapur-Manjari, whose date may be placed roughly about 900 A.D. There are other works of Raja-Shekhara which also help us, if not exactly in the same degree. Kapur-Manjari is a play entirely in Prakrit, and its text may be studied in the admirable edition of Sten Konow, with the English translation by C. H. Lanman, published by the Harvard University. It may interest you to know that a Hindi translation was published in Benares by the famous Hindi scholar Harish Chandra in Sambat 1939 (A.D. 1883). As regards inscriptions a large number have been collected, edited, and interpreted. They may be studied in the portly volumes of the *Epigraphia Indica* or of the *Indian Antiquary*, or in the journals of the Asiatic Society of Bengal or the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society as well as the parent Society, and other learned societies dealing with the East. The Kathâ Sarit Sâgara, of Soma Deva, dates from about 1070. This collection of stories

*For the first two Papers, see *Islamic Review* for 1928.

incorporates some very old matter, both from folk-lore and literature. But from the way the stories are told, we may gather hints about the social life of the period. The art of the period may best be studied in the Caves of Elephanta or Ellora or in the Chandel architecture of which fine specimens exist in Khajuraho. Some of the sculptures in the Temple of Jagannath at Puri, which was built about 1150, refer actually to a later age, but reflect some tendencies that arose in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Languages : Prakrits and Vernaculars.—Pandit Harish Chandra speaks of Kapur-Manjari as having been written in pure Prakrit. His words are : " *Yah natak shuddha Prakrit bhasha men Raja-Shekhara kabi ka banaya hua hai.*" Modern European research has shown that both Sanskrit and Prakrit were dead languages to Raja-Shekhara. He mixes up the Sauraseni and Maharashtri Prakrits in his plays. In his age (10th century) the real vernaculars of India were already asserting themselves, and he occasionally uses vernacular words, including Marathi.[1] He was himself a Brahman from Maharashtra, but he went to the court of Kanauj, and was a preceptor to the king there. The new spoken vernaculars were still in the process of formation, and were not probably yet so sharply divided from each other as they became later on. With the study of Sanskrit and the Prakrits, the learned men could move about all over India and make themselves intelligible not only among the learned through the languages of the books, but also amongst the people at large through the Apabhransas, which must have borne the same relation to the learned languages as Italian or French in Mediæval Europe bore to classical or theological or legal Latin. Even the Dravidian languages of the south had Sanskritised their vocabularies, and southern Pandits were ready to claim descent for their tongues from the classical language of India.

Relations between North and South India.—The relations between northern and southern India were already close in the time of Harsha, but they became even more intimate in our period. In the Harsha-Charita the learned ascetics, especially those who performed magical rites, came from the south. Contemporary with Harsha was the Pallava king of the South, Mahendra Vikrama Varman, who ruled in Kanchi (modern Conjeeveram) early in the

(1) *R. S.* 286.

seventh century A.D. He wrote a farce, in which Sanskrit and the two northern Prakrits (the Sauraseni and the Magadhi) are found. The forms of religion which appear in the play are Buddhism, and Shaivaism, both shown in rather a derisive light. This may have been due to the character of the farce, in which everything is made fun of, including ascetics of all orders. Though the scene of the play is in Kanchi, the atmosphere is very little different from that of any play of the North. In the time of Shankara (late 8th century or early 9th century) the great religious upheavel in the thought of India was really led from the south. Shankara's travels, north and south, east and west, did much to unify Indian religious thought, to strengthen the campaign against Buddhism, and to reconcile the jarring strife of sectarianism in a broad religious philosophy. By the time we come to Raja-Shekhara (about 900), we find that the political conflicts between the north and the south had really tended to bring the north and south closer together in a linguistic, literary, and social sense. In his Kâvya-Mimânsa, Chapter 17, he goes out of his way to give geographical details of a precise nature, covering the whole of India. The Arya-varta is still the country between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas. But the four regions, east, west, north and south are more fully particularised. and the Middle Country is considered too well-known to need description. "East" in this connection means east of Benares.[1]

Mixture of Races and new Social Groupings.—Raja-Shekhara was a Brahman but his wife was a Rajput Princess of the Chauhan family. Other instances of the higher castes still intermarrying could be quoted. Perhaps the rule was that the Brahman man could marry a Rajput woman, but not *vice versa*. The Kshatriyas frequently took Vaishya women as subordinate wives.[2] In religion Raja-Shekhara was a Shaiva, but he honoured the Jains. He delights in references to southern scenes and southern manners and customs. In referring to the Dravida women he notes their "black cheeks, pure smile, and teeth rubbed white with the rind of the betel." He was also attracted by the "ringlets of the maidens of Karnata and the pleasure-seeking propensities of Lata" (the tract of country north of the Lower Narbada).[3]

(1) *Vai.* III 8-9.
(2) *Vai.* II. 219.
(3) *R. S.* 180-1, 218.

The Gandharva form of marriage, which means merely a physical union between a man and woman, without any rites or ceremonies, was common during this age, and the mixture of races and castes may be inferred from the *Katha Sarit Sagara.*[1] It was permissible to take meals together, not only as between members of the three higher castes, but also as between them and certain classes of Shudras,[2] although there was certainly a large of class untouchables, who were beyond the pale for any form of social life. The movement which resulted in the absorption of foreign and aboriginal races into the new Hinduism was concurrent with the great religious movements of the 7th to the 10th centuries, of which the records of external events are so scanty. It resulted in the new social groupings which brought the Rajputs to the front, created a large number of new castes, sub-divided castes (like the Brahman) into a number of territorial sub-divisions which were to all intents and purposes mutually exclusive, and gave rise to new conventions about occupations, the taking of meals, and inter-marriage. We may adopt the generalisation of Sir Richard Temple[3] that while the caste system was extended to the non-Aryan masses, the latter, by their reflex action, completely transformed the temper of the old Aryan thought and the texture of its outward vestments.

Shades of Complexion considered territorially.—A curious remark of Raja-Shekhara in his *Kavya-Mimansa* may be quoted, as showing the racial generalisations indicated by the shades of complexion in the 10th century. "The complexions of the people" he says, "are dark in the eastern country, black in the southern, whitish in the western and white in the northern. In poetical descriptions there is not much difference between the dark and the black complexions and the fair and the white. But the speciality is that in the eastern country the complexion of Rajput women and others may be fair or white; so also in the southern." From this we may deduce two conclusions; first that the fair-complexioned races were spreading all over India, and secondly, that there was a great deal of mixture and absorption, concealed under fictions which brought the facts into conformity with the older and classical theories of castes and Varnas. In the

(1) *K. S. S.* I.xviii.
(2) *Vai.* II. 251-2.
(3) *Lalla* 64-68.
(4) *Vai.* III. 9.

literature of stories we have accounts of wild robber trihes, such as Bhillas (Bhils ?), Sâvaras, Kirâtas, Pulindas, etc. The Bhillas were said to be low-born and rude; but it was allowed that they might sometimes be noble and distinguished. They sacrificed to the terrible goddess Durga, but in spite of this they were sometimes open to kind impulses and a sense of gratitude.[1] Evidently the worship of Durga had not yet become fashionable or widespread, and some apology was yet needed for her votaries.

Love of Magic and the Miraculous.—The love of magic and the supernatural and the marvellous has at all times been strong in the popular mind, but in this period of darkness, it seems to have overspread the realm of literature. A magician is the pivot of action in the play of *Kapur-Manjari.* The heroine's merit is chiefly shown by the blossoming of the Asoka tree at her touch. The battles are fought with magic weapons instead of depending upon the valour of men. The love intrigues are carried on, not by the play of character upon character, but by means of secret tunnels and miraculous interventions, and the use of the ubiquitous magician's name. It is instructive to note how the noble story of Râma and Sita is handled in Raja-Shekhara's Bâla-Râmayana. This is a portentous play of ten Acts, of which the hero is practically Râvana. He was a suitor for the hand of Sita, and his defeat lets loose the whole series of incidents, of which the spring is not so much human motives, good or evil, but magic tricks, and the personations of men and women. Dolls with speaking parrots in their mouths are presented as Sita and her sister, and apparently such a rude device actually succeeds in deceiving people into thinking that they were Sita and her sister.[2]

Ornaments and Cosmetics.—Life seems to have been on a very artificial plane. The description of the ornaments and cosmetics of the court ladies leaves no room for doubt that luxury had sapped the foundations of refinement. The body was anointed yellow with paste of saffron essence to keep it cool. The cheeks were similarly rubbed with saffron paste. It is not specified with what substance the sectarian marks were placed on the forehead. Two blue silk garments were wrapped round Kapur-Manjari. Her girdle was jewelled with rubies. She had bracelets on her forearms. With regard to this a very

(1) *K. S. S.* VII, p. ix.
(2) *Keith* 232-9.

homely modern Hindi proverb was already current in the 10th century : " *Hath kangan ko arsi kya ?* " -- as much as to say, " for putting on a bracelet on your arm, what need is there of a mirror ? " The mirrors referred to were probably of metal,—steel, or silver or bronze, with a highly polished surface, and a handle,—such as you see among the treasured relics of ancient India in the Taxila museum. There was a necklace of big pearls round the neck, and a pair of ear-rings studded with gems in the ears. A pretty touch of fresh nature was given by wreaths of flowers to hide the black curly locks. The fragrant golden blooms of the champak flower were used for the decoration of the hair and ears. It was a sign of beauty to have long almond eyes, reaching, says the play, " from ear to ear." The eyes were adorned with collyrium, which when it was washed off left the eyes red. Wax was put on the lips in the winter to prevent them chapping, and saffron seems to have been chewed against colds. In the summer the large fronds of the talipot palm were used as hand-fans to make the breeze, and shower baths were indulged in.[1] Scents, perfumes, and incense were fashionable, and the incense of aloes is specifically mentioned by the dramatist.[2].

Jhula Festival.—The Jhula festival was a great occasion for amorous dalliance. The girls indulged in the swings " in maiden meditation, fancy free". The alternate motion up and down, with the sound of jewels and the sweep of the garments, is well described in the Play.

" With the tinkling jewelled anklets,
With the flashing, jingling necklace,
With the show of girdles garrulous,
From their ringing, ringing bells,
With the sound of lovely jingles,
From the rows of rolling bangles,—
Pray, whose heart is not bewildered
While the moon-faced maiden swings[3] ? "

These festivals were numerous and afforded numerous occasions for public and private gaiety. They also enabled dramatists to produce plays for their royal patrons. But alas! as in all ages, runs the pathetic plaint of the playwright

(1) *R. S.* Acts I and II.
(2) *R. S.* Act III, p. 268.
(3) *R. S.* 255. Lanman's spirited English version reproduces the jingle well.

of Mediæval India: "Learned men were ever poor."[1]

Brahmans in popular Tales.—The Brahmans as a class still monopolised all learning as well as the higher posts of administration. They were expected to have brilliant intellects and all the virtues of character and religion. In practice, however, they did not necessarily enjoy a very high reputation. The story of the miserly and covetous Brahman of Ujjain, the Chaplain to the king himself, is told with a great deal of gusto by Soma Deva, himself a Brahman. The riches of this Chaplain and his selfishness became a bye-word. Two rogues determined to relieve him of all his wealth and at the same time make a laughing-stock of him. One of them took on the disguise of a Rajput from the Deccan and lodged outside the city. His confederate pretended to be a devout ascetic, and performed penances by the river-side. The pretended Rajput went into the city and sang aloud the praises and merits of the other as if in casual talk. He flattered the Chaplain, and through him, entered the king's service. They both pretended to be very devout men and quite unworldly. He won the confidence of the Chaplain, who in the hope of presents gave him lodging in his house. He brought a box full of false jewellery, of which, however, he pretended not to know the value, as he was an unworldly man. This, in itself, aroused the cupidity of the Brahman. The guest pretended to be ill, and asked for the services of a holy man, on whom he could bestow his riches. The pretended ascetic was brought in. He said he despised riches, but agreed to marry the Chaplain's daughter, and give the riches to the Chaplain, who no doubt understood their value better than he did. He only stipulated for a small amount of money in return, at the Chaplain's own valuation of the jewels. As the Chaplain thought the jewels were priceless, he gave a large sum of money, thinking in his own niggardly mind that he was giving only a nominal sum for a fabulous treasure. After the marriage was completed the poor Chaplain discovered the fraud, and no one was more delighted at the trick than the king himself, who knew all the foibles of his Chaplain.[2]

The Rajputs.—The origin of the Rajputs is a subject on which there is much controversy. I do not propose to enter into the disputed points on the present occasion.

(1) *R. S.* 288.
(2) *K. S. S.* II. 176-184.

What is certain is that the ruling castes had been re-organised and re-grouped in the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries.[1] Their social structure had now become that of clans rather than of castes. Their marriage customs required them to marry out of their clans. They were gradually developing a new code of honour and new traditions, which we shall consider in their full maturity in the next period.

The outcastes and untouchables.—The large numbers of untouchables, even below the Shudras, and altogether outside the classical scheme of caste, are referred to by Al-Biruni. They were divided into eight classes, who freely intermarried with each other, except the fuller, the shoemaker, and the weaver, with whom none of the other classes would have anything to do. Besides these three, the other five were the juggler, the basket and shield-maker, the sailor, the fisherman, and the hunter of wild animals and birds. These eight classes had to live outside the villages or towns, but were allowed to live near them. As they were distinguished by their professions they might be called guilds. Even lower than these outcaste guilds were the Hâdis, the Domas, the Chandâlas, and the Badhataus. They did the dirty work of the village and were looked upon as degraded outcastes. Even amongst these the Hâdis were a little above the others. The Domas sang and played on the lute. In them we recognise the modern criminal tribe of Doms. The classes below them, presumably the Chandâlas, were professional executioners. As to the Badhataus they not only ate the flesh of dead animals but even of dogs and wild beasts.[2]

Endowments to Brahmans and Temples.—A great, social and economic feature of the time was the large number of endowments granted to individual Brahmans and to temples and religious foundations. The famous sun temple at Multan was the cause of the prosperity of the city. When the Arabs first took the city early in the 8th century they spared the idol in the temple, as the city's prosperity depended upon it. The temple at Thaneshwar was also richly endowed. The temple at Somnath on the southern coast of the peninsula of Kathiawar owed its prosperity to maritime traffic. According to Kazwini[3] it was endowed with the revenue of ten thousand villages besides the rich offerings that were brought to it by the pilgrims. A thousand Brahmans were employed in attending to the worship and the needs

(1) *O. H. I.* 172-4.
(2) *Alb.* I. 101-2.
(3) *El.* I. 98.

of the temple, and five hundred damsels sang and danced at the door. All these were maintained from the endowments of the temple.

Writing and Books.—The writing material in northern and central India was a kind of birch bark. They oiled and polished it to make it hard and smooth and then wrote on it. The various leaves were fastened between two tablets and wrapped up in a piece of cloth. In southern India the common writing material was palm leaves. These leaves had a hole bored in the middle of one of the sides, through which a cord was passed which held the leaves together in the form of a book.[1] Both these kinds of manuscripts have been preserved in great numbers and are quite familiar to manuscript hunters all over India. Al-Biruni, however, is careful to note that a great deal of knowledge, especially religious knowledge, was handed down by oral tradition. The Vedas were not ordinarily allowed to be committed to writing, and it was only a short time before him that a Kashmiri had first produced a written version of them.[2]

Manners and Customs.—A number of miscellaneous manners and customs are noted by Al-Biruni which struck him as curious. One was that they did not cut the hair of the head or any part of the body and that they divided the moustaches into plaits. They allowed the nails to grow long. They ate singly and not in company, on ground that was smeared over with cowdung. On account of the chewing of betel leaves with betel nuts and lime (and catechu, though Al-Biruni does not mention this) their teeth appeared red. When a child was born people showed particular attention to the father rather than to the mother. Their chess was somewhat like the modern game of Pachisi, as it was played by four persons and with a pair of dice. Al-Bliruni gives a figure of the chess-board and the rules of the play, from which, however, it would appear that it was a different game from the modern Pachisi. In judging about the prevalence of these customs we must remember that Al-Biruni's observations were confined to the Panjab and Sindh. Probably the dress in those regions was entirely different from the dress in eastern and southern India, and tended to approach the

(1) *Alb.* I. 171.
(2) *Alb.* I. 125-6.

fashions of the colder regions beyond the north-western passes.[1]

Two Inscriptions.—The numerous inscriptions of the period enable us to get a glimpse into some of the social and economic factors of the time. I will draw your attention to two inscriptions from southern India. One is contained in the Anbil copper-plates of the Chola dynasty of Tanjore, and the other is a Kanarese inscription from the Dharwar district of the Bombay Presidency.

Land Grants to Brahmans.—The Anbil plates of Sundara Chola date from the latter part of the 10th century and were found in the neighbourhood of Tanjore. There were eleven plates in all, held together by a ring which carried a well-executed seal. The seal bore the figures of a tiger, two fishes (carps), a bow, two lampstands, two chauris and an umbrella, with a Sanskrit verse round the margin. These figures were worked out in half relief. The first part of the record was written in the Sanskrit language, and contained the words of the Chola king's grant to his learned Brahman minister. The second part was in Tamil and contained an acknowledgment of the grant by the officials and people of the village. The land granted amounted to about 45 acres, which were supposed to be sufficient for the maintenance of a Brahman of the position of the king's minister. The king merely specified roughly the grant of a holding. It was for the villagers actually to demarcate the land, of which the dues were henceforward to be paid not to the king but to the grantee. The method of demarcation was that a she-elephant was let loose from a certain point and allowed to mark out a rough circuit of land. Presumably there was some method by which her return to the point from which she was let loose was ensured. The demarcation boundary was marked with earth-mounds and living cactus plants.[2]

Forests in the Chola Kingdom.—It is recorded of the grantee that his mother had made a pious endowment for providing sumptuous meals served in a silver vessel to a learned Brahman every day till the world's end, and also a big lamp to Hari (Vishnu) at Srirangam. Some idea may be obtained of the face of the country included in the Chola kingdom, from the allusion to the "dense forests of the seashore, crowded with the palm (presumably the

(1) *Alb.* I. 179-185.
(2) *E. I.* XV. 44-70

talipot palm), the sâl, the ebony, the areca (supâri) palm, and plantain trees and groves of betel leaves."[1]

Rights attached to land, and dues payable by tenant.—The subject matter of the grant is described in detail and gives us a good idea of the economic life of the villages. We may consider this under four heads: (1) the land and everything on it, (2) the water and everything connected with it, (3) the dues and taxes which were to be received by the donee, and (4) the liberties which were granted to him. Along with the land he was to enjoy the fruit trees and other trees, gardens, clefts of rock in which bees had their hives, wells, halls, and wastes in which calves grazed, along with the village site, ant-hills, platforms built round trees, with buildings and temples, and waste and marshy land. His water rights extended to rivers, ponds, alluvial deposits, tanks and fish ponds. As regards the dues to which he was entitled, the list includes fines and forfeitures by process of the local court, betel leaves, the tax on a certain number of cloths woven in each loom, presents levied from the tenants on occasions of marriage in their family, the lease of markets, and the fines on the eviction of old tenants, besides special articles fit for the king's consumption, which would now go to the grantee in place of the king. The liberties which were granted to the Brahman included permission to erect halls and upper storeys, with burnt bricks or tiles; to dig big and small wells; to cut channels and irrigate the land; and to cultivate certain sweet-smelling roots and plants.[2] From this we may gather that the normal buildings in the village were of mud, and the king's permission had to be specially obtained for the erection of *pucca* buildings. It would also seem that crops of a special character could not be grown except by the special permission of the king.

Temple Service.—The Kanarese inscription which we are going to discuss came from the Kulenur village in Dharwar district and is dated Saka 950, corresponding to 1028 A.D. The inscription is on a stone of which the top is decorated with sculptures. In the centre is a shrine containing a *Linga* and surmounted by a cupola with a finial (*kalasha*). On each side of the cupola is a *chauri*. To the proper right of the shrine is a squatting votary facing full front. Above are two fishes in a circle and over them the moon. To the proper left of the shrine is a cow with a sucking calf and above her is a plough and over it

(1) *E. I.* XV. 69.
(2) *E. I.* XV. 71-72.

the sun. These little details of sculpture are of interest as throwing light on the conditions of village life. The actual grant is for the benefit of a temple, and consists of certain paddy fields and twelve houses. Part of the income is for the maintenance of the god in the temple part is for the monastery for religious instruction; part is for the flute players (presumably those who performed in the temple); and part, including the houses, is for the drummers who also served the temple. It is interesting to note that the ascetics were strictly enjoined to keep the vow of chastity.[1]

Relations of Muslims to Hindus.—Before closing our discussion of this part of the subject we may note that the Muslims were thinly spread over the coasts of southern India long before they penetrated the Gangetic valley as conquerors. The great Rashtrakuta kingdom of the south was well known to the Arabs, who spoke of its king as Balahra (Vallabh Rai). Mas'udi (who died about 956 A.D.) writes: "Of all the kings of Sindh and Hind there is no one who pays greater respect to the Musalmans than the Balahra. In his kingdom Islam is honoured and protected".[2] Evidently the clash of arms in the north put the Muslamans on a different footing in relation to the Hindus from the pursuit of commerce and navigation in the south.

IV. THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

Social Characteristics.—Our third period begins with the 14th century. Muslim influence had by then spread itself all over India. The Delhi Sultanate had been consolidated, and spread out its arms far and wide. But the state of communications then existing did not allow of a central authority making its rule effective over such long distances, exceeding a thousand miles in all directions. Nor had the Muslim people, who came to India in a wave of religious enthusiasm, sufficiently unified their social life to act as one unit in loyal obedience to a central government. The many races, Turkish, Afghan, Persian, Arab, Mongol, and Muslimised Indians of various tribes, had not yet reached a stage of homogeneous culture, in which they could support a large and strong empire with one will. And their relations with the Hindus were not yet on a

(1) *E. I.* XV. 329-334.
(2) *El.* I. 24.

footing of cordial understanding. As far as administration and conquest were concerned, the Rajputs had gained complete ascendancy among the Hindus before the Muslim conquest. After that conquest the Rajputs continued to develop their institutions and their code of chivalry, and may be considered still to represent the manly portion of the Hindu population. The Hindu thinkers of India had receded into the background, but they felt the influence of the ruling power. Muslim saints and Sufis were scattered all over the land, and their influence was felt indirectly on Hindu thought, and also directly in the social and political life of the country. The indirect influences are reflected in the development of the Bhakti doctrines in the schools of the new Vaishnavism as well as the new Shaivaism, and in the protest movements which intensified the exclusiveness of caste and its unsocial features and multiplied its numbers enormously. The direct influence was seen in the wholesale absorption of large numbers into the fold of Islam and in the rise of the various Panths and schools of religious thought which began in this period and continued their work for a century or two later. Kabir and Guru Nanak may be cited as amongst the foremost examples in a large galaxy of religious and social reformers, who prepared the way for modern India.

Authorities.—For such a formative period, whose activities extended to so many departments of Indian life, the number of authorities is large. We are embarrassed in our task of selection. The critical study of the period too has not penetrated as deep as might be desired, partly and paradoxically owing to this very abundance of easily accessible material. We have not sufficiently taken toll of literature and folk lore nor sufficiently explored the influence of religious movements on the social and economic life of the country. Many dark points are susceptible of being illuminated from this source. In this lecture we can consider only a few authorities, in order to give us a graphic picture of the later ages of mediæval India. The Bardic literature may be studied in the *Prithi Raj Rasau* of Chand Baradi and in the cycle of legends sung in the monsoons by itinerant bards all over the United Provinces, known by the name of *Alha-khand*. Much light will also be thrown on the Bardic literature by Tod's Rajasthan, of which an excellent edition was recently published by Mr. W. Crooke, whom many of us remember well in these Provinces as a member of the last generation of Civilians. The religious movement which brought

the new Shaivaism into touch with the Naqshabandia school of Sufi mystics is admirably exemplified in the work of Lalla the Prophetess (Lal Ded) of Kashmir who lived in the 14th century, when Islam was receiving almost universal acceptance in her country. Besides the scholarly edition of Sir George Grierson (Lalla Vâkyâni), there is the excellent verse translation of Sir Richard Temple, to which a most valuable dissertation has been affixed, placing the religious atmosphere of the 14th century in India in a fresh light. Amongst the travellers we may note Ibn Batuta, of whose travels an excellent edition with a French translation has been published by the Sociêtê Asiatique of Paris under the editorship of C. Defremery and Dr. B. C. Sanguinetti, in 4 volumes. This prince of Oriental travellers came to India about a generation after that prince of western travellers, Marco Polo, whose work can be studied in the excellent edition of Col. Yule. The Egyptian traveller Shihab-ud-din Abul Abbas Ahmad also visited the Tughluq court at Delhi about the same time and has left us an excellent account of the city and the people, the court and the social life of the time. Then there are the Muslim Historians of India, including Farishta, Barni, 'Afîf, and the little autobiography of Firoz Shah Tughluq, the *Tarikh-i-Firoz-Shahi*. The works of Amir Khusrau of Delhi also give us vivid pictures of many sides of life which we do not get in the professed historians. These works may now be studied in the excellent edition issued from Aligarh under the patronage of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. I specially commend to your attention the two romances of *Dewal Rani Khizar Khan* and *Qiran-us-Sa'dain*. Of coins and inscriptions the number is large. In this branch of study we shall find much assistance from the volumes of the Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica and the works of Mr. E. Thomas.

Rajput Manners: Princess of Kanauj.—Both Chand Bardai's poem and the Alha-khand, as we have them, though they refer to the twelfth century, contain a good deal of matter of later growth. The Alha-khand, as handed down by oral tradition, probably reflects on the whole a picture of Rajput manners and life in the 13th and 14th centuries. The tale of how King Prithi won his bride is so characteristic that with your permission I shall try to tell it very briefly, in order to whet your appetite for the spirited Bardic version which so graphically depicts the manners of the Rajput courts. In Kanauj reigned the Rathor King Jai Chand. (Modern research shows that

Jai Chand was really a Gaharwâr, but the Gaharwârs were connected with the Rathors, and for certain genealogical reasons the Bardic tradition always spoke of the Kanauj king as Rathor). Jai Chand had a beautiful daughter Sanjogin, who was of marriageable age. The king decided to hold a Swayamvar Darbar, in order that the princess might choose her husband. This kind of Darbar was not common, but the king who held it was understood to claim some sort of supremacy amongst the Rajputs by this kind of rite for his daughter. All the noted Rajput kings and princes were invited from far and near. Among them was the celebrated Chauhân King Prithi Raj of Delhi. He on his side thought it presumption on the part of Jai Chand to hold such a Darbar. He did not come as a suitor, but he determined to win Jai Chand's daughter as a bride by capture.

The Waywardness of Love.—The Darbar was held. The kings and princes came and sat in their respective chairs. The chair of the Chauhân was empty, and Jai Chand in order to pay off the insult to his pride had an image of Prithi Raj set up standing at the door, as much as to say that Prithi Raj was only fit to be his door-keeper. But he had not counted on the young Princess's own feelings. She came to the Darbar with the garland which she was to throw round the neck of the husband of her choice. She passed by all the Princes assembled, and placed it round the neck of the image of the door-keeper. There was great consternation and anger in the Darbar. " Jai Chand's wrath did blaze ; his daughter he shut in the prison tower ; and the Rajas rode their way."

Love's Harbinger in disguise.—Meanwhile a woman was sent from Prithi Raj's court to prepare the way for the abduction of the Kanauj Princess. She came disguised as a man, but was discovered by the fact that in the hole in her nostril " the button of gold was left in place, which none but women wear." She was not dismayed by the discovery. She said she was a slave of the king of Delhi, and had fled from his court. She asked for refuge from the Kanauj king, as she knew he would never refuse shelter to injured fugitives. In the circumstances Jai Chand felt that her feelings would be against Prithi Raj, and he set her to guard his daughter in prison and to " heal her of her fantasy."

Prithi himself on the scene.—In Delhi Prithi Raj held a consultation with his bard Chand, who advised him to start forthwith for Kanauj. The bard was of course well

known by face in all the Rajput courts, but Prithi disguised himself as the bard's servant, and started with a few trusty followers. Arrived in the Kanauj Court, Prithi nearly betrayed himself by trying to twirl his moustache with his braceleted hand,—a characteristic gesture of a Rajput warrior offering defiance. Chand prevented this in time. The king of Kanauj welcomed the bard, as was his heraldic due, and asked him what manner of man was the king of Delhi. The bard replied truthfully: "Like my servant here is the Delhi king; a brave Chauhân is he; he hath no fear what fate may bring, and death he laughs to see." They were dismissed with due ceremony to their lodging in the garden.

Messages exchanged.—Here was a fishpond. So generous, says the bard, was the Delhi king that he flung away the royal pearls of his necklace to feed the fishes. Sanjogin saw this from the windows, and sent the supposed run-away slave with her own pearls heaped high in a platter of gold. This established communication and understanding between the lovers.

The Challenge of the Rajput.—Next morning Jai Chand dismissed the bard with many presents,—chains of coral and pearls and precious stones; "Shawls and kerchiefs and broidered weeds; turban and crest and ring; elephants thirty and two hundred steeds—as fitted a mighty King." Prithi Raj, in his supposed character as a servant, mixed a *Bira* of *Pan*. Nominally it was a return of civility for the king of Kanauj's courtesy. But it had a further symbolic meaning. He rolled five *Pan* leaves and thus offered a challenge of fight, as from one Rajput to another, and to make his meaning clear, he pressed Jai Chand's hand so hard that the blood sprang from his nails. The secret was now out. War was declared. The drum of battle began to summon the Rathor warriors. The order went forth: The men of Delhi must die, and not one should escape.

The Lovers Meet.—Sanjogin got together her jewels and decked herself in royal array. She found her way to Prithi Raj. She waved a golden censer round his head to ward off ill omen. She fanned his face with a fan of flowers, to offer her womanly fealty. And the gentler *Bira* of *pan* she gave as a pledge of her love. But she, warned him: "Mighty is the host on Jai Chand's side, and thou hast not many to fight on thy side." "Fear not, sweet flower," replied Prithi, "though few be my men,

this good sword of mine shall hew a way and show thee the tower of Delhi." The Princess was now ready to fly with him in her litter. But Prithi pitched his tent six miles north of Kanauj, and sent in haste to summon his bravest men to fight the Rathor of Kanauj and escort the bride. A hundred and sixteen gallant men forthwith obeyed their king's call. As soon as they arrived, Prithi bade one of his men incite a quarrel with the Rathors and fight for the Princess's litter.

The Fight for the Bride.—Both sides welcomed the fray. Their minstrels sounded martial music. Swords flashed out. In the close deadly combat they knew not friend from foe. The slaughter continued all day.

> " They did not hold their hands that day
> Till stars above them shone."

Jai Chand ordered the Princess's litter to be brought in the midst as the stake of battle, to draw Prithi himself and slay him. " Set down the litter, and go back to Kanauj," shouted the Chauhân warriors. " Ah ! " said the Rathors, " let us see the Rajput that can take it to Delhi." Two good swords did each warrior take, and both sides fought with furious glee. The litter itself was stained with red like the henna on the bride's feet. Lances and bows were also used, and the Chauhân prevailed, and the litter marched another five *kos* towards Delhi.

The Bride brought to Delhi.—But the men of Kanauj were not daunted, and pursued the fight night and day. The litter swayed, now towards Delhi, now towards Kanauj. But on the whole, it went on towards Delhi. Another fierce fight took place on the crossing of the Ganges at Soron. Champions on both sides fought single combats with shield and lance. But the Chauhâns still won, and the ranks of Kanauj were thinned. The final battle at the gates of Delhi itself disposed of the last of the Rathor warriors, and Prithi and his bard themselves bore in the litter in triumph. Said the bard to Jai Chand : " If thy warriors are all slain, so are Prithi's . So now go in peace." And thus closes the story of " how Rajput brides were won."[1].

Shaikh Burhan in Rajputana.—We are so accustomed to Hindu-Muslim feuds in these degenerate days that it is refreshing to turn to the days when a Muslim saint was almost worshipped by a whole Rajput confederation and

(1) *Alha.* 39-56.

was the eponymous hero of a whole tract of ten thousand square miles in Rajputana. We know of the "Mirza Raja" of Jaipur (1625-67), but we are now speaking of a Rajput "Shaikhji", the son of Mokalji, the chief of the Rajputs in what afterwards came to be known as Shaikhâwati between Alwar and Bikanir. Mokal lived towards the end of the 14th century. A pious Muslim missionary named Shaikh Burhân so impressed the imagination of the Rajputs that they believed in his power to work miracles. Mokal prayed to him for a son, and when the son was born, he was named Shaikhji. The saint's shrine is still held in honour, and flies the saint's blue pennon over the yellow flag of the Shaikhâwats. In honour of the saint the Shaikhâwat Rajputs do not even hunt the wild boar.[1]

A Delhi Inscription.—Among the inscriptions which throw light on the period of the Delhi Sultanate, I shall call your attention to only one, the Pâlam inscription, which is in the Museum of Archæology in Delhi Fort. It belonged to a well in a village only twelve miles from modern Delhi. It is in Sanskrit, with the last part in a local vernacular spoken in Hariâna. It requires close critical study. It is dated 1337 of the Vikrama year, corresponding to 1280-1 A.D., when Ghiyas-ud-din Balban was on the throne of Delhi. The name of Delhi appears in the Sanskrit portion as Dhilli, and in the vernacular portion as Dhili. This has some bearing on the original form of the name of Delhi. But the real interest of the inscription is in the attitude it reveals of the learned Pandit Yogishwara and his people towards the Muslim rulers of the land. They are described as Shâka Princes, and their rule is traced from Shihab-ud-din Ghori through Qutb-ud-din (Aibak), Shams-ud-din (Altamish), and Razia Begam to the reigning sovereign. Razia Begam is simply mentioned by her title Jalâl-ud-din. As Balban had been Wazir in the reign preceding his own, both reigns are praised lavishly. The ruler is described as:—"he throughout whose whole contented realm, under his great and good government, from Gaur (in Bengal) to Ghazna (in Afghanistan), from the Dravida country and Rameshvar, everywhere, the earth bears the beauty of the sylvan spring-tide through the shooting gleams of the many jewels fallen from the contact of the diadems of princes coming and going in his service." The strength and the movement of the armies is described as extending from sea to sea,

(1) *Tod.* III. 1378-82.

from the mouth of the Ganges to the mouth of the Indus ensuring the peace and security enjoyed by all. The cavalry is specially referred to. "Since this king supports the world," says the panegyrist, "Shesha (the snake who supports the world) has laid down the burden of the earth.... and Vishnu himself" has given up the thought of guarding the world and gone to sleep on the ocean of milk. Under this king, lord of many hundreds of great towns, continues the inscription, prospers the heart-ravishing city of Dhilli. Like the earth, she is a receptacle of many jewels; like heaven she is full of joy; like the lower world (Pâtâl) she contains giants (Daityas) of great strength; and like Mâya she is full of fascination. Some personal details are given of the Thakur who built the well, with its abundant drinking water, to allay the thirst of weary travellers. He had three wives, seven sons and four daughters, and he had built several extensive rest-houses, apparently on the main road[1].

Ibn Batuta's Account.—The picture of India drawn by the Moorish traveller Ibn Batuta, who was in India from 1333-1346, is both detailed and picturesque. As I have given a full account of it elsewhere,[2] I shall not repeat it here, but merely mention a few points of interest before passing on to the picture drawn for us by the poet Amir Khusrau. The flourishing horse trade formed an economic tie between the Kipchak country (near the Sea of Azov) and India. In the Kipchak country a good horse cost only about four rupees, while the selling price in India might be anything from Rs. 100 to Rs. 2,000[3]. The caravans, each consisting of herds of six thousand horses, came through the Gomal Pass, and found their chief frontier mart in the city of Multan. The postal organisation was good, and there was an efficient and quick service of news as between the outlying places and the capital[4]. In Sindh a regular flotilla of boats was maintained on the Indus[5]. The Sultan (Muhammad Shah Tughluq) kept great state in his city of Delhi. He lavished gifts freely[6], and his mother maintained a great number of charities and endowed alms-houses for the poor. The fiscal policy of the Sultan was to abolish trade

(1) *E. I. M.* 1913-14. pp. 35-45.
(2) *T. T.* 32-62.
(3) *Bat.* II. 371-4.
(4) *Bat.* III. 95-6.
(5) *Bat.* III. 109.
(6) *Bat.* III. 246.

imposts as far as possible and encourage trade[1]. There was a great deal of maritime trade through the ports at the mouth of the Indus, on the coast of Kathiawar, and further south from the Malabar ports. Cambay was a beautiful and flourishing city, and Abyssinians were specially noted for their maritime enterprise[2], as they were in later Mughal times. Chinese junks called at Malabar ports[3]. Bengal was a land of cheapness and plenty, though its political condition was very disturbed. Plague was levying its toll in the country[4]. In time of famine there was a good organisation of famine relief. Registers were prepared by officials, and towns were parcelled out into regular relief areas. The state granaries supplied a ration of about a seer of grain per day to every person to be relieved, old or young, slave or free.[5]

Delhi of Amir Khusrau.—The social life described by Amir Khusrau (1253-1325) in court and literary circles among the ruling classes has some attractive features, but it also shows symptoms of disruption and decay. Among the attractive features may be noted the free-handed hospitality, the love of elegance and the arts, and the respect in which learning was held. The other side of the picture is shown by the internal jealousies, the severe punishments, the uncertainty in the succession of the Sultans, and the luxury, hard drinking, dissipation, and the decadence of morals. The Mongol incursions from the north-west did much to unsettle both social and political life. Khusrau had been their prisoner and describes them in no complimentary terms. Their bodies were hard as steel and clothed in wool (*paulad-tan wa pamba-posh*). Their small blue eyes, flat noses, wide nostrils, square faces, scanty beards, and long moustaches were mere outward signs of their fierce wolf natures[6]. The city of Delhi which he describes extended from the river on the east to the hills on the west, and from the old Lal-Kot in the south (near the Qutb) to the site of Firozabad, which was built subsequently. The three chief features of the city were the Jâmi Mosque, the Moazzin's tower, and the great Royal Reservoir for supplying pure water to the town. The Mosque had nine domes and a number of pillars in the cloistered portion, besides the large open

(1) *Bat. III.* 288.
(2) *Bat.* IV. 55-65.
(3) *Bat.* IV. 91.
(4) *Bat.* III. 334.
(5) *Bat.* III. 290.
(6) *Q. S.* Intro. 84-8. Text. 91-6.

courtyard. The Tower described was probably the Qutb Minar, and not the Alai Minar, which was never completed. Amir Khusrau's Moazzin's Tower was built of red stone in the lower storeys. It had a marble storey on the top, with a dome and a pinnacle of gold. The top was injured by lightning subsequently (in the reign of Firoz Tughluq who, however, had it repaired). The Royal Reservoir was about two miles or more to the north of the Qutb. It used the hilly ground as its sides, with a bund in the lower portion to hold up the pure rain water. In the centre was a chabutra with a pleasure pavilion, which was the resort of Delhi citizens, who also encamped on the hill-side when they wanted to get away from the city for a holiday[1]. Amir Khusrau himself was the son of a Turkish father and a Rajput (Rawal) mother, and was born in Patiala. He lost his father early, and his mother's influence made him a good Indian, who was proud of his country. Though he wrote in Persian, he was at home in Hindi and Turkish. He uses many Hindi words in his Persian writings.

Marco Polo in South India.—Life in Southern India seems to have been, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, very different from that in the North. The people wore hardly any clothes, but much jewellery,—gold, silver, pearls, and gems[2]. The long sea-coast, east and west, was frequented by the shipping of many nations, mainly Chinese and Muslims from Arabia and Persia. The tract round Tanjore contained flourishing ports, and a Pagoda near Negapatam, showing a Chinese style of architecture, bears witness to Chinese influences[3]. The horse trade in Southern India was by sea, and mostly with the ports of Arabia and the Persian Gulf. As many as 2,000 horses were annually imported by sea into one of the southern kingdoms[4]. We saw how flourishing the horse trade was by land in Northern India. The Kipchak horses were mostly heavy horses. The Arab and Gulf horses were lighter and faster. In the island of Ceylon the soldiers were nearly all Muslims from abroad,—"Saracens" as Marco Polo calls them. The Jogis, or order of religious ascetics, were very much in evidence. They were very abstemious, but what they ate was good,—chiefly rice and milk. Twice every month they drank a

(1) Q. S. Text. 28-37.
(2) *Polo* II. 275.
(3) *Polo* II. 272.
(4) *Polo* II. 284.

strong drink, which was supposed to prolong their lives. Marco Polo thought it was compounded of sulphur and mercury[1], but it may have been merely preparations of Bhang. They went about stark naked, daubed with ashes of cow-dung. They claimed to be very long-lived, and we know from Ibn Batuta that they were believed to perform marvellous miracles[2]. They ate from leaves and not from bowls or plates. Marco Polo assigns them a cruel and perfidious character, in contrast with the merchants of the west coast, whom he considered most truthful[3].

Attempted abolition of social inequalities.—A period which included three such masterful monarchs as Ala-ud-din Khalji (1295-1316), Muhammad Shah Tughluq (1325-1351) and Firoz Shah Tughluq (1351-1388) was fruitful in economic experiments. Ala-ud-din attempted a kind of socialistic measure. He tried to abolish pride and wealth by confiscating grants and reducing the rich to the level of the poor; he tried to cheapen the cost of food-grains by fixing prices; and he even tried to regulate or socialise the transport services. He provided drastic punishments for breach of his decrees. Though Zia-ud-din Barni is enthusiastic over these decrees, it is doubtful whether they did not cause more misery than they were intended to allay, and they certainly came to an end with his death. He abolished not poverty, but production and wealth. His decree for the total prohibition of drink was never very effective[4].

Currency Reforms.—We saw how Muhammad Shah tried to encourage trade by abolishing various imposts and transit duties. His attention to coinage and currency deserves a word of praise. His coins are distinguished by careful attention to their design and the artistic skill of their construction. His circular gold dinars of 199 grains have the edges carefully defined by lines, to prevent filing. His silver Tankah (of 64 Jitals) with subordinate denominations was brought up to the standard of 175 grains of pure silver, which is not far from our modern rupee with its gross weight of 180 grains. He had heard of contemporary attempts at token currency in China and Persia. He attempted to attain similar results by employing alloys of various standards, but he gave up the

(1) *Polo* II. 300.
(2) *Bat.* IV. 33 seq.
(3) *Polo* II. 302, 299.
(4) *El.* III. 192-7

system as soon as he found that there was a depreciation in the market. The prevailing ratio of gold to silver in those days was probably 8 to 1 or 7 to 1, as compared with the modern 22 or 23 to 1. There was a glut of gold in the Treasury on account of the vast treasures received from the Deccan[1].

State's attempt to deal with Unemployment.—Firoz Tughluq was responsible for a scheme of unemployment for his subjects, of which we should like to have further particulars. All unemployed workmen in the City were to be brought before him, and were given employment according to their capacity. Men of the pen were employed as government clerks, and men who showed intelligence in business were placed under the Khan-i-Jahan, presumably the officer in charge of the departments of supply and manufacture. These had to do with the stables, the kitchens, the dog kennels, the candle department, and the water cooling department, of which the aggregate budget amounted to an equivalent of three lakhs and twenty thousand rupees. The purchasing power of the rupee was then many times greater than it is now. In addition there were the wardrobe department and the carpet department. If any one wished to serve any particular nobleman, he was placed in employment under him[2].

Charitable Relief and Public Works.—There was also a Charity Department (Diwân i Khairât). The Hospital (*Shafa-khana* or *Sihhat-khana*) not only supplied medical relief for the sick and afflicted of all classes, but also maintained them at the expense of the Treasury[3]. But Firoz Shah's greatest title to fame rests on his Public Works. He not only built great Works himself, but what is rarer in India, he looked upon it as a pious duty to repair the Works of his predecessors. He built cities, forts, palaces, irrigation *bunds*, mosques, tombs, colleges, inns, gardens, canals and bridges in great numbers[4]. He constructed the double system of canals, by which he brought water from the Satlaj and the Jamna for his new city of Hisâr Firoza (now Hisar, headquarters of the District of that name in the Panjab). The canals greatly increased cultivation, and gave a great impetus to fruit growing. They can still be traced, and have partly been utilised for the

(1) *Thom.* 217-261.
(2) *El.* III. 355-7.
(3) *El.* III. 361.
(4) *El.* III. 354, 345-6, 384. *Far.* I. 465.

British canals. Firoz Shah, after much debate among the learned, originated the system of water-rates for irrigation[1].

Conclusion.—We have now reviewed some features of social and economic life in Mediæval India. Limitations of time and space have only permitted of our casting an occasional glance here and there. But I hope I have succeeded in some degree in rousing your interest in the subject, and in convincing you that there is more abundant material for the study of our mediæval social life than is usually imagined. We have to study it in a humble and catholic spirit, without any preoccupations of race, community or religion. By doing so, and by placing the results, however modest, at the disposal of our Hindustani reading public, we shall further the work of nation building, in which the past must be used as a firm foundation for the future.

(1) *El.* III. 298-301.

A. Yusuf Ali.

THE TABLE-TALK OF A MESOPOTAMIAN JUDGE

(*Continued from our last issue.*)

48. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain, who said he had heard it from Abû'l-Hasan Ahmad b. Muhammad, a clerk known as Ibn Abî 'Umar, clerk to Al-Muhassin b. al-Furât; after the fall of the Furât family he was invested with a number of high and important offices, and the headship of important bureaux; he even became head of the Control Bureaux displacing Al-Khasîbî in the days of Ibn Râ'iq.[1] He was slain in Diyâr Mudar by 'Ammâr the Qarmatian. This Abû'l-Hasan had been governor of Diyâr Mudar for Ibn Râ'iq; the province was raided by the rebel 'Ammâr who wished to seize it, and demanded money of Abû'l-Hasan for his followers. Abû'l-Hasan declared that he could furnish nothing, even if 'Ammâr slew and crucified him. 'Ammâr promised to do this, and perpetrated both acts on the Feast of Fast-breaking in the year 329. Ibn Râ'iq kept devising plans against 'Ammâr, until he finally came to Ibn Râ'iq's residence, when Ibn Râ'iq left him for some days with his army, and then arrested him. With Ibn Râ'iq there were some Turkish chieftains, followers of Backham who had sought Ibn Râ'iq's protection[2] in Syria; he ordered them to batter 'Ammâr with tent-poles, and when he was nearly dead, told them to give him a taste of the swordblade. He took his head and crucified the trunk in the place where he had crucified Ibn Râ'iq's officer, Ibn Abî 'Umar. —Abû'l-Husain proceeded; I was told by this Ibn Abî 'Umar how Abû 'Abdallâh Hamd b. Muhammad al-Qunnâ'î, sister's son to Al-Hasan b. Makhlad told them how his mother's brother Abû Muhammad (Al-Hasan b. Makhlad) said that he had heard Abû Ishâq Ibrâhîm b. al-'Abbâs al-Sûlî[3] say that he had been told on the authority of Al-Ma'mûn after Al-Rashîd how the last had

(1) The Turkish captain who became the first *Amir al-Umara* in 324.

(2) See *Eclipse*, v.21. After Bachkam's death they had first sought the service of the Hamdanid ruler of Mausil.

(3) Eminent litterateur 176-243 A. H.

heard Al-Mahdî say after Abû 'Ubaidallâh[1] had quitted the vizierate and confined himself to the Bureau of Epistles, sitting at home and entrusting affairs to Ya'qûb b. Dâwûd:[2] I have seen no one wiser, more sagacious, more competent or more honest than Abû 'Ubaidallâh, and I was fond of him, treating him as a parent. Since he entered my service I had been trying to get him to invite me to his house, but he would decline, alleging that neither his ambition nor his fortune admitted of that. Finally he had a severe illness, which lasted many days and I did not visit him; presently he wrote to say that he had recovered, and that he proposed to ride over to me a day or two later. I determined to anticipate him, and rode to his house with a company of attendants and courtiers, and when I entered his apartment said to him: I have been trying hard to get you to invite me, but you have always declined. So now I have come to you to do all three things, visit the sick, congratulate on recovery and accept an invitation.—He said: By Allah, Prince of Believers, I have no food, attendants or apparel which would be suitable for your entertainment.—I said: I am sparing you that trouble, having ordered my attendants to bring vessels, food and drink, and all requirements. I only desired to pay you a compliment and enjoy the pleasure of your society.—So the attendants brought vessels, rugs were spread for me and I sat down with him by my side, and we ate. He then began to present me with splendid rugs, plate and vessels from his house, as people do, and I took all the exquisite objects which he had brought, to his great delight.—Then I called for drink, and when I had drunk three goblets and no more, I prepared to depart. When he perceived this, he said to me: I want to weep, but should think it unluckily to weep after the departure of the Prince of Believers, and solicit permission to weep in his presence.—A little after he had said this, his tears began to flow copiously.—I said to him: My friend, I am aware that you suffer from stinginess which you call good management; and if your sorrow be regret over what you have presented, of course the gifts will be returned.—He swore with solemn oaths, manifesting the greatest emotion, that he was not weeping on that account. How, he asked, could I weep over a thing at which I must rejoice, *viz.* your thinking me worthy of the honour of your

(1) His full name was Mu'âwiyah b. 'Ubaidallâh b. Yasâr al-Ash'arî.

(2) According to Jahshiyârî al-Mahdi dismissed Mu'âwiyah from the vizierate and reduced him to the lower post.

accepting my gifts ?–Then why, I asked, are you weeping? —He said : There remains no height to be attained but I have attained it by the favour and condescension of the Prince of Believers. I have reached such a position that I have given away of the wealth of the Prince of Believers by and according to his command on one night (the night whereon there arrived the news of the death of the late Prince of Believers, Al-Mansûr, and the people promised allegiance to the (present) Prince of Believers for the second time[1]) ten million dirhams ; and on the occasion of this illness I bestowed in alms all the money in my treasury — four million dirhams—having first solicited and obtained the permission of the Prince of Believers.—Nothing remained for me to aspire to except that the Prince of Believers should visit me in illness or congratulate me on restoration to health, or accept my invitation. And since on this day the Prince of Believers has done these three things for me, I know that the apex has been reached and that nothing is now left except the descent. That is why I wept.—I felt pity for him and, knowing his worth, said to him : As for my time, you are safe from that therein ; if, however, anything befall you after me, well, life is at all events better than death, and you can console yourself by me[2].—I felt sure that I should never overthrow him. But when Al-Rabî' saw how high he stood, he was jealous, and did his best to slander him to me and sow dissension between us, and plan his ruin with me, till there came to pass the affair of his son and his confession of atheism which rendered it impossible for me to spare his life. So I put his son to death, and was afraid that he would be alienated thereby and that I could not trust his loyalty. So I had to cashier him, but spared his life, and his fortune remained intact. Thus things changed from what I had promised him, and he was right in his idea about a decline after the summit had been reached[3].

49. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain. Many a time, he said, I heard 'Alî b. 'Isâ say how his father said

(1) It had been promised when he was appointed heir to the throne by his father.

(2) In the case contemplated he would at least have lived longer than the Caliph.

(3) The story is told by Jahshiyârî, p. 178 foll. This author gives the reason for the enmity of Al-Rabî' b. Yûnus, and ascribes the plan of reaching him through his son 'Abdallâh to one Qushairi. He adds that there were *zindiqs* (atheists) who held it unlawful to conceal their opinions, and infers from 'Abdallâh's confession that he was one of this sect.

he had heard *his* father assert on the authority of his grandfather that the persons most learned in the chronicles and campaigns of the Persians declared the sense of the name *Nahrawan* in Persian to be " the reward of work "[1]. The Nahrawân Canal was, they asserted, so called because one of the Khosroes[2] had come so much under the influence of one of his courtiers that the latter managed most of his affairs, and had risen high in his estimation. Prior to that he had been under the orders of the Master of the Table, charged with the preparation of milk dishes and sauces; and then he was promoted. The Master of the Table was distressed at the thought of a menial of his having risen so high as to be in control of the kingdom. The Master of the Table had for a companion a Jewish sorcerer of skill, who said to him : Why is it that I see you troubled ? Tell me what the matter is, and perhaps deliverance will come through me.—The Master of the Table told him, and the Jew said to him : If I restore you to your position, what will you do for me ? —He said : I will share with you my fortune, my honours, and all I possess.—They made a contract with one another on these terms.—The Jew said : Make it appear that we have quarrelled and pretend to have dismissed me from your service.—He did this, and the Jew went off to the man who had got control of the realm and told him, and curried favour with him by recounting the treatment which he had received from the first man. The Jew conversed with him for a long time, till he won the man's confidence. One day the Jew met the man with a slave carrying a golden dish containing curds of the finest quality, which he was going to present to the king. He asked to be shown the curds, and the man bade his slave show them, which he did. He then by his sorcery obscured the vision of both the man and his slave, and threw into the curds a paper which he had on him, containing poison instantaneous in its effect. The slave covered the dish, and went on his way with the intention of presenting it when the repast was presented. The Jew then hurried to the first Master of the Table, and said to him : I have finished my part (telling him what he had done, and describing the dish) ; do you go at once to the king and inform him that this person meant to poison you with this dish, so do not eat it, but test it first. He will test it on a dog or some other creature, which will die at

(1) Apparently the first element was supposed to be the Persian *narkh* " price ", but the second is obscure. The word appears to be really Syriac, meaning " rivers ".

(2) General name for the Sassanian kings.

once. He will then put your enemy to death, and out of gratitude to you, restore you to your position.

The man hurried off and found the repast about to be offered to the king. When it was offered he came forward to the king and said : Sire, this man means to poison you with this dish, in which there is a poison of instantaneous effect ; do not eat it.—The king took alarm, and ordered the curds to be tried on some animal. But the man (who had been promoted) said : This person lies. There is no need for an animal ; I myself will eat out of the dish, that the king may know that he has lied.—The man did not know what the dish contained, so he hastened to eat a mouthful, and died at once.—The first Master of the Table said : He only ate out of that dish, your majesty, in order to die, knowing that you would experiment, and find it deadly, and he was afraid you would torture him. He took this means of release.—The king had no doubt that this was the truth, restored the first Master of the Table to his former position, and bestowed high honour upon him.

The years passed after this event, and then there befell the king an illness which caused him to be sleepless on most nights. He, unknown to his attendants, would go and wander about the saloons and chambers of his palace, and its gardens, or stand at the doors of the apartments of his womenfolk and slaves and listen to their conversation. One night, when wandering about through sleeplessness, he came to the chamber wherein was the Jew, whom the Master of the Kitchen had made a member of his household. The Jew was seated talking to one of the men employed in the kitchen, and complaining that the present Master defrauded him of his rights, of which he gave a number of examples. Then he added : I am the source of his fortune and his present position.—The man to whom he was talking asked how he had come to be the source of the other's fortune.—The Jew said ; Do you promise secrecy ?—The man promised.—He then told the man the story of the curds and the poison.—When the king heard this, he was in a terrible state, and the next day sent for the chief priest, told him the story, and asked his advice as to what he should do to avert from himself the guilt of the affair in the next world.—The priest recommended the execution of the Jew[1] and bounty to the descendants, if any, of the man who had killed himself. But, he said, the only thing which will remove from you the guilt for

(1) Yâqût in his quotation of this anecdote adds " and the Master of the Table."

this affair will be to traverse your realm till you come to a deserted region where you are to introduce cultivation, a canal, and sweet water so that for all time people may live thereby in exchange for the death of that man, and so you will clear yourself of guilt. — The king acted accordingly ; he traversed his territories till he reached the region of Nahrawân, which was at the time a desert, and decided to dig a canal there. It was dug, and he called it " the Reward of Work " in consequence of this story[1].

50. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain. I was told, he said, by Abû'l-Hasan al-Iyâdî. clerk, and friend of the Karkhis[2], how Abû Ahmad 'Abd al-Wahhâb b. al-Hasan b. 'Ubaidallâh b. Sulaimân had handed him a letter of Abû'l-Husain Ja'far b. Muhammad b. Thawâbah b. Khâlid the clerk to his grandfather 'Ubaidallâh. And he said to me : My father Al-Hasan b. 'Ubaidallâh was in charge among other bureaux of those of Epistles and of Public Security in his father's time. The vizier 'Ubaidallâh ordered my father to appoint as his deputy in the Bureau of Epistles and of Public Security Abu'l-Hûsain b. Thawâbah, and this Abû'l-Husain came to be like the minister appointed by the vizier owing to the frequency with which his services were employed in this Bureau. This letter was the cause thereof. Presently my father died and my grandfather (Ubaidallâh) confirmed Abû'l-Husain as independent head of the Bureau, and this office remained as an inheritance of the family, held by members of it at times independently, at others by delegation[3]. No one ever heard of a letter better worthy to be committed to memory, and it is indeed as elegant as could be. It reads as follows : —

You have opened your door to the victim of oppression, and removed thence the screen. Hence I appeal against the times to your justice and complain of their vicissitudes to your mercy. I flee from the baseness of their domination to the generosity of your might ; for they throw me back when I advance, and defraud me of my share when I draw ; if they give, they give little, and if they take back, they take back much. I have complained to no one before you, nor secured as a means of obtaining justice from them anything but your bounty, and respect for a suppliant's claim, and the right of the injured, the right of hope and length of sincere attachment and affection. And that which will fill my hand with justice and so shed it upon me that while you are doing me a favour I shall be helping mankind through you would be that you

(1) Yâqût says he asked several Persians whether they could make out this derivation, and they said they could not. He himself suggests that the words may have been Pehlevi.

(2) Doubtless the family of the vizier Muhammad b. al-Qasim.

(3) Yâqût in his transcript of this anecdote (*Irshad*, ii. 417) adds : till it was taken over by Ibrâhîm the Sabian from his grandson,

should number me among your special staff, persons whom you have transferred from unemployment to business and from obscurity to fame and celebrity. If you think fit to help me, (I have asked for help), to protect me, (I have sought protection), to spread your wing over me, (I have fled thither for refuge), to bestow on me your favour, (therein is my trust), to employ my hand and tongue where they will be fit to serve you, (verily I have studied the writings of your predecessors, who are models of eloquence, have obtained illumination from their views and have followed their footsteps, a pursuit which has placed me between the unusual and the usual in style, and set me on an intermediate high-road, on which the tumid falls back, and to which the commonplace aspires), —you will do so, please Allah.

51. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain. We were told, he said, by Abû'l-Hasan 'Alî b. Ahmad b. Yahyâ b. Abî'l-Baghl, who at that time was an accredited witness living in our neighbourhood in Baghdad, and a familiar associate of mine, that he had been told the following story by Abû Qausarah the Exactor (Abû'l-Husain observed that he himself had seen Abû Qausarah, when the former was a young man, and the latter a man advanced in years, a survivor of the old army officers, who no longer left his residence. It was an old practice to appoint to the office of exactor one of the army officers who understood the art of cross-examining.) Ibn Abî'l-Baghl stated that Abû Qausarah told the following story : I was ordered, he said, by Sulaimân b. Wahb, when he was vizier to Mu'tamid and Al-Hasan b. Makhlad had been arrested, to go to him in prison and demand of him the sum which he had been fined. Outwardly I treated him harshly, but in reality with mildness, and acted as spy for him with Sulaimân and advised him accordingly. I learned that 'Ubaidallâh b. Sulaimân intended to hold a meeting at which he, his father, Sâ'id b. Makhlad, Abu Sâlih b. al-Mudabbir, and a number of clerks should be present, when they would fetch Al-Hasan, browbeat him with all sorts of false and unfounded statements, and bully him into admitting them and thereby compel him to pay, and frighten him by taking his bond for more than was due from him, as his means were now exhausted, and he had told me that nothing was left him which he could pay.—I went to him in his prison and told him how they were going the next day to fetch him out for the purpose mentioned. He meditated for a time, and I supposed

him to be meditating on the course which he should adopt. Presently he recited to me some verses of his own :

Fine men and they will fine you too ;
Bluff them, they 'll do the like to you ;
Defraud you of your rights with lies
And charge you with absurdities.
What good or ill you work at eve
The like next morning you 'll receive.

52. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain. Abû'l-Fadl 'Ubaidallâh b. 'Abdallâh b. al-Hârith the Clerk was, he said, one of the chief officials, and then, though old, served as deputy to Abû'l-Qâsim Sulaimân b. al-Hasan in his first vizierate[1] for much of the business of the office. He treated people with hauteur and failed to render them their due. Hence they were on the look-out for his failings and spoke freely of his shortcomings. It was a matter of notoriety that his mother had had several husbands after his father and before him—over ten, it was said. One of these was a man known as Sushikh[2] who sold rice with curds. The poet 'Usfurî composed the following lampoon on him, which he recited to me as his own :

They say that Abu'l-Fadl's head is turned, and that he grows prouder and more arrogant than ever. I said : Say no more, only tell him this : You son-in-law of the dirty Sushikh, was not Sushikh—let me not use bad language—your mother's paramour ?

His idea was to soften the obscenity of the verse while mentioning his mother ; for he originally came from a village in the territory of Wâsit called Qalamaya[3]. Abû'l-Husain b. 'Ayyâsh recited these verses to me a long time ago or else told me a similar story and recited the lines of which Abû'l-Husain b. Hishâm afterwards reminded me ; only in Ibn 'Ayyâsh's version there was a slight difference in the wording of the last line, and he interpreted the final words in plain Arabic.

53. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain b. Hishâm, who had, he said, been told it by Abû'l-Hasan Zakariyyâ b. Yahyâ b. Muhammad b. Sâdhân al-Jauharî. We were told, said this last, by Abû'l-'Abbâs al-Mubarrad that he had been told the following as emanating from al-Khalîl b. Ahmad[4]. —On one of my journeys, he said,

(1) 318 A. H.

(2) The vocalization and meaning of this word are obscure.

(3) The meaning would appear to be that there was nothing to be ashamed of in the man's parentage ; or this may refer to the dialect in which the lines are written.

(4) Inventor of metric, ob. 160 or 170.

while I was on my way, I passed by the cell of a monk. I knocked at his door, since night was falling fast and I was afraid of the open country and asked him to let me in.—Who are you ? he said.—I replied al-Khalîl b. Ahmad.—He said : You are the person whom people declare to be unique in knowledge of Arabic lore[1].—I said : People say so, but it is not true.—He said : If you will give me satisfactory replies to three questions I will open to you and entertain you well ; otherwise I will not open.—I asked what the questions were.—He said : Do not we infer from the present concerning the absent ?—I said : We do.—He said : Now you assert that God is neither a body nor an accident : and we have seen nothing resembling this. By what then do you maintain His existence ? Further you assert that the people in Paradise eat and drink, and use no privies ; you have never seen any one who eats and drinks, and has no use for the privy. Further you assert that the delights of the people in Paradise will never end ; and you have never seen anything unending.—I said to him : I have inferred all this from what is present before me. As for God Almighty, I infer His existence from His works which indicate it ; He has no like, yet in that which is present there is what resembles this. The spirit which is in you and in every living creature—we know that it is perceptible beneath every hair of our body, yet we know not where it is nor how it is nor what is its description or its substance. Then we see that a human being dies when it departs, but nothing is perceived ; I only infer it from its actions and movements, and the fact that we are conscious agents through its being in us. As for what you say about the people of Paradise requiring no privy though they eat, the facts before us do not prevent that being true ; do not you know that the embryo in the mother's womb takes nourishment, but does not excrete. As for what you say about the pleasures of Paradise being endless, although they have a beginning, we ourselves commence our numeration with one, yet if we wished to continue it into infinity we could reach no end by repeating it and its multiples and by multiplying.—The monk, he said, then opened his door and entertained me hospitably.

54. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain, who said : We were told by Abû 'Abdallâh Ahmad b. Sa'd client of the Banû Hâshim, who at one time acted as clerk to the qâdi Yûsuf[2]. He said : We were told by the qâdi

(1) Apparently the monk's incorrect phraseology is reproduced.
(2) The father of the famous qâdi Abu 'Umar, who died 320 A. H.

Ismâ'îl b. Ishâq on the authority of his teachers that the qâdi 'Afiyah held the office for Al-Mahdi on one of the two sides of the City of Peace (Baghdad) in place of Ibn 'Ulâthah. This 'Afiyah was a man of learning and an ascetic. One day he presented himself at noon at Al-Mahdi's palace, when the latter was disengaged, and asked for an audience, which was granted. He had with him a case of documents and he asked permission to resign his judgeship, and to deliver the case to whomever the Caliph should order to receive it. The Caliph supposed that some member of the court had humiliated him or weakened his power in the exercise of his office, and spoke to him about this. The qâdi said : Nothing of the sort has taken place.– Then why, asked the Caliph, do you resign ? –He said : There appeared before me two litigants, from Shîrâz and Ispahân respectively, whose case is extremely difficult. Each of the parties claims that he has evidence and witnesses in his favour and adduces arguments which require careful consideration.— So I reserved judgment in the hope that they might effect a compromise or that I might see my way to settling the dispute. Now one of the two got to know about me that I am fond of fresh dates, so he started at this time, which is the commencement of the date-crop, getting together fresh dates in such quantity as is not prepared at this time for any one save the Prince of Believers, and than which I have seen no finer. He proceeded to bribe my porter with a number of dirhams to bring the dish in to me, and not to mind if it were refused. When the dish was brought in to me, I objected, dismissed my porter and ordered the dish to be returned, which was done. To-day this litigant presented himself before me with the other, and the two were no longer equal in my mind and eye. This is the result, although I did not accept ; what would have been the case if I had accepted ? I feel no confidence therefore that I shall not fail in my religious duties and after ruining the people be ruined myself. So let me off as you would wish Allah to let you off. Accept my resignation. —The Caliph accepted it[1].

55. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain. I heard, he said, Hâmid b. al-'Abbâs in his vizierate say in course of conversation : An account of me was given by Sâ'id b. Makhlad to Al-Nâsir lidîn Allâh[2], and he spoke

(1) Tabari gives the date of this qâdi's appointment as 161. According to the *Aghani* xiii. 16 Ibn 'Ulâthah introduced him to the Caliph, and was presently superseded by him.

(2) A title of Muwaffaq, brother of Mu'tamid.

of me so highly that I became attached to the latter's service. One day Al-Nâsir summoned me to a private interview, and said to me: You know what has befallen us from this enemy (meaning the leader of the Zanj) in consequence of which we have retreated hither (it was after his defeat, when he fled from the leader of the Zanj, and retreated from his quarters in Wâsit in order to recover and make ready for a fresh attempt at fighting with him). My affairs (Al-Nâsir went on to say to me) are in disorder, all that is in my treasury is 30,000 gold dinars, and this counts for little with me; I want you to devote your mind to thinking of some way of supplementing and multiplying it. - I said: There is here a possible source of great profit. —He asked what it was. —I said: Here is Khaizurân's system of water-wheels, from which all Mubârak and part of Silh used to get their water. They were a fief of Rashîd's mother Khaizurân, who had this system dug, and she used to raise great crops in consequence. Now it has been lying idle and the whole of Silh and Mubârak are desert. If you will expend the thirty thousand dinars in digging out the system and furnishing the people of these two districts with seed and cattle, I will undertake the distribution of the money and personal oversight of the digging, so that not a single coin shall be wasted nor even the smallest secret profit be taken. You will obtain in produce in a single year twice the sum and more. —Al-Nâsir said: I will do as you say. —So I spent on the work of digging twenty thousand dinars using the strictest economy, and employed the remaining ten thousand in the purchase of cattle and seed for the poor labourers, farmers and agriculturists[1], using the strictest caution in this matter, while demanding that the wealthy should cultivate the land out of their own capital. These too were quite eager when they saw that water was supplied, and that the lands had lain fallow for a number of years, and they had hopes of good crops, and high prices in these regions. So the people started cultivating out of desire or fear and exhausted their efforts. When harvest came, there were gathered into a single barn in Silh after withdrawal of the quantity originally sown 3,600 *kurr* of wheat of average size; and the third and tenth due on the metayer system with the fees and the excess in measurement[2]

(1) These are clearly three classes of men employed in agriculture, but it is not quite easy to distinguish them.

(2) The language of this passage is obscure, though doubtless intelligible to those who had experience of the operations. Clearly the third and the tenth of the produce were collected from different cultivators;

came to 1600 *kurr* for the government, which I sold at something over twenty dinars for the *kurr*, thus obtaining 36,000 dinars of gold from one barn, the produce of the rest of the country being clear profit[1]. So in the first year he obtained several times the amount which he had spent, and this strengthened him and enabled him to return to fight the Traitor.

This expedient was one of the chief causes of my rising in his favour and obtaining promotion.—Abû'l-Husain proceeded: Now Hâmid used to tell this story after the occurrence of something which caused him to observe that the world could only prosper with cultivation, justice and preventing the officials from thieving.

56. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain: I heard, he said, Abû'l-Hasan b. al-Furât assert that Abû'l-Hasan Muhammad b. Firâs the Clerk was the cause of the association of Al-Qâsim[2] b. 'Ubaidallâh with Al-'Abbâs b. al-Hasan, so that the former employed the latter as his secretary. When Al-'Abbâs rose in the world, Ibn Firâs was jealous, and changing his tone endeavoured to poison the mind of Al-Qâsim against him. Presently when Al-Qâsim fell ill of the illness which caused his death, Ibn Firâs told him that Al-'Abbâs b. al-Hasan was canvassing the Nurse[3] and Sâfi al-Hurami for the vizierate, and had even had his black uniform got ready. Al-Qâsim however did not accept these statements, and wrote his famous letter to Muktafi[4].—So (said Ibn al-Furât) on the night whereon Al-'Abbâs was appointed vizier—it was the night whereon Al-Qâsim died, and Al-'Abbâs had not yet received his robes—we entered[5] as also did Ibn Firâs to congratulate, and he sat in the back row. Al-'Abbâs's attention was occupied with handling black cloths which had been brought him to choose from, for a garment to be made to his measure, which he was to wear on the morrow, when he should appear before the Caliph before the robe of honour was bestowed on him, and cover it over with the

probably the former was where the stock and seed had been supplied by the state. The fees are likely to have been for the use of the water. The excess in measurement probably refers to a practice of giving over and above the actual amount of the *kurr*, to which Cicero has an allusion.

(1) Since the whole amount spent was more than covered by the contents of this one barn.

(2) Vizier of Muktafi.

(3) Doubtless the Caliph's.

(4) Doubtless recommending Al-'Abbâs as successor; it does not appear to have been preserved.

(5) The saloon of the new vizier.

robe of honour there. For it was the custom at that time that no one appeared before the Caliph on the day of a public function except in black. Now (he proceeded) when Al-'Abbâs had selected the cloth which he preferred, he turned to us and, alluding to Ibn Firâs, said : God's curse be on the envious and the mischief-makers ! Some people compassed my ruin with the person in charge of the empire by telling him that I had been canvassing for the vizierate and had been getting my black cloth ready many days ago ; and here am I in your presence without any collusion handling pieces of cloth with the view of having a black robe cut out for me. —Ibn Firâs thereupon rose and said : God prolong the vizier's life ! I have just thought of something on this subject, and if the vizier (God support him !) permits, I will recite the verses. Al-'Abbâs was abashed and said: By my life, sit down and recite. Ibn Firâs took his seat and proceeded to recite :

Do no one harm, such work eschewing ;
But good begun continue doing.
Be sure that foe's assaults prevail not
If he assail and thou assail not.

57. I was told the following by Abû'-l-Hasan Muhammad b. Muhammad b. 'Uthmân of Ahwâz, the clerk known as Ibn al-Muhandis (Son of the Engineer). I was told, he said, by Ibn Marwân of Jâmidah[1] the following story. When, he said, the people of Wâsit were oppressed by Abû 'Abdallâh Ahmad b. 'Alî b. Sa'îd al-Kûfî, who at that time was governor of the place for Nâsir al-daulah, who had been invested with the office of Prince of viziers and princes in Baghdad[2], I was one of the victims. He wrongfully took from my estate in Jâmidah over forty average sized *kurr* of rice which were my personal property besides what he took of crops which belonged to the treasury without any pretence or quibble. I appealed to him personally, but he declined to right me. The average sized *kurr* sold at the time for thirty dinars. I said to him : My master has taken from me what he has, and I swear that neither I nor my family have any resource save that ; I have nothing wherewith I can feed them for the rest of the year nor wherewith to cultivate my land. I shall be satisfied if he will leave me ten *kurr* out of the whole amount. The rest he may have as his lawful possession. — Quite impossible! was his reply. —Then five *kurr*, I said. —

(1) Place near Wâsit.

(2) The title usually is Prince of Princes. Nâsir al-daulah took it 380 A. H.

I will not do it, he answered.—Then I wept, kissed his hand and, trying to mollify him, said : Then give me as a charity three *kurr* out of it, and I resign all claim to the whole, which you may sell without objection from me.—He said : No, by Allah, not one single grain.—I said :—Then I shall appeal against you to God Almighty.—He said. Appeal to your heart's content, using the pronunciation of the Kufans.

So I came away sore at heart, collected my household and kept praying to God against him for a series of nights. On the eleventh night after he had taken possession of the rice he had to flee from Wâsit. I went to my barn, took my rice and carried it to my house, and al-Kûfi never returned to Wâsit, and prospered no more[1].

58. I was told the following by Abû'l-Hasan Muhammad b. Muhammad of Ahwaz b.'Uthmân known as Ibn al-Muhandis. I used, he said, to be in charge of the customs and other departments of the administration in Wâsit at that time under Al-Kûfi. A skipper by name Ibn Shabîb arrived in a big barge, containing iron and jars, and I demanded of him the customs, eight thousand dirhems and a fraction. He had recourse to Yamak,[2] a retainer of Saif al-daulah, who wrote a letter to Saif al-daulah's son,[3] who was at the time residing in Wâsit as chief Emir, and wrote a letter to Yamak, wherein he enjoined on me the reduction of the skipper's customs and kind treatment of the man. This he sent by one of his retainers. I decided to deal gently with the man on account of this, so I said to the skipper : What you should pay is eight thousand dirhams and so much more ; by how much would you like me to reduce the amount because of the words of So-and-so, God aid him !—This was at a crowded meeting of shopkeepers, traders, and customhouse officers.—The skipper questioned me : How much do I owe ?—I said : Eight thousand dirhams and a fraction.—The skipper made a vulgar noise with his mouth and said : You will get them from me with scales made of gourds and weights of dung.—I was grievously vexed by his contemptuous treatment of me at a business meeting, but as unwilling to hit him lest unpleasantness arise between myself and Yamak, who had such influence with Saif al-daulah, and a dispute come about between my chief and me, with results which

(1) This is the point at which Miskawaîhî's narrative leaves Kûfî, who had played an important part in politics. The date is 331.

(2) The first letter of this name is uncertain.

(3) It was rather Saif al-daulah himself who held this post.

I could not foresee.—So I said to him : You are too small a person to deserve an answer to your remark ; but I will show you your place. Do you stay with him (I said to a number of soldiers to whom I gave him in charge).

I then crossed over in my skiff to Al-Kûfî, to whom I told what had occurred. When I had finished my narrative, he asked me what I had done to the skipper.—I replied that I had not ventured to do anything on account of Yamak, and for fear he (al-Kûfî) might object.—Flying into a passion, he called for naphtha men[1], who were brought. He then ordered thirty foot-soldiers to come at once, and they came. He ordered them to cross over and set fire to the barge with all the goods which it contained, immediately.—I, said the narrator, was greatly distressed and regretted having complained.—God prolong our master's life, I said, it will be quite enough to scourge the skipper in the market, double his customs and make him pay up.—He said, no, by Allah, nothing but burning.—I tried my hardest to persuade him, but could effect nothing. The naphtha men and the soldiers went off to the barge and set it on fire. The skipper began to beat his breast and cry aloud : Good people, that barge contains people's property ; they will be reduced to beggary and so shall I.—He implored the Muslims to help, but no one ventured to assist him ; the painters caught fire, the crew left the barge and flung themselves into the water, the barge with the fire blazing in it went down stream, crashed through the bridge and came to rest at the location of Saif al-daulah's camp, who was occupying the Prison in Wâsit. The skipper was continuing his lamentations, and Saif al-daulah noticed that he did not dare to extinguish the fire or do more than beat his breast and cry out. When Saif al-daulah saw the situation, he was alarmed, especially as the skipper was shouting out that the barge contained goods. Summoning the skipper Saif al-daulah asked him what goods it contained. The man replied : The property of the agent of the Barîdîs[2], sent to them secretly from Baghdad, being hidden under iron.—Saif al-daulah thereupon ordered the barge to be brought to the shore, and the fire to be extinguished. The sides, the deck, and most of the tackle had already been burned, only the goods which were at the bottom were practically intact. They were brought up to the bank, and unpacked, when they

(1) Men who discharged flame from naphtha.

(2) Abu 'Abdallâh Barîdî, having been ejected from Baghdad, was at this time besieged by Saif al-daulah in Wâsit.

were found to contain eight thousand gold dinars, more than sixty swords with belts of silver, and some of gold. Saif al-daulah took possession of these, and surrendered the barge to the skipper, whom he took under his protection and rescued from al-Kûfî. Presently the skipper broke up the barge and took for his own use what remained of the wood and iron, while the traders got as much of the cargo as had been saved.

D S. MORGOLIOUTH.

(*To be continued.*)

WAS AKBAR 'UTTERLY UNLETTERED'?

HISTORIANS have been unanimous in declaring that Akbar was "utterly unlettered". Noer,[1] Beveridge,[2] Smith[3], Azâd[4] and many other scholars hold the above view and there is no denying the fact that, with the materials then available, they were not unjustified in arriving at this conclusion. So far as I am aware, it was Dr. Narendranath Law, who, for the first time, made a serious attempt in his book, *Promotion of Learning in India During Muhammadan Rule (By Muhammadans)*,[5] to prove that Akbar was *not* utterly unlettered. But strangely enough, he relied mainly on a passage in the "spurious" *Memoirs* of Jahângîr,[6] to which fact Mr. Beveridge, with his usual accuracy, drew the attention of Dr. Law in the *Foreword* which he wrote to the latter's book.[7] Then Dr. Law, in reply to the criticism offered by Mr. Beveridge, wrote an *Addendum*[8] in which he scrutinised the statements of the Catholic Missionaries and that of Jahângîr—on which Mr. Beveridge had relied mainly—and, on the authority of a passage in the *'Ain-i-Akbari*, endeavoured to attribute to Akbar "a knowledge of the numeral figuresand their

(1) *Akbar*, Vol. ii., pp. 56, 243.

(2) He writes "....It seems probable too that Akbar never knew how to read and write" (*Akbar Nama*, English Translation, i. p. 518 *n* 1).

(3) He states in his *Akbar—the Great Mogal* (Oxford, 1919, p. 22)—"..Akbar was a thoroughly idle boy from the school master's point of view, and resisted all attempts to give him book learning so successfully that *he never mastered the alphabet, and to the end of his days was unable even to read or sign his name*". (Note: *italics are ours*).

(4) *Darbar-i-Akbari* (Lahore, 1898), pp. 113, 114.

(5) Longmans Green & Co., 1916.

(6) *Waqi'at-i-Jahangiri* (translated by Major Price), 1892, pp. 44, 45.

(7) He writes: "In his chapter on Akbar, Mr. Law disbelieves the story of his literacy, in spite of his son's statements as well as those of the Catholic Missionaries, and he relies on the spurious Memoirs which were translated by Major Price" (p. xix).

(8) pp. 207-212.

daily transcription with his own hand and pen on the pages of the books."[1]

The above is, if I am not wrong, a fairly accurate description of the state of general knowledge on the subject; but recently I have come into possession of certain materials which will, I hope, mark a distinct advance in our knowledge on this point, and will prove that Akbar, far from being "utterly unlettered", *could even read and write.*

But before entering the subject proper, let me place before the reader, as briefly as possible, the arguments advanced by those who are of opinion that Akbar was utterly unlettered. They contend:—

(1) That had Akbar been literate, Abûl Fadl who takes a particular delight in magnifying the virtues and attainments of Akbar, must have mentioned this fact *definitely.*

(*ii*) That the silence of other contemporary historians is significant.

(*iii*) That the evidence of the Catholic Missionaries who came in personal contact with Akbar is conclusive, as, for instance, Father A. Monserrat says "*He* (*Akbar*) *can neither read nor write*, but he is very curious, and has always men of letters about him[2]"; while Father Jerome Xavier observes, "The King (Akbar) is gifted with a wonderful memory, so that, although *he can neither read nor write*, he knows whatever he has heard learned men discoursing about, or whatever has been read to him."[3]

(*iv*) That the evidence of Jahângîr gives a final blow to the theory that Akbar was literate, for he writes in his *Memoirs*[4]:—

"My father always associated with the learned of every creed and religion, especially with the Pandits and the learned of India, (and learnt so much) in his conversations

(1) p. 210.

(2) Father A. Monserrat's *Account of Akbar* (26th November, 1582), *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. IXXV, 1912, p. 194. (For further references see *Promotion of Learning in India* p. 207).

(3) Father Jerome Xavier, by H. Beveridge, J. A. S. B., 1888, p. 37.

(4) *Memoirs of Jahangir*, translated by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, (Oriental Translation Fund Series), Vol. 1, p. 33.

with them, *that no one knew him to be illiterate*, and he was so acquainted with the niceties of verse and prose compositions that this deficiency was not thought of ".[1]

But those who hold the opposite view contend :—

(*i*) That Abûl Fadl's silence alone can hardly be an argument against Akbar's literacy.

(*ii*) That Abûl Fadl distinctly attributes to Akbar a knowledge of the " numerals."

(*iii*) That much reliance cannot be placed on the statement of the Catholic Missionaries, as they usually make inaccurate statements.

(*iv*) That the word *Ummi* found in the *Tuzuk*, which has been taken to mean " unable to read or write ", can also be translated as " taciturn."

I have placed before the readers a summary of the arguments advanced by the historians of the two schools, and now propose to examine the whole question in the light of the new evidence that has been my good fortune to obtain.

We learn from the *Akbar-Nama* that Akbar was " taken to man's school on 7th Shawwâl of this year, 20th November, 1547 being the fourth year, fourth month and fourth day of the eternity-conjoined life, of His Majesty the Shâhinshâh."[2] We also learn that he was placed in charge of Mullâzada Mullâ 'Asâmuddîn Ibrâhîm[3] and, on his dismissal, was placed under Mawlânâ Bâyazîd,[4] but when it was pointed out to Humâyûn that Akbar was not making satisfactory progress in his studies, he

(1) His actual words are :—

با آنکه امي بودند از کثرت مجالست با دانایان و ارباب فضل در گفتگوها چنان ظاهر می شدکه هیچ کس بی با می بودن ایشان نمی برد بد قابق نظم چنان میرسیدند که مافوق برآن متصور نبود

(*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, edited by Sayyid Ahmad, Aligarh, 1864, p. 14).

(2) *Akbar Nama*. (Bib. Indica), Text, Vol. 1. p. 270 ; Translation, Vol. 1., p. 519.

(3) Mullâ 'Asâmuddîn, who, according to Badâyûnî (Lowe, ii, p. 190), was " without equal in the line of Arabic erudition ", was the *first* tutor of Akbar. As he was " devoted to pigeons the servants reported against him. His Majesty discharged him and made over the duty of outward instruction to Mawlânâ Bâyazîd. " (*Akbar Nama*, Beveridge, i, p. 588).

(4) *Akbar Nama* (Bib. Indica), Text, p. 271. Abûl Fadl writes in another place that the Mawlânâ " who was an eminent physician and had been nominated as tutor to His Majesty the Shâhinshâh,.... performed excellent service " during the illness of Humâyûn. (*Akbar Nama* Bev. i., pp. 495, 496).

decided that " lots should be cast between Mullâ 'Abdul Qâdir, Mullâzâda Mullâ 'Asâmuddîn, and Mawlânâ Bâyazîd, so that he, on whom the lucky chance should fall, should be exalted by being made the sole teacher. It happened that the lot fell on Mawlânâ 'Abdul Qâdir, and an order was issued for the removal of Mawlânâ Bâyazîd and the appointment of Mawlânâ 'Abdul Qâdir [1]" It is on record that 'Abdul Qâdir discharged his duties with credit for some years, but, later, relinquished his appointment on the eve of his retirement to Mecca.

We also find that Bayram Khân selected Mîr 'Abdul Latîf[2] as a private tutor for Akbar in 963 A.H., *i.e.*, when Akbar was nearly 15 years old. Further, it is on

(1) *Akbar Nama*, (Bib. Indica. Text, p. 588). Mullâ 'Abdul Qâdir is noticed by Abûl Fadl in the list of '*Ulama-i-naql* ('*A'in-i-Akbari* Blockmann, i, p. 545) Badâyûnî ; (Lowe, ii, p. 332) calls him the " Emperor's tutor ", while Nizâmuddîn (*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Nawal Kishore, 1873, p. 392) states that " Mullâ 'Abdul Qâdir, the *'Akhund* of the viceregent of God, imparted instructions for a number of years and, finally, retired to Hijâz ".

It is surprising that Dr. Law was unable to find any reference regarding the Mullâ in the histories of Abûl Fadl, Badâyûnî and Nizâmuddîn. He writes " The Urdu work, *Darbar-i-Akbari*....adds one Mawlânâ Abdul Qâdîr. As no references are found in it to the authorities upon which the statements are based, it cannot be of much help to me for the present purpose. " (*Promotion*, p. 210).

(2) Mîr 'Abdul Latîf Qazwînî came to India " at the invitation of the Emperor Humâyûn....but, intermediately, that Emperor had departed this life, so that he arrived at court with his family, after Akbar had ascended the throne. By him he was....appointed in the second year of the reign, as his preceptor." (Elliot, *Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammadan India*, pp. 130, 131.) We also learn from Badâyûnî (ii, p. 24) and Shâh Nawâz Khân (*Ma'athir-ul-Umara*, i, pp. 81, 814) that the Mîr was appointed to teach *Diwan-i-Hafiz* to Akbar. The former writes, " And in these days the King studied under the paragon of greatness Mîr 'Abdul Latîf....and with him he began reading Dîwân of ' Mystic language ' " (Lowe, ii, p. 24) while Shâh Nawâz Khân makes the following qualified statement : -

,,.....آن پادشاه والاجاه خط وسواد نداشت لختي اوقات برخی غزلها ے

لسان الغیب نزد میرمیخواند ،،

[*Translation.* "The exalted king was unlettered ; for sometime he read a few *Ghazals*, of the *Lisan-ul-Ghayb* (*i.e.*, Hâfiz) before the Mîr"]. It appears that Shâh Nawâz has drawn his materials from Badâyûni but the words. آن پادشاه والاجاه خط وسواد نداشت are his own interpolation. Badâyûnî, Abûl Fadl ('*Ain*, i, p. 520) and Tâhir Muhammad (*Raudat-ut-Tahirin*, Bûhâr MS., No. 8, Fol., 347*b*), a contemporary historian, do not support him and, in view of the unqualified statements of these older authorities, we are not prepared to accept the uncorroborated statement of Shâh Nawâz Khân. For further

record that Pîr Muhammad Khân[1] and Hâjjî Muhammad Khân[2] and Mullâ 'Alau'ddîn[3] also acted as tutors to Akbar.

It is evident from the above facts that Akbar was sent to school at the age of *four and a half*, and that his studies continued up to his fifteenth year if not longer—a period of over *ten* years. Indeed it would be very strange if during his long period of study—however idle and careless he might have been—he could have learnt neither to read nor to write. But at the same time there is no denying the fact that Akbar, on account of his interest in games and other sports, made very little progress in his studies; and, perhaps, forgot afterwards much of what he had learnt as a young boy. Abûl Fadl, however, in his characteristic way, offers the explanation: "For him who is God's pupil, what occasion is there for teaching by creatures, or for application to lessons? Accordingly Akbar's holy heart and his sacred soul never turned towards external teaching[4]." But he seems to contradict himself when he says:—

از کتب نظم مثنوی مولوی و دیوان لسان الغیب خود بسعادت روان می خوانند
وازحقائق و لطائف آن التذاذ می یابند

"Among books of poetry, he *reads fluently* the Maulvî's *Masnavi* and the *Diwan* of the mystic tongue

notices of the Mullâ see Briggs' *Ferishta*, (ii, p. 200; *'A'in*, i, p. 545 and Badâyûnî, (Ranking, iii, pp. 148, 149, 150) who writes, "His present Majesty also took some lessons from him in various passages of the Dîvân of Khâja Hâfiz and other books".

(1) Mullâ Pîr Muhammad, probably a Shinwârî Afghân, was "on account of his abilities preferred to the office of private tutor to the King." (*Ferishta*, ii, p. 193). For further particulars see *'A'in*, i, pp. 325, 541; *Ferishta*, ii, p. 201.

(2) *Ferishta* (ii, p. 194) says "Hajji Muhammad Khan Sîstânî a townsman of the Protector, was appointed to succeed Mullâ Pîr Muhammad as the King's preceptor". See also *Ma'athir-ul-Umara* i, pp. 548-551.

(3) The Mawlânâ, a pupil of Mawlânâ Jalâl Dawwânî Shâfi'î "was for sometime Akbar's teacher." (*'A'in*, i, p. 540). See also *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Nawal Kishore, 1873, p. 390.

(4) *Akbar Nama* (Beveridge), Vol. i, p. 589.

(5) *Akbar Nama*, Text, p., 271. I have purposely refrained from discussing Akbar's proficiency as a composer of Persian and Hindi verses, for such a discussion can hardly help me in gaining my point. However, those who wish to read the Persian verses of Akbar can see the *Akbar Nama* (Persian Text, Vol. i. p. 281), and *Majma-ul-Fusaha*, (Vol. i., p. 9) etc.

and takes delight in their verities and beauties[1] ".

The above statement is conclusive, for we not only find that Akbar knew how to read but also that he could *read fluently* such difficult books as Rûmî's *Masnawi* and the *Diwan* of Hâfiz. We also have, as I have said before, the authority of Abûl Fadl for stating that Akbar had a knowledge of the numeral figures and that he used to write them *with his own hand* on the margin of books; the relevant passage in the *'A'in* being:

,, وهر کتابی را از آغاز تا بانجام شنوند وهر روز که بدا نجا رسند بشماره آن هندسه بقلم گوهر بار خود نقش کنند و بعدد اوراق آن خواننده را نقد از سرخ وسفید بخشش شود ،،

Translation: " Experienced people bring them (*i.e.* books) daily and read them before His Majesty who hears every book from the beginning to the end. At whatever page the readers daily stop, His Majesty *writes with his bejewelled pen the numeral figures* according to the number of pages[2] and rewards the readers with presents of cash, either in gold or silver, according to the number of leaves read out by them ..."[3].

Now, let us place before the readers two important bits of evidence which go to prove that Akbar far from being utterly unlettered, could write words and sentences, and that one of his " autographs " is extant to this day

(1) *Akbar Nama*, (Beveridge), Vol. i, p. 520. Mr. Beveridge has translated روان می خوانند as " recites off-hand ", which is not quite correct, as it may suggest that he *recited from memory*. I have, therefore, translated it as " *reads fluently* ". I fear that Mr. Beveridge was under the impression that Akbar was utterly unlettered and therefore he translated the words as " recites off-hand ".

(2) The translation in " italics " is mine. Blockmann has translated: " *His Majesty makes with his own pen a sign* ", and omitted the translation of هندسه (numerals). If, however, we join هندسه with بشماره آن (as suggested by a friend) then we shall have to suppose that the manuscripts read out to Akbar bore folio numbers also. But, as we know, foliation of MSS. was an extremely rare practice in those days. An objection to my reading of the text has been taken on the ground that هندسه نقش کردن is very rarely used. But should it then be هندسه رقم کردن ? My point is that if Abûl Fadl really wanted to say that Akbar used to " make a sign " on the margin of books, why did he note write نقشی بقلم گوهر بار خود می کردند instead of writing. هندسه بقلم گوهر بار خود نقش می کردند

(3) *'A'in*, Blockmann, i. p. 103.

in an extremely valuable manuscript of the *Zafar Nama*[1], which was once in the possession of the Mughal Emperors of India and had been, as I shall show, later highly prized by them. It contains eight miniatures of exquisite beauty drawn by Bihzâd, the most famous painter that Persia has produced. The manuscript is remarkable in another respect also. It contains on the fly-leaf the autographs of Akbar, Jahângîr and Shâhjahân. Unfortunately, the photograph of the manuscript reproduced by Dr. Schulz in his excellent *Die persische islamische Miniaturmalerei* is far from satisfactory, as, towards the end, a portion of the manuscript has not been reproduced in the collotype reproduction.

First, let us examine the autograph of Jahângîr, which runs as follows :—

الله اکبر

کتاب ظفر نامه بخط مولانا

شیر علی وهشت مجلس تصویر

کار اوایل استاد بهزاد از کتاب خانه

حضرت عرش آستانی پدر بزرگوارمن

(داخل کتابخانه این بنده درگاه الهی) شد

حرره نورالدین محمد (جهانگیر شاه ابن) اکبر (شاه)

[Note : Words within parenthesis have been supplied by me.]

Translation : " God is Great. The book *Zafar Nama* in the handwriting of Mawlânâ Shîr 'Alî[2], containing eight miniatures of matchless beauty, executed by Ustâd Bihzâd in his early days, entered the library of this suppliant at the court of God, from the library of my father, Hadrat 'Arsh 'Astânî, written by Nûruddîn Muhammad (Jahângîr Shâh ibn) Akbar (Shâh....)".

The above note shows that this copy was in the library of Emperor Akbar.

(1) *Zafar Nama* was composed by Sharf-ud-dîn 'Alî Yazdî (d. 858, A. H.) in 828 A. H.

(2) The date of the transcription of the MS. which is in verse is as follows :—

تحریر چو تقریر به از درثمین　　حیران شده در صفائی او روح امین

از دست فقیر کمترین شیر علی　　اتمام کتابت است در بضع سنین

The letters of بضع سنین yield 872 A.H.—1467 A.D.

I am indebted to my esteemed friend Prof. H. M. Shirânî of Lahore (who examined the MS. in Paris) for the above chronogram.

The MS. forms part of the splendid collection of M. Victor de Goloubew of Paris, a well-known *connoisseur* of Oriental Art.

Now, the next note of Jahângîr, (the last portion of which has also been cut off from the photograph), reads as follows :—

این کلمه خط مبارك حضرت عرش آستانیست و میر جمال الدین حسین اینجو این نسخه را در دار الخلافه (آگره پیشکش نمود.....)

Translation : "This word is in the hand-writing of Hadrat 'Arsh 'Astânî (*i.e.*, Akbar), and Mîr Jamâluddîn Husain Injû[1] presented this manuscript in the Dâr'ul-Khilâfat (of Agra)."

Here is a definite and conclusive evidence testifying to the fact that Akbar could write words and that :

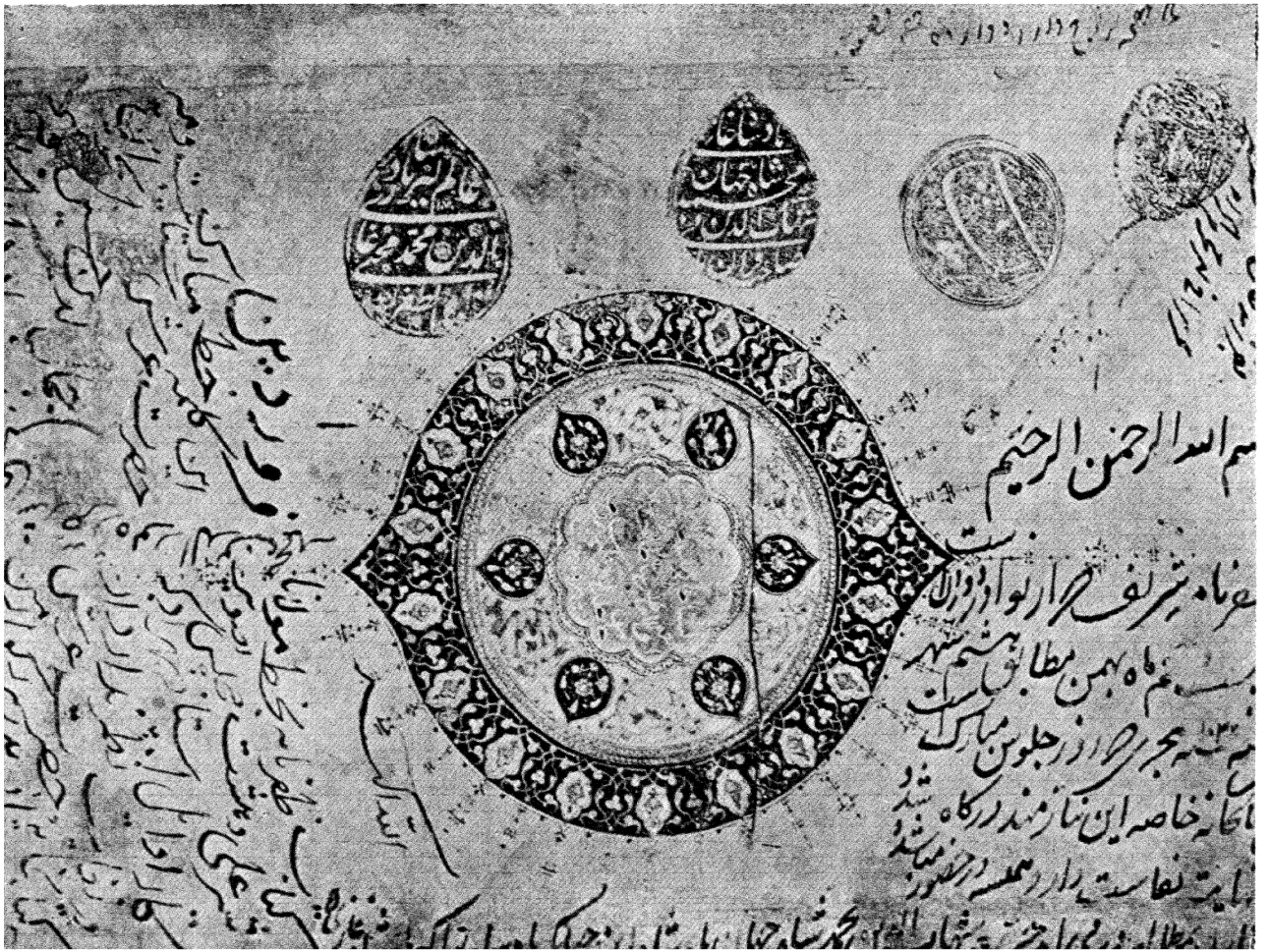
آفرور دین

found on the fly-leaf of the manuscript is in the hand-writing of Akbar himself. (*See Plate* 1).

But if we compare the above statement of Jahângîr (which is in his own handwriting) with what he has said in his autobiography, namely—that his father was an *Ummi*, we find that apparently he contradicts himself. We can, however, reconcile the two contradictory statements by saying that perhaps Jahângîr did not consider the degree of literacy attained by Akbar sufficiently high to bestow on him (Akbar) any other designation except that of *Ummi ;* or it is just possible that in order to bring into relief his father's qualities as a judge of the "niceties of verse and prose" and as a patron of poets and writers—in spite of his being practically illiterate—he might have purposely avoided any reference to his literacy, which appeared to Jahângîr not worth mentioning . And again, to compare great things with still greater, who does not know that the Prophet of Islâm excites the world's admiration more because he was *Ummi ?* Moreover, the exact connotation of the word *Ummi* is not settled ; it may not necessarily mean "utterly unlettered" as is generally supposed.

Now to the next piece of evidence which is taken from the *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi* of 'Abdul Bâqî Nahâwandî, who

(1) Mîr Jamâl-ud-dîn Husayn Injû is known to us as the compiler of *Farhang-i-Jahangiri*, which he presented to the Emperor Jahângîr in 1623 A.D. He was sent by Akbar to the Deccan to settle the marriage of Prince Dâniyâl with the daughter of 'Adil Shâh, the King of Bijâpûr (*Akbar Nama*, iii, p. 827). Afterwards, "accompanied by the Historian Ferishta, he went to Agrah, in order to lay before the Emperor 'such present, and tribute, as had never come from the Dak'hin'...." (*'A'in*, *i*, p. 450). I am inclined to believe that this valuable manuscript was included among the articles presented to Akbar.



Fly-leaf of *Zafar Nama* bearing autograph-notes of Emperors Akbar, Jâhangîr and Shâh Jahân.

[*To face p. 246.*

composed his work in 1025 A.H.=A.D. 1616, or only ten years, after the death of Akbar. As he wrote the book at the instance of 'Abdur Rahîm Khân Khânân and had the original documents at his disposal, there can hardly be any doubt as to the genuineness of the *Farmans* which are copied therein. With these two points in our mind, let us examine the *Farman*, which Akbar sent to the Khân Khânân, in 991 A.H. It is reproduced with the following heading in the *Ma'athir -i-Rahimi*[1] :—

"نقل فرمانی که بتاریخ نهصد ونود ویك هنگام توجه گجرات با این سپه سالار
انشا نموده اند و بدستخط خاصه این بزرگ را بخطاب فرزندی سرافراز ساخته"

Translation : "Copy of the *Farman* which was sent to this Commander-in-chief in 991, on the occasion of his march on Gujarât, and in which, he (Akbar) had, *with his own hand*, exalted him with the title of a son ".

After this heading, the author reproduces the actual words of Akbar, which are as follows :—

شرح دستخط خاصه این خلیفهٔ الهی که بر بالاے طغرا این والا قدر را بر تبهٔ
فرزندی بلند مرتبه گرادنیده آمد آنکه : فرزند عبد الرحیم بداند

Translation : " Copy of the Royal autograph which was transcribed above the *Tughra* in the actual hand-writing of the Viceregent of God (*i.e.*, Akbar) and in which he, (*i.e.*, Akbar) had exalted him (*i.e.*, the Khân Khânân) with the title of a son, is as follows :—

فرزند عبد الرحیم بداند....

(*i.e.*, ' May 'Abdur Rahîm, the son, know.....')"

Here we have another proof of the fact that Akbar was able to write words and sentences, *with his own hand.*

It has been suggested in this connection that possibly Akbar had copied the words (just as many illiterates do) from some original placed before him. The suggestion might have been worthy of consideration but for the fact that the actual words written by Akbar are before us (*See Plate* 1) and, no doubt, even a casual observer can notice that the words :—

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do not seem to have been written by some blind imitator ; rather their style (*Shan*) points to a tolerably good, though

(1) Asiatic Society of Bengal MS. (which was collated by the author himself), fol. 306*b*. The MS. is being edited by Principal M. Hidayat Husain in the *Bib. Indica Series.*

rather unsteady hand. My opinion is shared by several competent scholars of Persian who have examined the autograph and have discussed the subject with me.

Before offering my concluding remarks, I should like to invite attention to certain supposed autographs of Akbar, which are said to be preserved in the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta, and the India Office Library, London. I have examined the two so-called autographs in the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta, and am convinced that far from being the autographs of Akbar, whether genuine or forged, there is not the slightest indication in the manuscripts themselves to the effect that they contain even a word from the pen of the Emperor. And here, one cannot but admire the boldness and ingenuity of the scholars who have advised the authorities of the Hall to publish the following description of the manuscript in their *Catalogue* : —

> " 904. Manuscript copy of Fatuhat Makki (In five volumes), A Book on Sufism by Mohiuddin Arabi in Arabic Language.
>
> Volume I is in the handwriting of the Emperor Jahangir. Volume II in that of Abdur Rahim Khan, son of Bieram Khan and Volume III in that of Akbar the Great. Presented by H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad, 1905 ".[1]

On an examination of the manuscript I found that all the five volumes have been written by *one* person and *not* by " three " different persons as stated in the *Catalogue*, and that their copyist is a professional scribe, Sharîf Muhammad ibn Nasîr Muhammad Miyânjîq, who signs his name at the end of one of the volumes : —

" وذالك بخط احقر عباد الله شريف محمد ابن نصير محمد ميانجيق "

It may be added here that the manuscript contains on the fly-leaf autograph-notes from the pens of Jahângîr (dated 26th Shawwâl, 1028 A.H.) and 'Abdur Rahîm Khân Khânân.

(1) The Victoria Memorial Hall: *Illustrated Catalogue of the Exhibits*, (Calcutta, 1925), p. 50.

The other autograph of Akbar is said to be on an illustrated manuscript of *Anwar-i-Suhayli*. the following description of which is given in the Illustrated Catalogue of the Hall :

> " 320. Anwari--Soheili with illustrations, written in 924 A. H. (1518 A.D.) during the reign of Akbar and bears his signature. Presented by Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, 1904."[1]

An examination of the above manuscript also proved disappointing, as I was unable to find the signature of Akbar or any other royal personage. It only contains a few *Irddidas*, and I suppose that endorsements like, الله اکبر ، عرضد یدہ شد and الله اکبر دیدہ شد etc have led the " expert " adviser to call them autographs of Akbar.

The third so-called autograph of Akbar is said to be on a Kûfic *Qur'an*, which is supposed to have been transcribed by 'Uthmân, the third Orthodox Caliph. Dr. Loth, who has prepared a descriptive Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the India Office Library, states that the aforesaid copy contains " the seal and signature of Akbar and others on the last page. "[2] I am unable to say whether Dr. Loth's statement is correct or whether he has also been misled by endorsements, like الله اکبر دیدہ شد or الله اکبر عرضد یدہ شد etc., to have supposed them to be autographs of Akbar !

Will some scholar in London enlighten us on the point ?

After this little digression, let me state in conclusion that the material in the foregoing pages is expected to convince even the most sceptical of readers that Akbar was not " utterly unlettered " as has been asserted by his historians ; and to make him agree with me when I say that the translators of *'A'in-i-Akbari* and *Akbar Nama* have apparently done an injustice to the Emperor by their ambiguous and even incorrect translation of those passages of the *'A'in* and the *Akbar Nama* which attribute to Akbar some degree of literacy. I have invited attention to these inaccuracies and have, in addition produced " two " new

(1) *Ibid*, p. 24.

(2) *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the India Office Library London*, p. 2.

pieces of evidence of remarkable value and interest which go to show that Akbar *could write words and sentences with his own hand.*

Finally, I may just point to the fresh field of enquiry in Akbar's biography as being of great interest and of greater possibilities, for the whole problem of literacy with reference to this great Emperor takes a new turn in the light of the arguments and data presented in the foregoing pages.

M. MAHFUZ-UL-HAQ.

INCURSIONS OF THE MUSLIMS INTO FRANCE FROM THE BEGINNING UP TO THEIR EXPULSION FROM NARBONNE AND LANGUEDOC IN 759 A.C.

PART I.

MUSA IBN-I NUSAIR, first governor of the European provinces 711-714 : Subjugation of Narbonne and Carcassonne, 711 ; Constitution of the European provinces. EL HUR IBN-I 'ABD-UR-RAHMAN ETH -THAQAFI, 717-719 : Advance to Nîmes, 718. ES-SAMH IBN-I MALIK EL-KHOWLANI, 719-721 ; Battle of Toulouse and death of the Governor ; General treatment of the Christians ; Loss of the French district except Narbonne. 'ANSABAH IBN-I SAHIM EL-KALBI, 721-725 : Invasion of France ; Carcassonne and Nîmes open their gates ; Death of 'Ansabah on the battlefield. 'AZRAH IBN-I 'ABDULLAH EL-FAHRI , 726 : Septimania up to the Rhône, the Albigenses, Rouergue, Gevaudun, le Veley under Muslim domination ; Capture of Brioude. YAHYA IBN-I SELMAH EL-KALBI, 726 : Dauphine, Lyonnais, Burgundy, Vienne, Lyons, Macon, Chalon Beaume, Saulier and Autun in Muslim hands. 'ABD-UR RAHMAN EL-GHAFIQI, 731-732 : Cordova made the capital of the province of Andalus ; invasion of Arles ; Battle of the Rhône, 732 ; The Dordogne crossed ; Bordeaux occupied, 732 ; Battle of the Balâtush-Shuhada' (Tours and Poitiers), 732 ; The Muslims hold Septimania and Provence ; Nîmes, Maguelone and Bêziers enjoy their peculier liberties. 'ABD-UL MALIK IBN-I QUTN EL-FAHRI, 732-734 : Yûsuf, Lt. Governor of Narbonne, takes Arles ; Battle of the Durance. 'UQBAH IBN-UL HAJJAJ ES-SELULI, 734-740 : Dauphine attacked ; St. Paul-Trois-Chateau and Donzêre captured ; Occupation of Valence, subjugation of Lyons and invasion of Burgundy ; The Muslims in Piedmont ; Loss of Avignon and massacre of the Muslims ; Relations of the Muslims and Christians of Southern France with Charles Martel. YUSUF IBN-I 'ABD-UR RAHMAN EL-FAHRI, 746-756: Civil war in Spain ; Languedoc stripped of Muslim forces ; Pepin occupies Adge, Maguelone and Bêziers. Fall of Narbonne by a trick.

An Arab Author, describing the conquest of Spain by his countrymen, quotes a saying of the Prophet of Islam to the effect that the once kingdoms of the world had been stretched out before him and his eyes had traversed the whole distance between the Orient and the Occident ; the Prophet is reported to have said that all

that had been shown to him that day should eventually pass to the dominion of his people[1]. The prophecy came very near to being completely fulfilled, and, as a matter of fact, it seemed as if the whole world would come under the rule of the Mussulmans. In a few years after the death of the Prophet, Mesopotamia, Syria, Persia, Egypt and Africa as far as the great Western Ocean, were subjugated by the Muslims, and while on the one hand the Arab warriors invaded Spain, and advancing across France, threatened to conquer the whole European continent, on the other, they crossed the barriers of the Oxus and the Indus, and it was seriously felt that they would not be stopped by any boundaries save those which nature had given to the earth on which man lived.

The centre of this vast empire was the Syrian town, Damascus, while the supreme authority in matters spiritual as well as temporal lay in the person of the Omayyad Khalîfah of Islam. At the time with which we are about to deal, the Khalîfah regnant was Walîd.

While moving across the African continent, the Arabs had come into contact with certain nomadic tribes of the interior, especially those living near the Atlas mountains, who bore the generic name of Berbers. These races had successfully withstood the Carthaginians and the Romans in the past, and now followed a number of religions such as Judaism, Christianity and idolatry. The greater part of this people spoke the Berber language, which lives on right up to the present day, while others conversed in a language resembling Arabic, Hebrew and Phœnician[2]. They were really either the remnant of the people of Canaan and Phœnicia who had left the country of their origin at the time of Joshua or perhaps a little later and made the shores of the African continent their home[3]; or according to the opinion of certain Arab savants, were

(1) Maqqari: *Geographical and historical description of Spain*, in Arabic, Eg. Edition, 1302 A.H. Vol. 1 p. 106.

This work is in a number of volumes and was composed in the beginning of the XVII Century. It is well worth a study because the author has drawn on certain authorities now unknown to us. We might here mention that Conde was not aware of it.

(2) *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, Extract from Ibn-i-Khaldûn's *Prolegomena* by M. Schulz, Vol. 11, p. 117 ff.

(3) Procope: *Histoire de la guerre des Vandales*, Bk. 11, Cap. 10; and M. Dureau de Lamalle: *Recherches sur L'histoire de la partie de L'Afrique septentrionale, connue sous le nom de Regence d'Alger*, (Report of a commission appointed by the Academy of Inscriptions and Fine Arts), Paris, 1835, Vol. I, p. 114 ff. Also the extract from Ibn-i-Khaldun, Supra.

descended from the tribes of Yemen and Arabia Felix, belonging to the faith of Moses, who were obliged to leave their country owing to the persecution of the Ethiopians who were then the masters of that part of the peninsula of Arabia, and had migrated to these distant regions across the provinces of the Roman Empire during the first century of the Christian era.[1] Whatever the origin of these races may have been, this linguistic resemblance between the invaders and the Berbers led a long way towards the rapid success of the Arabs,[2] and although the Berbers as a rule continued to follow their old cults, they stretched out their helping hand to the new-comers in the enterprises on which they were about to embark. Both races were accustomed to a nomadic and adventurous life which lent itself admirably to zealous struggles and enthusiastic triumphs.

From the time that the power of the conquerors was established in Africa, they had begun to think of crossing the small channel which separated that part of the world from Europe. The governor of the African province on behalf of the Khalîfah of Damascus was Mûsa son of Nûsair. Born in the later years of the rule of the Khalîfah Omar[3], Mûsa had been brought up in ideas of proselytising and religious wars which were the characteristics of that epoch. Although at the time with which we are dealing he was nearly eighty, he had still in him all the vigour of youth. Spain was then under the sway of Roderic, King of the Visigoths, whose Kingdom included Roussillon, a part of Provence and the Languedoc, so that his banner flew over a large number of flourishing towns and was carried in the vanguard of numerous armies. But the spirit of disunion had taken possession of the Visigoths, and corruption had weakened the courage of the people, so that it was easy to perceive that a kingdom, though very powerful in appearance, would yet succumb to the attack of a comparatively small number of enthusiastic invaders, who, while thirsting for booty, sincerely believed that they had been deputed by their God to put the affairs of the world in order.

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(1) *Vide* Ibn-i-Khaldûn, *op. cit.* Also *vide* the article " Berber " in the *Encyclopedie pittoresque*, by M. Avezac.

(2) At the same time it must be pointed out that the Social and linguistic homogeneity of Berbers came in the way of the Arab conquerors for while Syria, Persia and Egypt were conquered without much effort, it took nearly half a century for the Muslims to conquer Barbary [*Tr.*].

(3) *Vide* En-Nujûm-uz-Zâhirah, Vol. I. p. 261 where 19 A.H. (639 A.C.) is mentioned as Mûsa's date of birth. [*Tr.*].

The first attempt made by Mûsa to land on the European continent was accomplished with the help of a few Berbers who landed at a place where the town of Tarifa now stands,[1] overran the coast of Andalusia, lifted cattle from wherever they found them and destroyed undefended towns. As the Berbers did not meet with any resistance, Mûsa in the following year (711 A.C.) sent a much larger Berber force, twelve thousand strong, commanded by his former slave Târiq son of Ziâd—the same Târiq who gave his name to the rock of Gibralter on which he landed[2]. While the pious among the Mussulmans thought that the war on which they were about to embark was one which would swell the ranks of the Faithful, to those who aimed only at glory, wealth and pleasure it seemed that they would enter a land, rich and fertile, where they would be able to find all that usually lends itself to human desires.

This comparatively small force under Târiq's leadership proved to be quite sufficient to put an end to the army of the Goths. Roderic was beaten and his head sent as a trophy to the court of Damascus[3]. In less than a year Târiq had taken possession of the cities of Cordova, Malaga and Toledo. An Arab writer narrates the story that Târiq killed some prisoners by way of inspiring terror among his enemies and sent their flesh to his soldiers[4]. One of

(1) This place was named after the Berber leader Tarif.

(2) Gibralter or Jebel-ut-Târiq, means Târiq's hill. Conde was mistaken in supposing that Tarîf and Târiq were identical persons. *Vide* Novavry.

(3) It is not quite clear how Roderic actually met his death. According to the general tradition he disappeared after the battle of the Guadalette, and it is believed that he fell in battle. We do not know how the learned author has concluded that his head was sent to Damascus. On the other hand Dr. Rafeel Altamira actually says that Roderic survived the action and even took part in the war against the Muslims. *Vide* Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. II, pp. 185, 186. [*Tr.*]

(4) *Histoire de la conquete de l'Espagne par les Mussulmans*, by Ibn-ul Qûtiah ; Arab. MSS. of the Royal Library, Anc. Fonds, No. 706. The author wrote in the later half of the tenth century. His name means ' *son of the Goth* ' and signifies that he was descended from the ancient masters of the peninsula. We find in the same volume a chronicle of the earlier centuries of the Muslim rule by a contemporary writer whose citations sometimes savour of a large amount of certainty.

[The translator regrets that he has not been able to verify this account from Ibn-ul-Qûtiah ; the episode is however, mentioned by Abd-ur Rahman ibn-ul Hakam (who died in 257 A.H. *i.e.*, 870 A.C.) in his History of the conquest of Andalus (D. J. H. Jones edit., Goettingen, 1858 Arabic Text. p. 3.) This author mentions human flesh of certain vintners, who belonged to the side of the enemy, being prepared, but says that it was only a ruse to strike terror among the opposing soldiery, and that the flesh was really thrown away. Thus spread the news among the Christians that the invaders were cannibals. [*Tr.*]

the principal causes of his remarkable success was the support which the invaders found in the Jewish population which at that time formed quite a considerable portion of the inhabitants of Spain. The Jews were longing to take revenge for the vexations and hardships to which they had been exposed under the rule of the Christian Goths, and sympathised with the conquerors among whom they saw a large number of men who also belonged to the Jewish faith.

Mûsa now wanted to have a share in the glorious enterprise himself. He hastened from Africa with another army of Arabs and Berbers, among whom was one of the Prophet's own companions aged nearly 100 years,[1] as well as a number of the descendants of the Prophet's companions. Mûsa took his army to different parts of the country and subjugated Merida, Sarragossa and some other cities. He now tried to penetrate further into the enemy's country and took with him the élite of his forces which were all lightly armed. The infantry was composed of a very small number of soldiers and carried nothing with their arms excepting a provision-sack and a copper basin. Every squadron and battalion had a certain number of mules for the purposes of transport.

The Arab authorities relate that Mûsa followed up his success, penetrating right into the French territory. At Narbonne he found in a church seven statues made of pure silver, while at Carcassonne he took from St. Mary's Church seven huge columns of solid silver[2]. The name of France in the Arabic language meant '*Vast Land*', and connoted all the portions of territory situated between the Pyrennees, the Atlantic Ocean, the river Elbe and the Greek Empire, landmarks which were the frontiers of Charles Martel, Pepin and Charlemagne, and where, as the Arabs themselves confessed quite a large number of dialects were spoken.

What astounded the Christians most was the extraordinary phenomenon that the Mussulman forces were to be found in various places almost simultaneously. When a part of the country submitted to them, the conquerors not only respected the property of the inhabitants but also the established form of their religion. They, however, took over a few churches which they turned into mosques and confiscated the goods belonging to them.

(1) The name of this venerable companion of the Prophet was Munaizir—*vide* Maqari, Vol. II., p. 52. (*Tr.*)

(2) Maqqari, Vol. I. p. 180.

They also took possession of all the vacant lands and everything left by the owners who had migrated elsewhere. At the same time they seized all the arms and horses which might prove useful to them in their onward march. Lastly they imposed a tribute on the inhabitants of the country, the rate of which varied with the condition of different places, and obtained from them hostages as a guarantee for their good faith. Those parts of the peninsula, however, which did not lay down their arms without fighting, were exposed to all the violence of conquest, and the tribute which was levied on them was double that levied on others.[1] Sometimes the Mussulmans deemed it necessary to leave a garrison in the towns which they left behind, which partly consisted of Spanish Jews, whose hatred of the Christians was a sufficient guarantee of their loyalty towards the conquerors.

The Arab authors describe how Mûsa intended to return to the court of his master, the Khalîfah of Islam at Damascus, by way of Germany, the Straits of Constantinople and Asia Minor, thus threatening to change the Mediterranean into a huge lake which might serve the purpose of a communicating link between the various provinces of this huge Empire.[2]

The Christian authors make absolutely no mention of Mûsa's entry into France, and it seems probable that this invasion was limited to a few light incursions. It is, however, certain that at this juncture Christianity ran the greatest risk of being reduced to a dependent religion, and the present-day Christians might shiver at the very thought of what would have happened if discord and disunion had not divided the ranks of the Muslim conquerors.

From the very commencement of the conquest of Spain, Mûsa had viewed with keen jealousy the glory with which his lieutenant Târiq was shining on the firmament of contemporary politics. Moreover, it is extremely likely that Mûsa would have liked to appropriate the greater part of the booty himself, while easing his conscience by sending a few precious objects to his master, and thus satisfying the Quranic precept ordaining that a fifth of the booty should go to the ruler. Târiq, on the other hand, wanted to follow this order strictly according

(1) We will speak later of the taxes levied by the Muslims in France as well as of their system of administration.

(2) Maqqari, Vol. I. p. 128 (who has called this part of Europe Erd-ul-Kabîr or Vast Land. *Tr.*)

to the law of Islam, so that after reserving the fifth for the Khalîfah he distributed the rest to his soldiers. The quarrel between the two leaders came to such a head that the Khalîfah began to consider that the only way out of the difficulty was to order the two rivals to appear before him.

The conquest of Spain and of a part of the Languedoc was accomplished in less than two years. Mûsa appointed his son 'Abd-ul-Aziz as his representative and fixed Seville as the capital of the newly acquired territories, while he appointed another of his sons to take charge of the government of Africa with his capital at Qairuân, a town situated a few days' journey from Tunis towards the interior of the country. The government of Spain was to be under the general supervision of the governor of Africa.

As Mûsa had no fleet at his disposal which might take him to Syria, he chose the land route and, after crossing the Straits of Gibraltar followed the African Coast-line as far as Egypt. He had in his train fifty thousand hostages furnished by the vanquished nations, among whom were to be seen four hundred picked men of the noble families, each of whom, according to the Arab historian, had the right of wearing a girdle and a golden crown. Moreover, Mûsa had with him a tremendous amount of booty, some of which was carried in wagons and the remainder on beasts of burden.[1]

The dispute between Mûsa and his lieutenant had not yet been settled when the Khalîfah Walîd died in 715 A.C. and was succeeded by his brother Sulaimân. The new ruler treated the old warrior very badly, and not only imposed an extremely heavy penalty on him but began to prosecute his relations as well. Mûsa's son, 'Abdul Azîz, who was governor of Spain, had distinguished himself by his bravery and endeared himself to the Spanish people by his sense of justice and kindness. Like so many Arab leaders he wished to marry a Spanish lady, and chose the late King Roderic's widow to be his wife. His affection for his new wife and the care with which he looked after the welfare of the people whose destiny was given to his charge, gave his enemies another pretext for accusing him of a desire to make himself the sovereign ruler of the new country. He was consequently ordered to be killed outright and his head was sent to Damascus where it was shown to his old father who was even then

(1) Maqqari, Vol. I. p. 180 ; Ibn ul-Qutiah.

as full of youthful ambition as he had ever been before. At the sight of his son's head the old man was so horrified that he cursed the day when he had sacrificed his comfort and his blood for such a barbarous master,[1] and went to die at home near Medîna. Târiq also spent the remaining days of his life in obscurity.[2]

These events did not fail to give considerable trouble to the conquering nations, and their progress was consequently arrested. Moreover the attention of the ruler of Damascus and of the Muslims of Asia and Africa was fixed on Constantinople, which was now besieged by an army of one hundred and twenty thousand Muslims and a fleet of eighteen hundred sail from the ports of Syria and Egypt. In spite of this distraction the Arabian authors[3] mention some new incursions carried out in the Languedoc under El-Hur in 718. They say that the conquerors advanced as far as Nîmes without meeting any serious obstacle and recrossed the Pyrennees with a large number of women and children as prisoners. It was then the custom both among the Christians and the Mussulmans that every soldier had a share in the booty captured from the enemy, and as it was comparatively easy for the captors to sell the captives or else employ them in their households, they formed perhaps the most valuable part of the booty captured.

The Southern provinces of France were not in fit condition to oppose such a powerful enemy. This was the era of the *rois faineants*, and the part of the Languedoc which was called Gothia (owing to the stay of the Goths), as well as Septimania (which was so called on account of the

(1) Ibn Qutaibah (el Imâmah was Siâsah, Cairo 1331 A.H., Part II, pp. 79-81) has given a detailed account of the conversation between the Khalifa and Mûsa, but we find no trace of the " curse " in it. [*Tr.*]

(2) Mûsa died at Wâdi-ul-Qurâ while on pilgrimage to Mecca with Khalîfa Sulaimân in 97 A.H. (715 A.C.) *Vide* Ibn-Taghravi Leiden, 1851, Vol. I. p. 261. [*Tr.*]

(3) They are followed in this matter by a contemporary writer, Isidore, bishop of Beja and by Roderic Ximenès, archbishop of Toledo. Isidore's account, as we read it in ordinary editions, is disfigured by a number of mistakes. Whatever quotations we give will therefore be from a copy included in the *Cartas para illustrar la Historia de la Espana Arabe*, p. xx. ff. duly corrected after reading a number of manuscripts. As to Roderic Ximenès, who wrote in the XIII century and who in the main followed Arab authors, his literary relationship may be discovered with the Arabic chronicle of Elmacin which has been published in Arabic and Latin by Erpenius, Leyden, 1625, in fol.

seven large towns, namely Narbonne, Nîmes, Agde, Béziers, Lodéve, Carcassonne and Maguelone situated there) were included in the territory of Eudes, Duke of Acquitaine. But Eudes, who was proud to be descended from Clovis and who was consequently related to the princes of Northern France[1], was much vexed to see the Mayors of the Palace in the ascendant in those parts, and his policy consisted in preventing those ambitious officials from supplanting the authority of their masters. On the other hand the Mayors of the Palace only dreamt of increasing their own power, and were occupied in maintaining the authority of the Franks, which extended right into German territory, and watched with indifference the progress of the Mussulmans northward.

Thus both the Languedoc and Provence, which had so far been governed by the Goths, were left to rely entirely on their own resources. Although the mass of the population which was descended from the Gauls and the Roman colonists was still named after the early Roman conquerors, yet the ruling classes were of the Gothic stock. The two races preserved a clear line of demarcation, so that each followed its own customs and usage. In addition to this state of affairs there were certain groups which aimed at arrogating to themselves all power and authority.

What saved the South of France was the disunion and disorder which appeared very early among the conquerors themselves. We have seen that Spain was a part of the great Province of Africa, which was directly subordinate to the Khalîfah reigning at Damascus. It was naturally impossible that such a divided authority, the seat of which was to be found simultaneously in a number of countries, should be able to preserve order among men who had taken part in the conquest and to keep the balance between the Arabs and Berbers on the one hand and between the Muslims and non-Muslims on the other. Moreover, as the land taken away from the Christians had become the prize only of the powerful, the ordinary soldiers complained of not having been awarded sufficient for their services, and were more than once led to commit acts of violence.

Another circumstance which proved to be fortunate for France, was the resistance which some of the Spanish

(1) Here we have followed the opinion expressed in Don Vaissette' *Histoire generale du Languedoc*, which has been accepted by the author of the *Art de verifier les Dates*.

Christians began to offer to the aggressors. A handful of soldiers, loyal to their religion and their country, fled to the mountains of the Asturias, Galicia and Navarre, and under the leadership of Pelayo embarked on a struggle which came to an end only with the complete expulsion of the Mussulmans from Spain[1].

When the new Khalîfah of Damascus, Omar son of Abdul Azîz, came to know of the real state of affairs in the West, he appointed Es-Samh, a man already known in Spain for his zeal and ability, to remedy these evils. The new representative of the Central Government was celebrated both as an administrator and as a soldier, and the Khalîfah charged him with the work of improving of the finances of the country and of pacifying the army. He immediately redistributed the land acquired in the recent conquests among the soldiers and such honest and trustworthy persons as might be relied upon to pay their quota of revenue to the public treasury. Moreover, the new Governor was ordered to prepare an exact census of the conquered lands, which should contain not only the statistics of their human population but also indicate their exact economic resources[2].

The pious Khalîfah, Omar, was frightened of letting such a large population in Spain remain faithful to their old religion, and perhaps would have liked to have compelled the Christians of Spain and of Septimania to leave their country and to live somewhere in the very heart of the Empire where their presence might not be so dangerous. Es-Samh, however assured the Prince that the

(1) The story of the early efforts of the Spanish Christians in the mountains of northern Spain to throw off the yoke of the Mussulmans is related by the Arab as well as the Christian authors. It is Conde's mistake not to have mentioned it and his silence has caused some to believe that their account is without foundation.

(2) A contemporary writer, Isidore de Bèja, says on p. L : " Zama ulteriorem vel citeriorem Hiberniam proprio stylo ad vectigalia inferenda describit praedia et manualia, vel quidquid illud es quod olim praedabiliter indivisum redemptabat in Hispaniâ gens omnis Arabica, sorte sociis dividendo (partem reliquis militibus dividendam), partem ex omne re mobili et immobili fisco associat." The corresponding passage of Roderic Ximenès is worded thus : " Zama proprio stylo descripsit vectigalia Hispanorum ; et quod prius indivisum ab Arabibus habebatur, ipse partem reliquis militibus dividendam, partem fisco de mobîlibus et immobilibus assignavet, et Galliam narbonensam divisione simile ordinavit.''—Roderic Ximenès, Historia Arabum, p. 10. Also *vide* Conde, (Eng. Tr.) Vol. I. p. 99 ff. Conde attributes to Es-Samh's successor what is generally attributed to Es-Samh himself. We have already said that this question will be discussed when we come to the taxes imposed by the Muslim rulers of Spain and France.

number of the newly converted Muslims was increasing by leaps and bounds every day, and the time was drawing near when there would be no law left in Spain save that of Islam. The Arab authors from whom we have taken this narrative, wrote at the time when the Christians had already come down from their mountain fastnesses and had begun to spread in the southern provinces of Spain, and they deplore the governor's weakness, regretting that the idea of the Khalîfah was not carried out[1].

Es-Samh was also ordered to rekindle among his warriors that zeal and enthusiasm against the Christians which had become slightly cold owing to the fact that so many ambitions of theirs had already been satisfied. He was to tell them that the Holy War was most pleasing to God Almighty and was the source of all Divine favours in this as well as the next world.

After he had succeeded in establishing order in the newly conquered provinces, Es-Samh, made up his mind to satisfy his zeal by some brilliant exploit. He could have turned his efforts against the Christians of the North and crushed them before they had time to strengthen their positions, but he preferred to march into France instead, thus making up his mind to succeed where Mûsa had failed before him. This was in 721, when the occupant of the throne of Damascus was Yezîd who had succeeded the pious Khalîfah Omar II. It is now that the French Chroniclers begin to talk of the bands of the Saracens and their leader 'Zama', who came accompanied by their wives and daughters, old and young, with the intention of permanently occupying the fair land of France. Ever since the conquest of Spain eleven years before, many poor families of Arabia and Syria, Egypt and Africa, had been migrating to that country, and their leaders looked forward to conquering new lands in order to satisfy the numberless needs of these people[2].

Following in the footsteps of his predecessors, in title, Es-Samh advanced right into the Languedoc and laid siege to Narbonne which had no doubt been fortified in the

(1) Ibn ul-Qūtiah; Maqqari Vol. II. p. 56. Here M. Reinaud seems to have misunderstood the whole passage. What the Khalîfa Omar II wanted was that the Muslims should be called back from Spain as they had strayed off from the land of Islam. Maqqari seems to have regretted why this was not done. Also *vide* Ibn-ul-'Azari: Bayon-al-Maghrib, Dozi edit, Leiden 1849, Vol. II. p. 25. [*Tr.*].

(2) Cf. Dom Bouquet's chronicle of the abbey of Moissac, in the collection entitled the *Historiens des Gaules*, Vol. II., p. 654; Paul Diacre: *De gestis Langobardorum*, in Muratori's collection called *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Vol. I, part i., p. 505.

interval. The town was forced to open its gates, while the conquerors put its male inhabitants to the sword and turned women and children into slaves. Narbonne, situated as it was near the sea and in the very centre of the marshy lands, was on the one hand open to the attack of the Muslim navy, while on the other it could be made strong enough to make a prolonged resistance to the army of the enemy. With these considerations before his mind, Es-Samh decided to make it a Franco-Muslim stronghold, and consequently strengthened its already existing fortifications. After making his position secure and occupying the neighbouring towns, he marched towards Toulouse, the capital of Acquitaine. Eudes, fearing for the safety of his capital, hastened to its help with all the forces he could command. But the Mussulmans had already commenced the siege of the town ; they were using the catapults which they had brought with them, and were trying to push the inhabitants from the ramparts by means of their slings. The result was that when Eudes arrived, the town was already on the point of surrendering to the enemy. However, the Christian forces which were now hurled on the besiegers were so numerous that (according to the Arab writers) the dust raised by their feet darkened the very daylight. Es-Samh was constantly tuning up the spirit of his soldiery and reciting to them the passages of Holy Writ that when God Himself was for them who could be against them. The Arab authorities say that the two armies advanced against one another with the impetuosity of a torrent as it rushes from the top of a hill, or like two mountains which might be fighting a tremendous duel. The battle was fiercely fought and the success was for a long time uncertain. Es-Samh showed himself at all points of the battlefield, everywhere encouraging his soldiers by his sword as well as by his gestures, while his passage was marked by long traces of blood dripping from his sword. But while he was in the midst of the thickest mélée, a lance struck him and he fell dead from his horse. Seeing the brave leader fall, the Saracens lost all heart and retired leaving the battlefield covered with the corpses of their gallant comrades. This battle took place in the month of May, 721, and in it perished a large number of illustrious Mussulmans some of whom had taken a prominent part in the previous conquests[1], the

(1) Cf., Conde : *Historia*, Vol. I, Eng. Tr. Vol. I, pp. 95 , 96; Isidore de Beja, p. L ; Anastase the Librarian : *Vie du Pape Gregoire II*, in Muratori's great collection, Vol. III, part i, p. 155 ; and the Moissac chronicle, collection of the *Historiens de France*, Vol. II, p. 654.

remnant retiring into Spain under the leadership of 'Abdur-Rahmàn, the '*Abderame*' of the French chroniclers.

This success encouraged the people of the Languedoc and the Pyrennees, who hurried to shake off the Muslim yoke. The Saracens, however, remained masters of Narbonne, and the possession of this advanced post facilitated their incursions in the neighbourhood. When help was at last sent to them from Spain, they restarted their offensive and put to fire and sword nearly the whole province of the Languedoc.

During the time with which we are dealing it was thought that the churches and convents were places where any amount of wealth was hoarded. In addition to this consideration it was but natural for the Saracens to hurl themselves against these outward places of piety since it was these asylums of refuge which were the first to give the signal for resistance. But we must also remember that what little gleaning we get of the events of this period of the history of France is the work of monks and clergymen, so that it is not surprising that churches and convents are made to play such a large part in the narratives which have come down to us.

Some of the documents going back to a fairly early epoch relate how the Saracens destroyed the Monastery of St. Bausile near Nîmes, the convent of St. Gilles near Arles, and the rich abbey of Psalmodie near Aiguemortes. It is said that the last named abbey was so called because the monks had taken a vow to sing the praises of the Almighty night and day. However, the arrival of the Mussulmans was so sudden that the monks had no time to flee to a place of refuge or to remove the relics of the Saints to a safer place[1]. The foreigners took care to smash the church bells and the instruments with which the clergy called the Faithful to prayer[2].

There is no doubt that the Muslims met with some resistance on the part of the inhabitants of the country. As a general rule the Muslims did not commit such acts of voilence in those parts of the country which submitted to them of their own free will, and of course it may be that these incursions were the work of a few isolated bands of the invaders.

In 724 the new governor, 'Ambissa resolved to prosecute the war with vigour, and himself crossed the Pyrennees

(1) *Vide, Histoire de Nimes*, by Menard, Vol. I, p. 98 ff.
(2) Novayry.

with a large army. Carcassonne was soon taken and delivered to the fury of the soldiers ; Nîmes opened its gates and its hostages were sent to Barcelona to be responsible for the loyalty of its inhabitants[1]. Isidore of Beja says that the conquests of 'Ambissa were due to his shrewdness rather than mere force of arms, and so great was the im portance of these conquests that the silver looted from Gaul this time was double that of what had been obtained in the previous year[2]. The course of these conquests was somewhat slackened by 'Ambissa's death which occurred during one of these expeditions in the next year (725), and his lieutenant, Hodeyra, was obliged to take his army back to the frontier. But war soon broke out afresh and auxiliary contingents were sent from Spain to the war area. In view of the fact that the Mussulman armies had met with so little resistance, the commanders were not afraid of sending the contingents in all directions, and, as an Arab author says, the wind of Islam began for the time to blow from all sides against the Christian foe. The country of Septimania right up to the Rhöne, the Albigeois, Rouergue, Gévaudun and le Velay were overrun by the invaders and were subjected to the most terrible ravages, so that what was left by the sword was given over to the fire. The horror was so great that there were not a few among the invaders themselves who were thoroughly shocked and disgusted. Nothing save such precious objects as could be carried away escaped destruction, and articles such as arms, horses and weapons, which could increase the strength of the conquerors and weaken the natives were taken back to Spain.

Among the places which had to suffer at the hands of the conquerors we read the name of the diocese of Rhodês. They settled down in a castle which some believe to have been at Roqueprieve, while others name Balaquier as the most probable place[3]. The Muslims were helped by the

(1) Moissac's chronicle. Collection of the *Historiens des Gaules* Vol. II, p. 654.

(2) We should like to quote the exact words of Isidore de Beja, which are extremely clear : " Ambiza cum gente Francorum pugnas meditando et per directos satrapas insequendo, infeliciter certat. Fertivis vero obreptionibus per lacertorum cuneos nonnullus civitates demutilando stimulat : Sicque vectigalia christianis duplicata exagitans, fascibus honorum apud Hispanias valde triumphat." *Cartas*, p. LII. Some authors have concluded from this passage that 'Ansabah doubled the rate of taxes which were levied on the Christians of France ; but we think that this conclusion does not tally with the actual facts of the case.

(3) *Vide, Essais historiques sur le Rouergue,* by the Baron of Gaujal, Limoges, 1824, 2 Vols. in 8vo., vol. I, p. 170. M. de Gaujal

inhabitants of the neighbourhood in their undertaking, so that they overran the country without any fear of reprisals. We have the evidence of a poet who wrote in the beginning of the ninth century, and it is of such importance that we cannot help quoting it here. He says that there was a certain young man named Datus or Dadon who had taken up arms against the invaders, and having left his mother at home, had gone to the front with the warriors of the country. While he was away, the Saracens invaded his house, ransacked it and took Dadon's mother and all they found in the house to their stronghold. On hearing of this disaster Dadon rushed with his companions armed from head to foot. After this we will hear our poet speak for himself:

"Dadon and his friends wanted to force the entry of the castle but as the cruel hawk, after having caught hold of a timid bird in the air, retires with his prey, leaving the companions of his victim to fill the sky with the sound of his lamentations, in the same manner the Moors, sitting comfortably behind the ramparts of their stronghold, laughed at Dadon's threats to force the castle. At last one of them spoke to Dadon, and in a mocking tone demanded from him what had brought him there. 'If' says he, 'thou wishest that we give back thy mother, give us the horse on which thou art riding, for otherwise we would kill thy mother before thine own eyes.' The irritated Dadon replied that they could do what they liked with his mother, but it was impossible for him to hand over his horse to the enemy. Thereupon the Moors brought the mother on the ramparts, cut off her head and threw it to the son saying, 'Here is thy mother'. At this terrible sight Dadon recoiled with horror. He wept, he sighed and ran hither and thither crying vengeance. But in spite of all this it was utterly impossible to force the fortress." At night Dadon left the place saying Goodbye to the world, and retired into solitude on the banks of the Dourdon where the Monastery of Conques was built later[1].

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tells us in a private note that there still exists a third fort called the *Castel-Sarrazin* on the Larzac plateau near St. Eulalie, where the Muslims seem to have fortified themselves.

(1) The poem of Ermoldus Nigellus, first published by Muratori, then by Dom Boquet (*Historiens des Gaules*, Vol. VI), and lastly by M. Pertz (*Monumenta Germanicae historiae* Vol. II. p. 466 ff.) Ermoldus Nigellus's evidence about Dadon (which begins on line 207 of his work) is confirmed by a capitulary of Louis the Gentle in favour of the Conque abbey, dated 819. Vide *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. I, p. 286.

In the absence of more solid evidence, another episode might enable us to know the character of the terrible onslaught to which the greater part of France was subjected. The scene is laid in the Monastery of Monastier in the Veley country. Before the Saracens arrived at this place they had already invaded the dioceses of Puys and of Clermont and ransacked the church of Brioude[1]. When they were approaching Monastier, the abbot St. Theofroi (also known as St. Chaffre) assembled all the monks and implored them to seek refuge in the neighbouring woods taking the precious objects of the Monastery with them. He begged them to remain hidden till things improved and they could come back to their work. As for himself, he said that he had made up his mind to submit to any treatment the invaders might decide to mete out to him ; happy, if by his exhortations, he could guide them into the path of virtue ; he said that he would be happier still if by his death he could gain the crown of martyrdom. On hearing these words, his monks burst out into tears and begged him to flee with them to the forest or allow them to die with him. The Saint, however, remained as firm as before so far as his own person was concerned ; as for them, he said that it was more pleasing to the Almighty if one hoped later on to make oneself more useful in the cause of religion. As an instance he related to them the story of St. Paul, who, when pursued by the Jews of Damascus, allowed himself to be let down from the walls of the city in a basket. He also related to them how St. Peter would have fled from the wrath of the Emperor Nero if God himself had not come and kept him back. So far as he himself was concerned he said that it was sometimes necessary for the shepherd to sacrifice himself for the safety of his flock, and perhaps he would have the good fortune of opening the eyes of the invaders and of exposing to them the vista of the True Path ; while if he was put to death, he would perhaps appease the Divine Wrath which had no doubt been inflamed owing to the sins of mankind.

At last the monks had to give way. The next day after they had attended the mass at the abbey and listened

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As a matter of fact neither the pact nor this capitulary makes any mention of the Muslim invasion of Rouergue. While on the one hand we know that Dadon died towards the end of the eighth century, on the other the poet calls Dadon by the nickname of *the young*, and this takes us back about the year 730. The Conque monastery existed right up to the French Revolution.

(1) *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. II, p. 468.

to the exhortation of their abbot, they took charge of all the precious objects and left the monastery. Only two of them secretly remained behind, and hid themselves on the top of a neighbouring hillock in order to see what was going to happen.

When the Saracens arrived at the monastery, the abbot had retired into a corner of his charge and was fervently praying to his God, so that they paid no attention to him but looked for the rich booty they expected to find there. Perhaps they also wanted to take the youngest and the strongest of the monks with them in order to sell them as slaves in Spain. When they discovered that not only the monks had all gone but had taken all that was precious in the monastery with them, they threw the abbot on the ground and showered blows on him.

Now this was a day on which the invaders were wont to offer some sacrifice to God. The chronicler from whom we have taken this account does not tell us the perquisites of this sacrifice but only that the ceremony consisted in offering libations, which leads us to believe that the band of foreigners, which invaded le Velay did not follow Islam but was composed of Berbers of whom many were still plunged in the darkness of idolatry. Whatever the truth may have been, when the invaders had retired to perform their religious ceremonies, the Abbot, believing this to be the most favourable time to make them realise their evil ways, went up to them and told them that instead of thus wasting their time in worshipping the demon it would be far better for them to reserve their homage to the One who was the Creator of the whole universe. This untimely exhortation redoubled the fury of the invaders, and the chief priest of the sacrifice caught hold of a big stone which was lying nearby and flung it at the head of the abbot who immediately fell to the ground almost lifeless. The invaders were preparing to burn down the monastery to ashes when all of a sudden it was announced that the Christian troops were approaching or, as our chronicler says, God was deeply angered at this outrage on a Christian place of worship and caused a sudden tempest to rise which obliged the invaders to flee for their dear lives ! The Saint, however, died a few days afterwards, but his death made it possible for his flock to return to their abode with safety.[1]

(1) The Roman Catholic Church celebrates the anniversary of the Saint's death on the 19th October. For episodes in his life, the reader might consult Mabillon : *Acta sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti*,

Neither the Mussulman authors make it quite clear nor are the Christian writers unanimous as to the exact date of the Arab penetration into Dauphine, the Lyons country and Burgundy, but we think that we should fix these invasions about this time. As a Muslim writer says, "God filled the hearts of the Christians with terror. If any one of them came before the Mussulmans it was only to beg for mercy. The Muslim armies continued to progress onwards, conquering countries, according safeguards to the inhabitants, till they reached the Valley of the Rhône. From there they advanced right up to the very heart of the land of France."[1]

The places which the Saracens captured could only be known by the ravages which they committed there. In the neighbourhood of Vienne on the banks of the Rhône, the churches and monasteries were all left in complete ruins. Lyons, which the Arabs called "Lûzûn" had to mourn the destruction of its chief churches;[2] Macon and Chalons-on-the-Sâone were sacked; Beaune was destroyed;[3] Autun's two churches, *viz.*, the church of St. Nazaire and the church of St. Jean were put to the flame; the monastery of St. Martin which was situated in the vicinity of the town, was pulled down;[4] the abbey of St. Andoche at Saulieu was pillaged,[5] while the Saracens razed to the ground the monastery of Bêzo near Dijon.[6]

These incursions of the Mussulmans which, according to universal opinion, must have extended over a much

sect. III, part I, pp. 476 ff. Le Monastier, also called St. Chaffre, existed right up to the Revolution.

[But *vide*, the episode connected with the sack of the Lerins monastery, infra. The extreme similarity between the two episodes, the hiding of one or two monks in a place of safety, their relation of the episode to the outer world, the belabouring of the abbot, and the miraculous reconquest of the monastery by the Christians, all these things are either a set of most curious coincidences or else transparent innovations. *Vide*, the author's own estimate of Christian authorities in the introduction and on p. 10 supra. (Tr.)]

(1) Maqqari, Vol. I, p. 128. M. has copied Ibn-Hayyân, but has mentioned these facts in connection with the conquests of Mûsa and Târiq [*Tr.*]

(2) *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. IV, p. 51.

(3) *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. IV, pp. 860 and 1042.

(4) *Vide*, Moissac's Chronicle, in the collection entitled *Historiens des Gaules*, Vol. II, p. 655. There exists a charter of Charles the Bald dated, 844 which deals with the identical subject. *Vide*, Dom Plancher's *Histoire de Bourgogne*, Vol. I, Proofs, p. vii, and the *Gallia Christiana* Vol. IV, p. 450.

(5) *Histoire de Bourgogne*, op. cit.

(6) D'Acheri's *Spicilege*, edition in fol. Vol. II, p. 411.

longer expanse of territory,[1] were undertaken without any pre-arranged plan, and the fact that, in spite of this, they met with but feeble resistance only shows the deplorable condition in which France must have been, and proves the utter absence of any government which could protect its subjects. But if these incursions are compared to the invasion of Spain by the Arabs which had occurred only a few years before, it becomes manifest that with the

(1) It was thought right up to our own time that the Muslims had sent their detachments on the one hand to the banks of the Loire near Nevers, and on the other to Burgundy, and destroyed the monastery of St. Colomban, while at Besancon the clergy and a large number of monks were put to death. There is nothing unlikely about this view specially so far as Burgundy is concerned, where many a locality is still called by some form of the name '*Saracen*'. It is moreover added that the abbey of Luxeuil at that foot of the Vosges was taken and the clergy with their leader St. Mellin put to the sword. *Vide* Father Lecointe: *Annales ecclesiastici Francorum*, Vol. IV, p. 728 ff. Also, *vide* Mabillon: *Annales Benedictini*, Vol. II, p. 88, and *Acta sanctorum ordinis Sancti Benedictini*, Vol. III, part I, M. 527 ff.

It is the opinion of those who hold the above account to be correct that the Arabs met with a serious obstacle only when they reached Sens. The bishop of this town was Ebbes or Ebbon, Count of Tonnerre, who was so good and God-fearing that he is now regarded as a saint. When the invaders approached this place, Ebbes began to prepare himself for withstanding their onslaught. It was useless for the Saracens to attack the stronghold with their machines of war, for the bishop began to hurl burning darts from the ramparts on to the enemy which put fire to their machines, while at the same time he made a sally which caused the invaders to fly for their lives.

But as a matter of fact there is no contemporary evidence with regard to all these interesting accounts, and there is not one of them in which the name 'Saracen 'or any other name by which the followers of Islam were then called, occurs. The authors of these outrages are in fact called *Wendes Vandales* or *Gandales*. We know that the Huns like the Vandals of old, crossed Germany in the tenth century, and coming right into France, ransacked Alsace, Lorraine, Burgundy, Franche Comtè, Champagne and nearly the whole of what was left of France, and these Huns were dubbed Vandals. Moreover the authors of the Chivalric romances, and later on, the Chroniclers, went to the length of putting to the credit of Charlemagne, Pepin and Charles Martel the principal events of French history which really happened either before or after this period. Taking these facts into consideration, we think that at least half of the ravages perpetrated by the so-called Vandals and attributed by the Benedictines and some of the most prominent savants to the Muslims, should be ascribed to the Huns or to the real Vandals. The reason why such respectable men of light and learning could commit this blunder, is to be found in the fact that the writings where the detail of the ravages committed by a nation called Wendes or Vandals is related, such as the *Roman de Garin le Loherain* and Jacques de Guise's *Histoire de Hainault*, have only been published quite lately. *Vide*, What we have already said in our introduction, supra.

exception of some individuals who had neither a religion nor a country to call their own, the invaders met absolutely with no sympathy on the part of the natives, and nowhere did any large portion of the population make common cause with them. Even in towns like Narbonne and Carcassonne where the Mussulmans had established themselves in a most thorough manner, the mass of the population still remained faithful to their own religion.

While these events were taking place nothing is mentioned either about Eudes Duke of Acquitaine or about Charles Martel who was at this time Mayor of the Palace of the Austrasian Kings. Eudes, who was not attacked at the centre of his lands as in the previous year, hesitated to oppose so formidable an enemy. As to Charles, he was busy subjugating the Frisians, the Bavarians and the Saxons who were continuously threatening to cross the Rhine and to establish themselves right in the very seat of his authority. We thus see why it was that he did not try to check the Arab onslaught on Burgundy which was then under his rule. Moreover, we must remember that although Eudes and Charles were outwardly friendly to each other, yet they were watching each other with jealousy, and it was easy to perceive that in the long run one of them would have to submit to the other. The Mussulman authors, who knew nothing of this tragic state of affairs, and who had learnt the strength with which Charles Martel (whom they called " Karle ", كارل) was wont to avenge insults, were at a loss to find the reason for his inaction, and they explain the situation as follows :—

Several members of the French gentry went and complained to Charles of the excesses committed by the Muslims describing to him the shame of all if men who were armed lightly and as a general rule lacked military apparel were allowed successfully to face the warriors armed with cuirasses and all that was the latest in military dress. On hearing this, Charles replied in the following vein : " Friends, let them go on as they like. At this moment they are full of courage and are like a torrent which uproots everything which comes in its way. Their zeal answers to our cuirasses and their courage to our forts. But when their hands will be full of booty, when they have begun to like beautiful houses and when ambition has taken possession of their chiefs and disunion penetrates their ranks then will be the time for us to go and finish them off without any difficulty."[1]

(1) Maqqari, Vol. I. p. 129

In 730 the government of Spain passed on to Abdur Rahmân who was no other person than the general who had brought back the Muslim army into Spain after the death of Es-Samh before Toulouse. During the time between his return and his appointment, he had commanded the part of the peninsula which lies at the foot of the Pyrenee.. By nature strict and just, Abdur Rahmân made himself loved by his troops on account of the selflessness with which he abandoned to them the booty taken from the enemy. Besides he was held in veneration by the pious among the Mussulmans because he had lived in intimacy with one of the sons of the second Khalîfah, Omar, a fact which enabled him to collect a host of information about the life of his Prophet.[1]

Abdur Rahmân was impatient to avenge the partial checks which the Muslim army had met in France during the previous year. He wanted to subjugate the whole of that country once for all, and considered himself able to accomplish the idea of uniting Italy, Germany and the Greek Empire to the already vast conquests which had been made by the champions of the Qur'ân. As religious enthusiasm was still strong among the Arabs, and as the climate and fertility of Spain and Southern France were a source of great attraction to them, there was a continuous influx of warriors and adventurers from all countries, especially from the Atlas mountains and the deserts of Africa and Arabia. As these men arrived, they were taught to wield arms and were trained to become soldiers of the commonwealth. While waiting for the finishing touches to be applied to the preparations for advance, Abdur Rahmân, who habitually resided at Cordova (which had now become the seat of Government), visited the various provinces of Spain in order to attend to the petitions of his subjects. The Qaids or Governors, who had betrayed their trust, were everywhere replaced by honest men ; Mussulmans and Christians were treated, if not absolutely alike, at least according to the laws and treaties. He restored to the Christians the churches of which they had been unjustly deprived, though he pulled down those which the corrupt local governors had allowed to be built after filling their own pockets. (Indeed it has been the policy of the Mussulmans in general not to allow new places of worship save those of their own religion to be built and it is not often that they allow even old ones to be repaired).

(1) Maqqari, Vol. II, p. 56.

In the meantime, the Mussulmans who were no doubt masters of Narbonne, Carcassonne and the remaining parts of Septimania, continued to make incursions into the neighbouring parts of France. A peculiar circumstance, however, preserved some of the Christian provinces for a time. The man who commanded the Muslim army in Cardagne and in the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees, was, according to Isidore of Bêja and Roderic Ximenês, Manuza, one of those African soldiers who had allied with the Arabs and had largely contributed to the conquests of Spain. He had in the beginnng shown himself utterly merciless to the Christians of the country and had even caused a Bishop named Anambadus to be burnt alive. However, when quarrels arose between the Arabs and the Berbers, Manuza naturally sided with his own countrymen whom he regarded as victims of the most terrible injustice. He even made alliance with Eudes, Duke of Acquitaine, who, in order to sanctify it, gave his daughter, (called by some of our authorities, Lampêgie), a girl famous for her good looks, in marriage to him.[1]

Conde, no doubt following the narrative of certain Arab authors, describes the event a little differently. He says that Manuza, whom he mixes up with another person of Arab origin named Othmân son of Abû Nas'a who had governed Spain on two different occasions, was one of Abdur Rahmân's rivals, and believed that he had superior claims to the governorship of the Spanish provinces to those of Abdur Rahmân himself. In one of his expeditions, Manuza imprisoned Lampêgie, and was so much enamoured of her that he at length married her and allied himself with Eudes. Thus, when Abdur Rahmân intended again to penetrate the interior of France, with his army, Manuza considered himself in duty bound to oppose the intention of his rival and put forward his treaty with Eudes as an excuse for his conduct. Abdur Rahmân refused to recognize a treaty to which he himself was not a party, saying that no intermediary could exist between the Mussulmans and the Christians except the sword, while Manuza hastened to inform his father-in-law of all that was going on, in order to enble him to prepare himself for the onslaught of the Mussulmans.[2]

(1) Isidore de Beja, p. LXI ; Roderic Ximenès, p. 12.

(2) Conde : *Historia*, Vol. I. p. 83. A Christian author who continued Frêdegaire's History, says that Eudes not only allied himself with the Mussulmans but it was he who invited them to come to France. This account which is followed by many ancient and modern authors, seems to be without any foundation. Indeed, as Pagi, editor

Whatever the truth may have been, when Abdur Rahmân was informed of the relations which existed between his Lieutenant and the Christians, he made up his mind to prevent their becoming an obstacle in the way of his project. So he ordered some chosen troops to advance towards the Pyrenees, and there they attacked Manuza at a moment when he least expected them. Strongly pressed and not in a condition to resist them. Manuza took his wife Lampêgie with him and fled to the mountains. His enemies, however, followed him, giving him no breathing time, till at least, pursued from rock to rock, covered with wounds, suffering from hunger and thirst and unable to count on the support of his erstwhile Christian friends, he at last flung himself from a high hillock at Puycerda or thereabouts. His head was immediately cut off and sent to Damascus, where Lampêgie was admitted to the seraglio of the Khalîfah.[1]

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of *Annales de Baronius*, says (732, No. I), Frêdegaire's continuator wrote under the influence of Charles Martel's brother Childebrand. As after the battle of Poitiers fresh quarrels arose between Eudes and Charles it is not surprising that Charles's own friends should have given currency to this tale.

(1) Isidore de Beja, p. LXI, Roderic Ximenès, p. 12.

HAROON KHAN SHERWANI.

(To be continued.)

ANCIENT ARABIAN POETS

III. *Continued.*

Ibn-Abi-Durwad, the Humane Qadi.

A poet composed a satire of seventy verses against the Wazîr, Ibn-az-Zayyât; when the Qâdi Ahmad heard of it, he pronounced these verses:—

"Better than a satire of seventy verses, is their purport condensed into a single verse,
How much the state requires a shower of rain, to wash away that filthy stain of oil".[1]

The allusion here is to the Wazîr, his name *Ibn-az-Zayyat*, meaning "son of the Oil-man." When the Wazîr heard of this epigram, he retorted by composing the following, wherein he alluded to the profession of one of the Qâdi Ahmad's ancestors, who was reported to have been a vendor of *qar* (pitch):

"O thou, who vainly thinkest to satirize,
Thou exposest thyself to death in so attacking me,
My honour cannot be diminished by the mention of oil,
The reputation of our family is too well established and known,
'Tis you who have *malkuk* (stained) the state with your filthy *qir* (pitch)
Nothing could cleanse the state from the *buqa* (stain) until we washed it with our *zayt* (oil)!

(1) Compare the above utterance of the Qâdi with that of the Latin poet Horace (65-8 B.C.):—*Quidquid præcipies esto brevis, ut cito dicta Percipiant animi dociles, teneantque fideles, Omne supervacuum pleno de pectore manat*—"Whatever you teach,—be brief, for minds grasp with readiness what is said shortly, and retain it firmly, all that is unnecessary overflows from the charged mind." (Horace. *De Arte Poetica*, 335.)

The poet Abû Hiffân-al-Muhazzamî, who, as previously remarked, was no friend of the Qâdi-al-Qudât, seized the opportunity to publish a clever but somewhat lengthy poem, which was styled *Zayt wa Qar* (Oil and Pitch). Many stories are told about this poem, a complete copy whereof does not seem to be in existence today. It is said that the first portion thereof " Az-Zayt " consisted of 777 couplets, and the second part *Al-Qar* or Al-Qîr[1] of 555 couplets. These figures, however, are probably exaggerations. That it was an extremely long poem is evident from the fragments which have come down to us. Most of these are lengthy extracts from the first part, but a few are also taken from the second portion, particularly the lines which in Dantesque language describe how some of the wicked in Jehannam are obliged as a part of their punishment to stand for years up to their necks in a lake of perpetually boiling pitch.

Throughout, the poem describes vividly, in admirably chosen language, the respective virtues and demerits of these two substances, which the poet declares to be

Mushabih amma ghayir mushabih

" So like and yet so dissimilar."

The poem commences with the statement :—

" I'll sing to you, clearly with never a mutter,
" My words shall be sweet, and e'en smoother than butter,
" They shall flow from my mouth, aye right down to my feet,
" Their tone shall be dulcet and, as oil, soft, and sweet."

Yet as the poem proceeds the apparently honeyed words each prove to conceal a hidden but extremely smart sting, so that at the conclusion of the poem one cannot help feeling that the words of one of the *Gaboor* (Psalms) written by the inspired prophet-king of Israel were actually penned to describe the Arabian poet :—

> " The words of his mouth were smoother than butter, but war was in his heart ; his words were softer than oil, yet were they drawn swords."
>
> Psalms LV. 21.

The poet describes oil and grain as necessities, and wine

(1) The Arabic words for Bitumen are *qir* and *naft*. The bitumen of Judæa is termed *hammar*.
Pitch (inspissated resin), *zift*, *qar*, *qir*. Liquid pitch *kar sayyal*.

as the luxury of life. Oil he declares to be the most important of all these, as it formed a substitute for animal fats and butter, and was made not only for cosmetics, massage and medicine, but also for the purpose of cooking and illumination. In early times it was kept in *kurun* (horns),[1] but later in flasks and jars. It became an object of luxury and typified wealth and fertility, while its smoothness metaphorically denoted flattery. So great a power has been assigned to oil, that the women of the heathen, when their husbands go to war, take stones, anoint them with oil, place them on a well-oiled board and pray to their god, " O Lord of the sun and moon, of the fire and tempest, the thunder and the lightning, let the spears of their enemies rebound from and not enter into or injure the breasts of our men-folk, just as raindrops rebound from and cannot injure these stones smeared with oil."[2] Monarchs were anointed by oil being poured upon their heads. Oil was poured into wounds on account of its healing virtues. A great prophet was sustained by oil and flour prepared into cakes by a widow-woman, whose supply of oil, by the mercy and power of Allah, was miraculously never exhausted. And, greatest of all, oil was honourably mentioned, in that best of all books the Qur'ân Sharîf, for is it not written therein :—

> " Allah is the light of the heavens and the earth ; a likeness of His light is as a pillar whereon is a lamp, the lamp is in a glass (and) the glass is as it were a brightly shining star ; lit from a blessed olive-tree, neither eastern nor western, the oil whereof almost gives light although fire touch it not—light upon light—Allah guides to His light whom He pleases, and Allah sets forth parables for men and Allah knoweth all things."
>
> Sura XXIV. " An-Nur " (Light)—Revealed at Medina Ayat, 35.

The second part, declared that pitch was a residuum, the excreta which was left after boiling solid bitumen. It had its uses, it was true, such as being used for the preservation of wood and caulking up holes in ships, but, alas, however useful it might be, it always had an unpleasant *bakhur* (odour), and soiled the hands of all who touched it.

(1) Arabic, *Karn*—a horn, pl. *kurun*—Hebrew *keren*.

(2) This part of the poem is extremely interesting from an ethnological point of view as according to a German writer (C. M. Pleyte) a similar custom existed, as late as the year 1893, in the Kei Islands. See Pleyte, *Ethnographische Beshrijving der Kei-Eilanden*.

The publication of this poem naturally caused a great sensation in Baghdad, and speculation was rife as to what would happen to the author, who, although under the protection of the Wazîr would naturally be regarded by the Qâdi-al-Qudât with great disfavour. Ibn-Abî-Duwâd, however, adopted a policy towards the poet, which caused people to praise his magnanimity and yet at the same time removed the poet from the metropolis. The Wazîr, fearing for his protégé, suggested to the Khalif that so clever a man as Al-Muhazzami should be given a government post. The Khalif said he would consider the matter. He then asked Ibn-Abî-Duwâd what he thought of the proposition ; the Qâdi, at once expressed his approval of the project and suggested that the poet should be appointed Governor of a distant province. This was done and Al-Muhazzami thus silenced.

Ibn-Abî-Duwâd lost the use of his side, through a paralytic seizure (*ra'shat*) on the 7th of Jumâda-ath-thâni, in the 233rd year of the glorious Hegira of the Holy Prophet of Allah (on whom be peace !), corresponding with the 10th January 848 of the Christian era ; one hundred and seven days after the death of his inveterate enemy the Wazîr, Ibn-az-Zayyât.[1]

When the Khalif, Ja'far al-Mutawkkil (son of Qâsim-al Mu'tasim and brother of the late Khalif, Hârûn al-Wâthiq) heard of the sudden seizure of the Qâdi, he sent his own physician, 'Alî-ibn-Nasr, who had made a special study of Ra'shat, and written a thesis thereon[2] to attend

(1) Some authors say only 49 or 50 days passed between the death of the Wazîr and the paralytic stroke which afflicted Ibn-Abî-Duwâd. The Wazîr, Ibn Zayyât, died in the 233rd year of the Hegira.

(2) Ra'shat termed in Engish Paralysis or "Palsy". This latter term being used several times in the English translation of that part of the Christian Scriptures known as "The New Testament" (Matthew IV, 24 ; Mark IX, 6 ; Luke V, 18 ; Act VIII, 7). It is also mentioned in the First Book of Maccabees, IX, 55 of the Jewish Scriptures.

The word "paralysis" is derived from the Greek, *paralusis*. The English word *palsy* is derived from the old French *paralesie*, which in Middle English was shortened into *palesie*, the form wherein it appears in Wycliffe's version of the Bible. In the 16th century of the common era, it appears as *palsy* the form used in the Authorised Version of the Bible. The expression "sick of the palsy" derived from the Biblical text, is a common expression in colloquial English. In medical terminology, the term paralysis, while ordinarily used to express loss of power or movement, is used medically in the wider sense of loss of function, so that there may be paralysis of motion, of sensation, of secretion, etc. The term *Paresis* is employed to indicate a diminished activity of function. Thus paresis of a limb means diminished power of moving the limb,

him, and appointed the son of Ibn-Abî-Duw'ad, 'Abû'l-Walîd Muhammad, to fill the office of Qâdi-al-Qudât.

This appointment, however, did not prove an unqualified success, for as one English poet truly says :—

Few sons attain the praise
Of their great sires, and most their sires disgrace.
Pope—*Homer's Odyssey*, Book 2, l.315.

Abû'l-Walîd Muhammad, did not fulfil the duties of the high office to general satisfaction, incurring the blame of many and securing the praise of only a few.

It was the old story :—

" When I did good, I heard it never ;
When I did ill, I heard it ever."

So high ran the indignation against the judgments pronounced by and the conduct of the new Qâdi-al-Qudât, that the poet Ibrâhîm-ibn-al-'Abbâs as-Sabi, composed against him the following stinging lines :—

" The faults which so markedly appear in you have effaced the memory of all those virtues which your venerable and respected father left to you as a *wasiyat* (legacy).

By him you surpassed the sons of honourable men, as by yourself, by your *razalat* (vileness) you have surpassed the vilest sons of the vile ! "

In what is termed *Cerebral Paralysis*, the most common causes thereof are hæmorrhage, thrombosis, and embolism. In the latter the obstruction of the blood-stream is produced by a clot or foreign body, carried from a distant part, usually detached from the valves of the heart. The most usual form of paralysis resulting from the above-named lesions is paralysis of the opposite side of the body, or " hemiplegia". If the paralysis is on the right side it is usually accompanied by loss of speech, technically termed " Aphasia ". Loss of sensation on the same side as the paralysis occurs if the optic thalamus (the place at which it is thought the optic nerve originates—the term *thalamus* is Latin from the Greek, *thalamos*—or bed-chamber) is involved. The face is usually found to recover before the leg, the leg before the arm, and the coarser movements of the hands before the finer. Paraylsis is always serious, usually intractable, and generally sudden in onset.

An incident of this is related in the Book of Maccabees, as mentioned above.

Many of the Arabian physicians have written lengthy and able treatises on Ra'shat. The English poet Matthew Prior (1664-1721) refers to—

" The cold shaking paralytic hand "

in his poem " Solomon, iii, 130. (pub. 1718).

In these verses the poet has gone to the utmost extreme of eulogium and blame, a novel conception in Arabian poetry.

In order to fully appreciate and understand what happened to Ibn-Abî-Duwâd during the closing years of his life, it is necessary to know something of the contemporary history of the period.

The famous English historian Gibbon[1] writes " With Motassim, the eighth of the Abbasides, the glory of his family and nation expired."

On the death of the Khalif Harûn al-Wâthiq, which occurred in the year 232 of the Hegira (847 of the common era), his son being then quite a boy, Wàthiq's brother Ja'afar, who took for his regal appellation the title " Al-Mutawakkil ", signifying " He that putteth his trust in Allah[2] " succeeded to the Khalifate.

The new Khalif was of a cruel and vindictive turn of mind, and had not occupied the throne very long before he exhibited this extremely unpleasant trait in his character.

The Germans have a proverb " A man of curelty is God's own enemy ," and surely the career and cruelties of the new Khalif fully exemplified this. He cast the

(1) Edward Gibbon, the famous English historian, was born at Putney, Surrey, 27th April, 1737, and died at London, 15th January 1794. He was a grandson of Edward Gibbon, who was one of the most prominent of the directors of the South Sea Company, and, who, when the bubble burst, lost the greater part of his fortune, which, however, he later repaired. His health in childhood was poor, and his instruction irregular. He entered Oxford (Magdalen College) in April, 1752, but left the university after a residence of fourteen months. At this time he became a Roman Catholic, a creed which he soon after renounced. In June 1753, he was placed under the care and instruction of Pavillard, a Calvinistic minister, at Lausanne, where he remained with great profit until August 1758, when he returned to England. At Lausanne he fell in love with Susanne Curchod (afterwards Madame Necker and mother of Madame de Stæl), but on his return to England the affair was broken off by his father. He served in the militia 1759-70, attaining the rank of Colonel. From January 1763 to June 1765, he travelled in France, Switzerland, and Italy. In 1774 he was elected as a member of Parliament. In September 1783, he established himself at Lausanne, where he resided for the remainder of his life. His great work is " The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," still the chief authority for the period which it covers, and one of the greatest histories ever written. The first volume thereof appeared in 1776 and the last in 1788. He also wrote " Memoirs of my Life and Writings."

(2) Khalifs were no longer known by their proper names, but by their royal title (assumed on their accession to the throne) signifying some attribute of faith or trust in the Almighty Ruler of all things.

Wazîr of the late monarch into prison, confiscated his property, and subjected the unfortunate man, for months, to the refined torture of being unceasingly kept awake while he would have slept. At last the poor wretch was left alone and slept for 36 hours at a stretch. Thus strengthened he was put into a barbarous press, an instrument of torture so narrow that the victim was with difficulty forced within it, and lined with spikes, which made movement impossible. Thus in frightful agony he lay for seven days and then died. Various other officers of the state were victims of the Khalif's cruel rapacity.

Motawakkil hated, with an unreasonable fanaticism, the descendants of that noble and rightly directed Khalif, Hazrati 'Ali, Assad-Ullah (on whom be blessings and peace!) and their teaching also. In company with his boon and base companions he treated the revered memory of the son-in-law of the Holy Prophet of Allah with indecent contumely. A bare-headed *maskharah* (buffoon), with a pillow stuffed under his garment in front of his stomach, danced and capered before Motawakkil, while a set of foolish people joined hands and danced around the shameless maskharah, in a circle, singing " *Hanaza* ! (Behold !) the pot-bellied bald one—who called himself the Khalif of Islam ! "

This coarse and vulgar expression being an allusion to the fact that in his later years, he, who, in his youth and strength, was one of the most distinguished heroes in Islam, became heavy, obese, and bald, and was in consequence a subject of ridicule to some " lewd fellows of the baser sort " who were his enemies.

To the eternal shame of Motawakkil be it related that he enjoyed this disgraceful act of buffoonery and joined in laughter and applause with the rest of the company present.

Verily as Sulieman, King of Israel, said :

" As the crackling of thorns under a pot, so is the laughter of fools."

Such ribald and profane contempt of that which was and is most dear and sacred to the heart of every True Believer in Allah and His Holy Prophet, alienated the general body of the Muslims at large and caused reproaches to be made to the misguided monarch by his own first-born son, Muntasir.

So far indeed did Motawakkil carry his hostility that he ordered the tomb of Husain, the son of Hazrat 'Alî

to be razed to the ground, ploughed over and sown with corn; and he even threatened with imprisonment any pilgrims who ventured to visit the shrine of Kerbala[1].

With such a monarch, and so demoralised a Court, there need be no surprise that the bonds of order were everywhere relaxed.

" 'Twixt kings and tyrants there's this difference known —
Kings seek their subjects' good, tyrants their own[2]."

Abû'l-Walîd Muhammad, the son of Ibn-Abî-Duwâd, continued to fill the places of Qâdi and Inspector of wrongs for the army for about seven years after the accession of Al-Mutawakkil to the throne, namely until the year 237 A.H. (851 A.D.), when the Khalif became displeased with him, and making the excuse that neither he nor his venerable father were " orthodox ", ordered their lands and effects to be sequestered. This happened on the 24th Safar, 237. The monarch then deprived Abû'l-Walîd Muhammad of his post as Inspector of Wrongs, and afterwards, on Thursday, 5th of Rabîa-al-awwal, he dismissed him from his place of Qâdi and extorted from

(1) Kerbela or Mashhadu'l-Husain, a city in al-Iraq, about 55 miles south-west of Baghdad twenty-five miles above Kufa, and about 6 miles west of the river Euphrates, wherewith it is connected by the ancient Hamadiyyah Grand Canal which drains a marshy region. Husain, son of the Khalif Hazrati Ali (o. w. b. p.), while attempting to defend his claim to the Khaliphate, was defeated and slain there by the Omeyiades on the 10th Muharram, 61 (Hegira), corresponding with the 10th October, 680, of the common era. He was buried in the city, which then became for the partisans of Ali, popularly known as the *Shiah* (literally, " Followers "), second in holiness only to Mecca and Medina. Most of the Shiahs being Persians, Kerbela is almost entirely Persian in character. There are five mosques in the city. The principal one, which contains the tomb of Husain, is venerated by all Muslims; its domes and minarets are plated with gold. The second mosque is that of the Imam Abbas. The number of pilgrims visiting the city annually is enormous according to some estimates 200,000. Kerbela is also a starting point for the Meccan pilgrimage, and the market-place for the whole of north-east Arabia. Trade is brisk. Dates and cereals are the chief food exports. The treasuries of the mosques have, during the thirteen centuries which have elapsed since the martyrdom of Husain, been enriched by countless precious gifts. A ruined wall, 24 feet high, surrounds the old city, the streets whereof, with one exception, are narrow and dirty. New quarters have, however, within the last half century, been developed around the old, with broad, regular and properly lighted streets and side-walks. The population of the city is about 70,000, whereof fully 56,000 are Shiahs.

(2) Herrick (1591-1674). " *Kings and Tyrants* ".

him a sum of one hundred and twenty thousand dinars, with precious stones to the value of forty thousand dinars[1], after which he exiled him from Baghdad, and ordered him for the future to reside in Sarr-man-raa.

" Each animal,
By natural instinct taught, spares his own kind :
But man, the tyrant man ! revels at large,
Freebooter unrestrain'd, destroys at will
The whole creation ; men and beasts his prey,
These for his pleasures, for his glories those."[2]

On the dismissal of Abû'l-Walîd Muhammad, the place of Qâdi-al-Qudât was bestowed upon Yahya ibn-Aktham as-Sa'adi.

Ibn-Abî-Duwâd, despite his age and long and meritorious services to the empire, was arrested by order of Al-Mutawakkil and put upon his trial. Witnesses were examined in court to prove the offence whereof he was accused, and a great number of them and other persons were present in court, among these witnesses was one in whom the Qâdi, during his administration, had placed little confidence. He now stood up and exclaimed : " Call upon us to witness in your behalf according to that which is written in this instrument," at the same time holding a piece of parchment up in his hand, whereupon Ibn Abî-Duwâd replied : " No ! No ! No ! the witness stand is not your place ; " then turning to the other *shuhud* (witnesses) he said : " Bear ye witness for me ; " whereupon the man sat down abashed, and the public were filled with admiration at the firmness of the Qâdi, his strength of mind and his discretion in not allowing a person of whom he held an unfavourable opinion to give evidence even if it were in favour of himself.

It is said that the Arab proverb " One *shahid 'adil* (creditable witness) is worth more than the *shahadat* (testimony) of a thousand bought ones," owes its origin to this circumstance.

The Qâdi Ahmad-ibn-Abî-Duwâd died of paralysis on the seventh day of Muharram, 240 A.H. (June, 854 A.D.), and it is stated on his own authority that he was born at Basra in 160 A.H. (776-7 A.D.) : he was, it is said, about twenty years older than the Qâdi Yahya-ibn-al-Aktham.

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(1) The dinar at that time would now have an intrinsic value of about eleven shillings British.

(2) William Somerville (1677-1742). *Field Sports*, line 94.

This statement, however, is disputed by some, but as Cicero says :—

Dubitando ad veritatem pervenimus

By doubting we come to the truth.

Abû'l-Walîd Muhammad, the previously mentioned son of Ahmad-ibn-Abî-Duwâd, died in the month of Zû'l-Hijja, twenty days before his father.

Al-Marzubâni in his book, *Al-Murshid*, notices great variations in the dates of the decease of Ahmad-ibn-Abî-Duwâd and his son. He writes thus, on the subject :—

" Al-Mutawakkil appointed Muhammad, son of Ibn-Abî-Duwâd, to act in the place of his father as Qâdi and Inspector of Wrongs for the army ; he then dismissed him from these places on *Yaum-al-arba'a* (Wednesday), 19th Safar, 240, and sequestered the landed property of the father and son, but this business was settled by a fine of one million dinars. Abû'l-Walîd Muhammad, son of Ahmad, died at Baghdad in Zû'l-Qâda, 240, and his father died twenty days after. As-Sûli, however, states that the anger of Al-Mutawakkil against Ahmad-ibn-Abî-Duwâd occurred in 237. "

Further on, in the same work, Al-Marzubâni writes :—

" The Qâdi Ahmad died in Muharram, 240, and his son died 20 days before ; some say that the death of the son occurred towards the end of the year 239, and that they both died at Baghdad ; some again state that the son died in Zû'l-Hijja, 239, and the father on *Yaum-as-sabt* (Saturday), 23rd Muharram of the year 240, at about a month's distance. Allah alone knows the truth in all that ! "

" 'Tis God alone,

Who knows whatever's to be known."

Abû-Bakr-ibn Doraid says that Ahmad-ibn-Abî-Duwâd was full of affability towards men of education, no matter to what country they belonged, and that he had taken a great number of them under his care, treating them as members of his family and defraying their expenses.

The humane and pious Qâdi-al-Qudât, undoubtedly, could have echoed the words of the author of the " Acts of the Apostles ", in the Christian Bible and said :—

" God hath made the world and all things therein. He is the Lord of Heaven and of Earth. He giveth to all life and health and all things and He hath

made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth and hath determined the bounds of their habitation."

On the death of Ibn Duwâd a crowd of those clients, who had thus been assisted by him, or to whom he had rendered services, went to the door of his house and cried out: "He is to be buried, that noble man who was the pillar and soul of *sikhawat* (generosity) and the *zinat* (ornament) of literature! Of whom it was never whispered, 'Here he has committed a fault; there his talent has failed him'!"

"A rarer spirit never
Did steer humanity."[1]

When the *tabut* (bier) was borne forth from the house, three persons went forward, and the first recited these lines:—

"Today is blank and dreary, the support of the state has gone,
"For he is dead, and we are left, supportless, sad, alone.
"He, when he spoke, rich words of pearl, did, dew-like, drop from mouth,
"Whose accents were as fragrant e'er as zephyrs from the South.
"And he is dead, whose succour was never asked in vain,
"Our protector in misfortune, and our comforter in pain.
"Today, the path of learning drear, dark, cold and chill as night,
"Alas! the sun of generosity, to-day, no more, gives light.
"Our hearts are fill'd with sorrow, with tears our eyes o'erflow.
"The mist from his last winding sheet, doth dark and darker grow.
"Alas that we should see the day, whereon these words are said,
"The mighty one has fallen now, our dearest friend is dead.'"

The second then advanced and said:—

"Through humble modesty, sought he not the minbar (pulpit) nor the Wazîr's lofty seat;

(1) Shakespeare—Antony and Cleopatra, Act V. Sc. 1.

" Yet had he wished, the minbar and that seat were rightly his.

" He gathered taxes for another, but for him is gathered a harvest of praises and heavenly rewards in the Garden of Paradise ! "

A third then came forward and said :—

" It is not the powder of musk which has been used to perfume his corpse, but rather the memory of the good actions he did in his lifetime, and the praises which he has left behind.

" The noise you hear is not the creaking of the tâbût, under its sad burden, but the sound of hearts which are breaking."

Then an aged Mufti came forward and said :

" O True Believers ! Did not the prophet (Eternal Peace and every blessing be upon him and his descendants !) say :—

" ' The good deeds which man sends before him in his lifetime, shall surround his soul with a fragrant perfume when it passes through the gate of the Garden'? " Verily such will be the case with the soul of Ahmad-ibn-Abî-Duwâd."

Well might the English poet, James Shirley (1596-1666) say :—

" Only the actions of the just
Smell sweet and blossom in the dust."[1]

Abû-Bakr al-Jurjâni relates having heard Abû'l-A'inâ ad-Darîr (the blind) say : " I never met in the world with a man more polite than Ibn-Abî-Duwâd ; he would never say, on my leaving him, ' Page, take his hand '[2] but, ' *Ghulam* (Page) go out with him.' I look on this expression as free from alloy, and though he uttered it, he will not be the poorer[3] ; and I never heard it from any other."

(1) Shirley, *The Contention of Ajax and Ulysses* (pub. 1659). Compare also Tate and Brady's *Psalter* :—

" The sweet remembrance of the just
Shall flourish when he sleeps in dust."
Psalm, 112.

(2) That is " Take his hand to lead him out."

(3) The Arabian critics compare the pure and genuine idiomatic expressions of their language to good coin, the Arabic word which means " to separate good coin from bad, " is often used to signify *tazir* (criticism.)

All the Arabian biographers and historians, who mention Ahmad-ibn-Abî-Duwâd, declare that his honourable actions were exceedingly numerous.

> " A combination, and a form, indeed,
> Where every god did seem to set his seal,
> To give the world assurance of a man."[1]

So passed away the humane Qâdi.

Now let us turn to the other side of the picture and see what occurred to the unjust and selfish monarch, who could disgrace and rob an old and just man, in the days when he was full of years and of honour, and stricken with a dread disease.

Al-Mutawakkil, it is said, in consequence of the just reproof his eldest son, Muhammad al-Muntasir had given him, in respect of the disgraceful buffoonery previously mentioned, had conceived a deep dislike for the natural inheritor of his throne. He inflicted every kind of humiliation upon him. His younger son, Mut'azz, was on the contrary specially favoured. He was placed in possession of the mint and treasuries; and his name was stamped upon the coinage, thus indicating him as the designated successor to the throne, and when the Khalif was unable to preside at the Juma' prayers, the younger of his two sons officiated in his stead.

Al-Mutawakkil went even further than this, he reviled and abused his eldest son and in open durbar, on more than one occasion, he overwhelmed him with opprobrious epithets. One day he actually ordered his favourite, Al-Fath-ibn-Khâqân to inflict a severe beating upon the Prince.

These continual and utterly unjustifiable outrages naturally exasperated and at the same time terrified the young man, who feared that this unnatural father, in his unreasoning anger might actually order him to be put to death. He therefore entered into a conspiracy with the chiefs of the Turkish bodyguard to assassinate his father, and that being accomplished, to mount the throne himself. At the head of this conspiracy was a Turk known as Bughâ the younger, who filled the position of Hâjib (Chamberlain) of the Palace.

The night was fixed for the dreadful deed and a Turkish soldier, named Baguir, was designated to commit the crime. Acting on the principle that conspiracies no sooner should be formed than executed, eleven o'clock that very evening was decided upon for the commission of the deed.

(1) Shakespeare, *Hamlet* Act iii, Scene 4.

Muntasir, after leaving Bughâ, retired to the privacy of his harem. His thoughts and feelings during the hours which elapsed between then and the time fixed for the consummation of the plot can be more easily imagined than described.

" Oh ! think what anxious moments pass between
" The birth of plots, and their last fatal periods ;
" Oh ! 'Tis a dreadful interval of time,
" Fill'd up with horror all, and big with death." [1]

In the *Serai muluki* (Royal palace) there was feasting and mirth, never had Al-Mutawakkil appeared more gay than he did on that evening which was *Muktadar* (fated) to be the last of his earthly life. He had gathered around him all his familiar friends, his courtiers, and his singing and dancing girls ; with music and revelry the silence of the hours of night was dispelled and put to flight. The mirth and fun grew fast and furious.

" But pleasures are like poppies spread ;
" You seize the flower, the bloom is shed ;
" Or like the snowfall in the river,
" A moment white—then melts for ever." [2]

Yet withal there seemed a dark cloud hanging over the assembly ; it seemed as if the stern Azrâ'îl, the Angel of Death, was hovering in that gilded festive chamber, and all were not merry even among the *jawari* (slave-girls) who danced so lightly.

The conversation turned upon the power, the splendour, and the glory of the mighty monarchs of former times and the preternatural pride and ostentation thereby engendered in them.

" Of all the causes which conspire to blind
" Man's erring judgment, and misguide the mind,
" What the weak head with strongest bias rules,
" Is pride, the never-failing voice of fools." [3]

Suddenly, Al-Mutawakkil rose from his seat, turned towards Mecca and prostrated himself in the *afar* (dust). Then he took up a handful of dust, and flung it on his beard

(1) Addison, *Cato*, Act I, Scene 3.
(2) Robert Burns (1759-1796) *Tam o'Shanter.*
(3) Alexander Pope (1688-1744). *Essay on Criticism*, Part ii, Line 1.

and on his head[1]. " I am but the servant of Allah," he exclaimed, " it is fitting and right that he who must return to dust should repudiate pride." It seemed as if across the melody of the chorus of the singing girls was creeping the shadow of Azrâ'îl.

(1) The ordinary Semitic term for " dust " is " afar ", a form which is found in Assyrian, Aramaic, Hebrew and Arabic ; its primary meaning is, perhaps, " a minute thing ," " a bit ". Probably the primary signification of the word " efer ", which occurs often in the Hebrew scriptures, in expressions of mourning and in other connections, is a symbol of insignificance or nothingness in persons or words (Genesis, xviii, 27 ; Isaiah, xliv, 20 ; Malachi, iii, 21 ; Job, xiii, 12 ; xxx, 19). Outside of Hebrew the word is found only in African Semitic dialects (Ethiopic or Amharic), where (in the form " afrat ") it signifies " dust " (Dillman, *Lexicon Aethiopicum*). Each of the terms might thus be used for any finely divided thing as " dust " ; or " ash " or " refuse ". The words *ghubar, ghabart*, are commonly used in Arabic to signify " dust " *ghabbar*, " to raise dust ", or " to sprinkle with dust " ; *kolahu ghabra*, " full of dust ", " dusty ", " covered with dust " (compare, Persian, *ghubar*, " flying dust " ; Turkish, *ghubar*, " dust ". In Turkish the word *toz* is the one most commonly used to signify " dust "). There are many instances cited in the Jewish Scriptures of a mourner casting ' ashes ' (or dust) upon his head (II Samuel, xiii, 9), or sitting (Job, ii, 8 : Jonah, iii, 6), laying (Esther, iv, 3), or rolling himself therein (Jeremiah, vi, 26 ; Ezekiel, xxvii, 30). The sense of humiliation is expressed by sitting or rolling in the *afar* or dust (Isaiah, xlvii, 1 ; Micah, i, 7 ; vii, 17 ; Psalms, lxxii, 9); grief and suffering by putting dust on the head (Joshua, vii, 6; Job, ii, 12). The two Hebrew words *afar* and *efer* are synonyms, and in the expression " dust and ashes " are evidently combined for the sake of emphasis (*afar wė efer*).

It is not clear what was the precise idea or feeling which it was intended to express, by the ancient Semitic peoples, by the use of the dust (or ashes) in acts of mourning. The custom mentioned in the Old Testament is, probably, ancient, and may be the result of the convergence of several sorts of procedure. The dust, occupying the lowest place and being trodden underfoot, might well symbolize the downcast condition of the afflicted ; and as misfortune was regarded as the result of the displeasure of the Deity (Ruth i, 20,; Job. vi, 4 ; ix, 17), the sufferer would humiliate himself by prostration ; thus also repentance would be expressed (Job, xiii, 6). To this, doubtless, there was added that man was made of dust (Genesis ii, 7), and was to return to the dust of the grave (Genesis iii, 19 ; Job. vii, 21 ; Psalms xxii, 16). Authentic records testify to the use of ashes (dust) as a sign of grief in Talmudic times. The reason given for covering oneself with ashes is either that it should serve as an expression of self-humiliation, as if to say, " We are before Thee as ashes " (Genesis, XVII, 27 ; Job. XIII, 6), or it is to bring before the Deity the memory of Abraham (Ibrahim), who said " I am but dust and ashes " (Genesis, XVIII, 27). Raba (B. Joseph B. Hama), a Babylonian amora of the 4th generation (280-352 of the Common Era) says that if sifted ashes are strewn round the bed, the footprints of night-demons can be observed in them in the morning (*Berakot, Talmud*, 6*a*). Unworthy disciples were stigmatised by him, as " white pitchers filled with dust and ashes."

" 'Tis the sunset of life gives one mystical lore
" And coming events cast their shadows before,.'[1]

Presently, however, the sadness passed away. The wine-cup circled gaily round; the musicians and the *mughanniyat* (female singers) recommenced their melodious strains; and a song was sung which was an especial favourite of the monarch. But this night it availed only to awaken a doleful and saddening remembrance.

" A feeling of sadness and longing,
" That is not akin to pain,
" And resembles sorrow only
" As the mist resembles the rain."[2]

The monarch turned to his favourite courtier, Fath-ibn Khâqân, and said to him, " Of all those who heard that air when it was first played, there remain none but you and I," and so saying he burst into tears. Was this a second *khabur* (warning) a nasîhat (premonition) of what was to follow? Scarcely had the Khalif wiped the tears from his eyes when a servant entered, bearing a *khal'ah* (presentation robe) of incomparable beauty—a present to the monarch from his favourite wife. Al-Mutawakkil attired himself in it, and seemed to be greatly pleased therewith; but then as if he had received *asshawkat al akrat* (the sting of a scorpion), or by a sudden doleful *fikr* (thought), he tore the *khalsa'ah* off his shoulders and rent it in twain from one end to the other. " Go," he said to the slave, " and restore this garment to your mistress, and tell her to keep it as my winding sheet." *Fal* (omen) the third, and more awe-inspiring than either of those which had preceded it.

In the words of the Latin poet:—

Omina sunt aliquid

(Omens are (*i.e.*, mean) something)[3]

Such were *al 'alamat wal isharat* (the signs and tokens) of that awesome night!

A shiver passed through the frame of Al-Mutawakkil, then, as if in bravado, he shouted "Bring in more wine, *Ta'un* (a plague) on gloom!" and again the wine-cup went around, and the song and dance went on hour after hour.

(1) Thomas Campbell (1777-1844). *Lochiel's Warning.*
(2) Longfellow. *Day is Done.*
(3) Ovid. *Amorum*, Book I, 12.3.

" What cannot wine perform ? It brings to light
" The secret soul, it bids the coward fight ;
" Gives being to our hopes, and from our hearts
" Drives the dull sorrow, and inspires new arts."[1]

Midnight had passed, and Al-Mutawakkil, overcome with wine, lay helpless, in a drunken stupor, on the couch, whereon he had been sitting. Then came a crash of thunder-sound, and the heavy beat of the feet of armed men, the door was flung open and Baguir followed by ten other ferocious men, whose faces were veiled, rushed into the room, their naked scimitars flashing fiercely in the lights from the lamps. The pages, musicians, dancers, and courtiers fled in consternation. Baguir and his band of assassins rushed straight to the couch upon which the monarch lay stretched, sunk in the heavy sleep of inebriation. One man alone, Fath-ibn-Khâqân, remained to defend his master or die with him. Drawing his sword, he wielded it with such address that for some minutes he kept the assassins at bay, but the odds were too great, even for his valiant arm and he was cut down and killed, but not until he had slain two and wounded three of his assailants. Pandemonium reigned in the banqueting hall ; the clash of weapons was mingled with the shrieks of those who had attempted to flee and sought, in vain, an avenue of escape. Bûghâ the younger had closed every passage and corridor leading to the spot where the terrible tragedy was being enacted. A blow from a scimitar awoke Al-Mutawakkil from his drunken stupor, he shrieked with pain and terror, but soon all was over, and he lay a lifeless and mutilated corpse by the side of the dead body of his one faithful follower. The two corpses were rolled up, together, in the carpet of the room wherein they had been feasting and merry making and then flung into a corner of the hall. There they remained, disregarded, until the evening of the next day, when they were interred together.

Such was the end of Al-Mutawakkil :

" O mighty one ! and dost thou lie so low ?
" Are all thy conquests, glories, triumphs, spoils,
" Shrunk to this little measure ? "[2]

(1) Phillip Francis (1710-1773). Rendering of *Horace, Epistles* (Epis. 1-5).

(2) Shakespeare, *Julius Cæsar*, Act III, Scene 1.

HARUN MUSTAFA LEON.

THE RENAISSANCE OF ISLAM

12. The Savant.

The 3rd/9th century developed those who had a knightly and courtly education into litterateurs (*adib*) of the debased type of the modern journalists who will speak on every subject. This, naturally, constrained the savants to take to specialization : " He who would be a savant (*'alim*) should cultivate a particular branch of learning (*fann*) but he who would be a litterateur, let him range over the entire domain of learning"[1]. A number of profane sciences grew out of the old belles-lettres (*adab*). Hitherto only theology and philosophy possessed systematic method and scientific style, but now philosophy and history and even geography adopted their own method and style. No longer content with merely amassing copious and varied material, they become practical, they begin to systematize and they feel a sense of responsibility. How brief, now, become the prefaces to books ! And a striking illustration of this is the preface to the Fihrist composed in 377/987 : " God, help with thy Grace ! The soul craves for facts and not for theories and longs to attain its goal without wearisome digressions. And, precisely for this reason, we restrict ourselves to these words since the book itself will show—if God wills—what we have aimed at in composing it. We seek God's help and blessings!"

A further change was effected by the separation of Jurisprudence from Theology with the result that the learned world was rent in twain—the world of jurists and that of savants proper (*'ulama*). The vast mass of students, who worked for a living, attached themselves to jurists ; for only through the jurists, who represented Law and Ritual, was it possible to secure the posts of judges and preachers. Says Jahiz in a well-known passage : Our experience is that the study of traditions or the

(1) Ibn Kutaibah, according to the *Mikhlat* of Amuli, 228.

exegesis of the Quran up to fifty years will not qualify a man as 'jurist' or render him eligible for a judicial post. These honours can only be attained by studying the writings of Abu Hanifa and such like and by committing to memory legal formulae for which a year or two are amply sufficient. One who does this is appointed, after a short time, judge over a town, nay, over an entire province.[1]

The advance of theology—rendered possible by jettisoning the juristic ballast—and the spirit of the new age raised the ideal of the savant to a remarkable altitude.

"Learning only unveils herself to him who wholeheartedly gives himself up to her: who approaches her with an unclouded mind and clear insight; who seeks God's help and focusses an undivided attention upon her; who girds up his robe and who, albeit weary, out of sheer ardour, passes sleepless nights in pursuit of his goal rising, by steady ascent, to its top-most height and not to him who seeks learning by aimless flights and thoughtless efforts or who, like a blind camel, gropes about in the dark. He should not yield to bad habits or permit himself to be led astray by vicious tendencies. Nor must he turn his eyes from truth's depth. He should discriminate between the doubtful and certain, between genuine and spurious and should always stand firm by the clear light of reason." Thus wrote Mutahhar in 355/966.[2]

The clerk (*katib*) was the representative of profane learning. He was already severely distinguished from the theologian by his dress who used *Tailasan* and, in the East at least, the Chinband[3].

Persia, the worldly province, was the head-quarters of the 'clerk.' In its capital, Shiraz, he was more honoured than the theologian[4]. The East, on the other hand, was the paradise of the savant where the theologian even today enjoys an esteem unrivalled elsewhere in the world[5]. When in the 5th/11th century a great theologian travelled through Persia, the inhabitants, with their wives and, children, met him wherever he went, touched his sleeve to invoke his blessings and took the dust off his sandal as

(1) Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, II, 233. The young Ghazzali was very much distressed when a theologian addressed him as 'jurist' Subki, III 259. (2) Ed. Huart, 1, 5. (3) See Khuda Bukhsh, *Contributions to the History of Islamic Civilization*, vol. II (Second Edition): *Educational system of the Muslims* where this word is explained in note. (4) Muk, 440. (5) This passage appears confused and is, certainly, inaccurate. Tr.

if it was medicine. Merchants, artisans flung their wares upon his train : fruits, sweets, dresses, furs. Even cobblers were not behindhand. Sufi women threw garlands of roses at him in the hope that he might touch them and they might thence draw magical power[1].

Every mosque of importance is likely to have had a library for, hitherto, it was the practice to bequeath books to them[2]. The Library at Merv is said to have had as nucleus the books brought there by Yazdagerd[3]. The magnates also took a pride in collecting books. At the end of the 4th/10th century every one of the three great rulers of Islam—of Cordova, of Cairo, and of Baghdad—was a lover of books. Al-Hakam of Spain had his agents all over the East to collect first copies of books that were written. The catalogue of his library consisted of 44 Fasculi, each of 20 folios, containing merely the titles of books. At Cairo before the Caliph Abdul Aziz (d. 386/996) mention was made of the *Kit-Al-Ain* of Khalil ibn Ahmad. He sent for it and the librarian immediately brought over 30 MSS, among them, an autograph copy of the author. A dealer offered the Caliph a MS of the '*History of Tabari*' for which he had paid 100 dînârs. The Caliph, in his library had more than 20 MSS. of this work, including an autograph copy of the author. Of the *Jamharah* of Ibn Duraid he had 100 MSS[4]. Later writers even presume to know the actual number of books there. In the printed edition of Maqrizi the number is estimated at between 160 and 120,000 volumes[5]. Ibn al Tuwair : The library had departments, divided into sections, each section with a door on hinges and with locks. It contained more than 200,000 volumes[6]. Poor is the comparison which the western libraries of this period offer. In the 9th century the Cathedral library of Constance possessed 356 volumes, the Benedictbeuren[7] library in 1030 just over 100 volumes and the Cathedral library of Bamberg in 1130 only 96 volumes[8]. Mukaddasi was shown over the library of

(1) Subki, III, 91. (2) Margoliouth, Abul Ala's, *Letters*, XVI. (3) Ibn Taifur, *Kit. Baghdad*, ed Keller, fol. 62 a. Even at a later time Yaqut praises a library at Merv where he worked for 3 years. In his time there were 12 libraries there, of these one possessed some 12,000 volumes. The administration was very liberal and a savant continually had 200 volumes at a time with him without giving any security. (One dinar being the average value of each book). Yaqut, *Geog. Dictionary*, vol. IV, 509. (4) Thus reports the generally trustworthy Musabbihi (d. 420/1029), a contemporary (*apud* Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 1 ,408), we must not forget that the numerals vary in different copyists. (5) Maqrizi. *Khitat*, 1. 409. (6) Ibid. (7) Village in Upper Bavaria. (8) Th. Gottlieb, *Uebermittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, 22, 23, 37.

Adad-ud-Dawlah by the chief Bed-maker (*Rais-al-farrashin*) : The library formed a building by itself. It was in charge of a superintendent (*wakil*), a librarian (*khazin*) and an inspector (*mushrif*). Adad-ud-Dawlah had collected there every book composed up to his time in every branch of learning. The library consisted of a large anteroom and a long arched hall with rooms on all sides. In the walls of the hall and the rooms he had inserted cupboards of veneered wood two yards long by three broad with doors which were let down from above. The books were all piled upon shelves. Every branch of learning had its own cupboards, and catalogues, in which the names of the books were registered. Only distinguished people were allowed admission into the library.[1] The three passionate lovers of learning of the 3rd/9th century were the oft mentioned Jahiz, Fath ibn Khaqan, a magnate of the Court, and Qadi Ismail ibn Ishaq. Never did a book come to Jahiz's hand but he read it from cover to cover, be it what it might. Finally he hired the shops of the book-dealers to read the books there on loan. A later authority even invents for him a bibliophile's death. He used to heap up books high around him and one day the heap fell upon him and killed him[2].

Whenever he left the Caliph's table for some business or other Ibn Khaqan pulled a book out from his sleeve or his shoe and read it until his return. And this he did even in the privy. " I always found Qadi Ismail ibn Ishaq either reading a book or shifting books[3]," says Ibn Nadim.

Sijistani (d. 275/888) had a wide and a narrow sleeve made : the first was intended for books but the other served no purpose[4].

About the middle of the 3rd/9th Century the courtier Ali ibn Yahya Munajjim established a beautiful library on his estate which he named the ' Treasure-house of Wisdom ' (*Khizanat al-hikmah*). From all parts of the world people flocked there and were entertained at the proprietor's cost. There also came with the pilgrim caravan the astronomer Abu Ma'shar from Khorasan. He visited the library and was so captivated by it that " he forgot both Islam and the pilgrimage.[5]"

(1) Muk, 449. Mez's rendering has been corrected. (2) Abulfida, *Annales*, year 255 (3) *Fihrist*, 116 ; Yaqut ; *Irshad*, VI, 57 ; *Gurar al-fawaid* of Mur-tadha, Tehran, 1272. (4) Abulmahasin II, 79. (5) Yaqut, *Irshad*, V, 46.

An Isphahanian theologian and landowner (d. 272/885) is said to have spent 300,000 dirhams on books[1]. Even a Court Marshal at Baghdad who died in 312/924 left behind books worth more than 2,000 dinars[2]. In 357/967 among other things, 17,000 bound volumes were confiscated belonging to a rebellious son of the Amir of Baghdad[3]. In 355/965 the house of the Wazir Abul Fadl ibn Amid was so thoroughly plundered by ' itinerant religious warriors' that nothing was left behind to sit upon or to drink water from. The historian Ibn-Miskawaihi was then his librarian who thus proceeds : The Alid Ibn Hamzah sent carpets and utensils to him, but his heart was troubled about his books, for nothing was dearer to him than books. And he had plenty of them, dealing with all sciences and every branch of philosophy and literature—more than a hundred camels' load. When he saw me, he asked me about them and I informed him that they were as safe as before and that no one had touched them. He was delighted and said : you are a child of fortune. Every thing else can be replaced but these can never be. I noticed how his face lighted up. He added : bring them to me tomorrow at such and such a place. I did as I was told, and of all his possessions they alone were saved.

Sahib ibn Abbad (d. 384/994) refused the invitation of the Samanid Prince to become his Wazir on the ground, among others, of the difficulty of removal ; having 400 camel-loads only of theological works. The catalogue of his library filled 10 volumes. Under Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, who proved himself a Maecenas neither to Firdausi nor to Beruni, the books were consigned to the flames[4].

The Qadi Abul Mutrif of Cordova (d. 420/1,011) was a great collector of books. He always had six copyists to work for him. Wherever he heard of a beautiful book he sought to secure it, making extravagant offers for it. He never lent a book, but would willingly get it copied and make a gift of it without hesitation. After his death his books were sold for a whole year in his mosque ; fetching 400,000 dinars for the collection[5]. The Baghdadian savant Al-Baiqani (d. 425/1,033) required 63 baskets and two trunks for the transport of his books on removal[6].

(1) Abu Nu'aim, *Tarikh Ispahan*, Leiden, fol. 51 b. (2) Suli, contemporary and courtier in *Arib*, 121. Suli himself had a big library. Ibn al-Jauzi 796. (3) Misk, VI, 314 ; Ibn al-Athir, VIII, 481. (4) Yaqut, *Irshad*, II, 315. (5) Ibn Bashkuwal, 1, 304 F. (6) Wüstenfeld, AGGW, 87, Nr 385.

The Manichaeans had already shown delicate taste and fancy in the get-up of their books. In 311/923, at the public gate of the castle at Baghdad, the portrait of Mani, together with 14 sacks of heretical books, was burnt. Gold and silver fell out of them. The supporters of the schismatic Al-Hallaj (executed in 310/921) also imitated the Manichæans in this respect. Their books were written in gold on Chinese paper, were encased in silk and brocade, and were bound in costly leather[1].

The State-papers of the Byzantine Chancery are always mentioned as works of art. In 326/937 a letter of the Byzantine Emperor came to the Caliph—the Greek text in letters of gold and the Arabic translation in letters of silver[2]. Somewhat later another letter was sent to the Caliph of Cordova in letters of gold on sky-blue leather. It was encased in a cylinder of chased silver with the portrait of the emperor in coloured glass on the cover. That entire work of art was enveloped in brocade[3]. The poems of the Caliph Mutamid were likewise inscribed in letters of gold[4]. The Wazir Ibn Abbad (d. 386/996) personally drafted the letter of appointment of his chief Qadi Abdul Jabbar, and himself copied it in a most extravagant fashion. It consisted of 700 lines, each line on a folio and the entire work fitted into an ivory case, which looked not "unlike a thick column"[5]. In the 5th/11th century this work, along with another bibliographical rarity, was presented to the Wazir Nizam el-Mulk. The latter was a Quran, the variants of which were in red, between the lines, the explanation of uncommon expressions in blue, and passages of practical import in gold[6].

The book-lovers' greatest joy consisted in MSS of famous scribes.

But along with libraries another form of literary endowment came into existence. It combined the collection of books with instruction or, at least, with remuneration for work done in the libraries. The poet and savant Ibn Hamdan (d. 323/935)—a distinguished nobleman of Mosul—founded in his native town a 'House of Learning' (*dar-al-'ilm*) with a library possessing books on every branch of learning. It was open to all who wished to make use of it. For the poor paper was provided free. For himself the founder set apart a place where he declaim-

(1) *Arib*, p. 90, according to Misk. (2) Ibn al-Jauzi, 59 a. (3) Maqq, ed. Dozy, 1, 257. (4) Es-Suli, to whom the Caliph el-Muktafi had shown it. Apud Shabushti, 896. (5) Es-Subki, *Tab.*, II., 230. (6) Es-Subki, II, 230.

ed his verses or those of others and dictated historical and juristic notes[1]. The Qadi Ibn Hibban (d. 354/965) bequeathed to the town of Nisabur a house with " library and quarters for foreign students and provided stipends for their maintenance." The books were not to be lent out[2]. A courtier of Adud-ud-Dawlah (d. 372/982) built at Ram-Hormuz on the Persian Gulf—as at Basrah—a library where those who read or copied received a grant. At Ram-Hormuz a Mutazilite theologian always lectured on Mutazilite principles. In 383 the Buwayyid wazir Sabur ibn Ardashir (d. 415/1,024) founded a ' House of Learning ' (*dar al-'ilm*) on the west side of Baghdad[3]. Besides, 10,400 volumes, mostly authors' autographs, and copies, belonging to celebrated scholars, it possessed 100 copies of the Quran written by the Banu Muklah[4]. The management was in the hands of two Alids and a Qadi.

Further Ar-Radi, poet and registrar of the Alids (d. 406/1,015) established one such ' House of Learning ' for students (*Talabat ul-ilm*) ; making necessary arrangements for their needs (Diwan, Beyrut 1, 3). The name signifies the change. The old institutions, which were libraries, pure and simple, were called the ' Treasure-house of wisdom' (*Khizanat al-Hikmah*)—the newer ones ' The House of Learning ' (*Dar-al-'ilm*) in which the library was merely a special section. Even in Egypt such academies were founded. In 378/988 Aziz purchased a house by the side of Al-Azhar and endowed it for 35 theologians who held their sittings for learned discussions every Friday in the mosque between the midday and the afternoon prayer. Thus, the Islamic academy, which is still the greatest academy in Islam, dates from the 4th/10th century. The wazir Ibn Killis established a private academy. He is reported to have spent 1,000, dinars every month for professors, copyists and bookbinders[5]. In 935 the Caliph al-Hakim founded a *Dar-al-*

(1) *Irshad*, II, 420. (2) Wüstenfeld AGGW, 37. (3) Muk, 413 : Fihrist, 139. (Ibn Khall. 1,250. Prof. Margoliouth says that it was founded in 381, in a part of Baghdad called ' between the two walls' in the quarter of Karkh. *Letters of Abul Ala*, XXIV, Tr.) (4) Ibn Khall. II, 80 ; Ibn Jauzi, fol. 135 a. The library was burnt down in 450/1058. Ibn al-Athir, IX 247. Books, which earlier were in possession of famous men, are of special importance in theological literature for they furnish in a manner a chain of tradition and a guarantee of accuracy. For this reason the reader carefully noted his name on the cover of the book. In Yaqut's *Irshad* (vi, 359) it is noted how the librarian of this library was shown that the books were being eaten by worms. (5) Yahya ibn Sa'id, his contemporary and countryman. fol, 108 a.

ilm at Cairo in which he gathered together books out of the different libraries in the citadel. It was thrown open to all. Besides the lecturers who lectured there—he appointed a librarian and two assistants[1]. Pen, paper and ink were supplied free of cost.

We possess the budget of this institution. Its maintenance cost 257 dinars a year.

Among other items of expenses :—

Paper	.. 90 Dinars
Pay of the Librarian ..	.. 48 Dinars.
Pay of the Servants ..	.. 15 Dinars.
Pay of the Officer in charge of Paper, Ink and Pens of reed ..	.. 12 Dinars.
Repairs	.. 12 Dinars.
Drinking-water	.. 12 Dinars.
Abbadan mats	.. 10 Dinars.
Felt-Carpet for winter ..	.. 5 Dinars.
Coverings for winter ..	.. 4 Dinars.
Repair of Door Curtains ..	.. 1 Dinar.

Al-Afdal shut up the library, because it became the centre of religious strife and sectarian disputes[2]. Theological and juristic lectures were mostly delivered at the mosques where the audience formed a circle in front of the lecturer who, whenever possible, took his place with his back to a pillar[3]. If any one posted himself near such a circle, people called to him to turn towards the class. At the chief mosque of Cairo Mukaddasi reckoned 120 such circles in the evening[4]. The most famous educational centre of the empire then was the oldest chief mosque of Baghdad—the mosque of Mansur[5]. The Khatib al-Baghdadi is said to have taken, while on a pilgrimage, three draughts from the well of Zemzem, each draught signifying a wish : that he might compose a history of Baghdad, that he might be allowed to dictate traditions at the mosque of Mansur, and that he might be buried near the grave of Bisr el-Hafi. For fifty years, there sat in this mosque, by one and the same pillar Naftawaihi (d. 323/935), chief of the Zahirite school of Jurisprudence[6].

(1) Yahya, fol. 116 a. (2) Maqrizi, *Khitat*, II, 458. (3) Muk, 205. In 314/926 the Tigris, near Mosul, was frozen with the result that one could actually ride across it. To celebrate the occasion Abu Zikrah sat in the middle of the river with a circle of audience around him to whom he dictated notes. Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 31 a. (4) Yaqut, *Irshad*, 1, 246. (5) Guy Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p, 33. Tr. (6) *Irshad* 1, 309.

Within the theological circle, lectures of the canonists, dealing with professional learning, drew the largest audiences. And yet, compared with the figures to-day, the number is relatively small, whence we can infer that the number of competing teachers was great. Abu Hamid al-Isfaraini, (d. 406/1,015) the most renowned jurist of the century, called the second Shafi'i drew only 3 to 700 disciples at the mosque of Ibn al-Mubarak at Baghdad where he lectured[1].

The most famous lecturer in jurisprudence at Nishapur, the great centre of learning in the East, had an audience of over 500 on Friday the 23rd of Moharrum, 387/997[2]; a successor of his—the "incomparable" Juwaini (d. 478/1085) had a daily audience of 300[3]; whereas, today, for instance, in the God-forsaken Kashghar (East Turkistan) the first professor lectures, sometimes in our days, to an audience of 500.[4]

They counted the students from the number of ink-pots which they put before them; for the ink-pot was the most important part of a student's equipment[5].

The enraged audience of the famous Tabari flung ink-pots at him when he said something which they did not approve of[6]. On the death of the lecturer, students smashed the ink-pots and broke their pens of reed and went about the town shrieking and lamenting. At the death of the above-mentioned Juwaini, who also was a famous preacher, his pulpit was thrown down and the entire Nishapur shared the academic grief. "The gates of the town were closed and instead of a head-gear they covered the head with a handkerchief[7]."

People brought their books to college in a receptacle called 'flask,' doubtless with academic humour[8].

In earlier times dictation (*imla*) was counted as the highest stage of instruction[9]. In the 3rd/9th century it was largely resorted to by theologians and philologers. The Mutazilite el-Jubbai is said to have dictated 150,000 leaves and yet he was never seen to refer to any book except the calendar of Khwarezmi[10]. Abu Ali al-Qali

(1) Wüstenfeld, AGGW, 37, Nr. 287; *es-Subki*, III, 25; Ibn al-Athir, IX, 183, mentions 400. (2) Nawawi, *Tahdhib*, ed Wüstenfeld, 807; Subki, II, 170. (3) Subki, II, 252. (4) Hartmann, *Chinesisch-Turkestan*, 45. (5) Nawawi and Subki. (6) Yaqut, *Irshad*, VI 486. (7) Wüstenfeld, AGGW, 37 Nr 365; Subki, II, 257. (8) 'Qarurah'—probably this word was used for a case. cf. Dozy. Yaqut, *Irshad*. II, 10. (9) Suyuti, *Muzhir*, 1, 30; apud Goldziher, S. W. A. 69, 20, (10) Ahmad Ibn Yahya, ed. Arnold, 47.

dictated five volumes[1]. The student made a note on the leaf of his note-book : " Lecture, dictated by our Shaikh N. N., at such and such a place, on such and such a day[2]."

In the 4th/10th century, however, the philologer gave up the Theologian's method of teaching. Instead of dictating notes he took to explaining and commenting (*Tadris*) upon a work, read out by one of his pupils, " not unlike the method pursued in explaining compendiums " (*Mukhtasarat*). Abul Qasim Ez-Zajjaji (d. 339/950) is said to have been the last to dictate lexicography[3]. As expressly stated by Suyuti, in the sphere of theology, dictation, however, continued to be the approved method. When that vain wazir, Saheb ibn Abbad (d. 385/995) dictated traditions he naturally had a number of sycophants as his audience who took down notes. Each copyist had six others attached to him, each of whom repeated the dictation to the other[4]. But dictation, here, too showed signs of decline and only a few savants preferred it to *Tadris*[5].

The history of the *Kitab al Yaqut* of Mutarriz (d. 345/956) shows how a book grew out of dictation. From the 24th of Moharrum 326/936 he dictated *die ad diem* this book until completed. To this he added a great number of notes and supplements. Abu Ishaq et-Tabari, then, read the book out before him, the students listening and he making further additions to it. Then from Dhulqada of 329/924 to Rabi II of 331/942 Abul Fath read it out to him when the notes of the best pupils were compared and yet further additions made by the author. Then he added fresh chapters and supplements which Abu-Mohamad Wahb took down. This done, Abu Ishaq et-Tabari had once more to read the book over to him. Then the final shape was given, the author promising to make no further additions[6].

The altered mode of instruction called new educational institutions into being. The predominance of *Tadris* gave birth to the *Madrasahs* : the main reason being that with *Tadris* went hand in hand *Munazarah* (disputation) and the mosque was hardly deemed a fit place for such a method of study and instruction.

In this sphere, too, the 4th/10th century moulded the

(1) Suyuti. (2) Subki III. 259. (3)Ahmad ibn Yahya, ed Arnold, 47. (4) Yaqut, *Irshad*, II. 312. (5) Ahmad ibn Yahya, 63. At the time of Haji Khalifa the traditionists seem to have finally abandoned dictation. Marcais. *Le Taqrib de en-Nawawi* JA, 1901, 18 p. 87. (6) *Fihrist*, 76.

form which exists to this day. Tradition, as a whole, points to Nishapur—then the greatest centre of learning in the East—as the birth-place of the *Madrasah*. The best authority—Al-Hakim, the historian of the Nishapurian Savants, says that the first *madrasah* was founded there for the benefit of his contemporary Isfaraini (d. 418/1,027)[1]. The *madrasah* of Ibn Furak (d. 406/1,015) can only have been a few years younger[2]. Both Isfaraini and Ibn Furak were ardent disciples of Al-Ashari and must have preferred dogmatic discussions—even *Tadris*—to simple transmission of traditions[3]. A third Nisapurian (d. 429/1,037) who built a *madrasah* for the savants in front of his house was a chief *mudarris* (lecturer) and a disputant (*munazir*)[4].

In the great colleges the assistant professor sat on a raised seat enjoining silence and repeating the words of the professor for the benefit of those who were at a distance from him. At the theological lectures the professor began : Praise be to God and blessings on his Prophet. Then he caused verses of the Quran to be recited by one of his pupils with a fine voice. This done, the professor prayed for the town and his pupils. The assistant professor then enjoined silence invoking the name of God and praising the Prophet. Next he addressed the professor saying : May God be gracious to thee, whom wilt thou quote ? And each time the name of the Prophet or a saint occurred, he pronounced the prescribed Formula[5].

About 300/912 a teacher began with the Quran, and its various readings, then passed on to the sayings of the Prophet and, whenever a strange proposition or an uncommon expression occurred, he explained, discussed and questioned his audience as to the sense[6]. Students were allowed at the lecture to get up and question the teacher, as the history of a philologer (d. 415/1,024) shows. First one rose and asked : O Abu Ubaidah ! What is that ? Then a second and a third. Since all three asked silly

(1) Subki, *Tabaqat*, III, 111, 137. Maqrizi (*Khitat*, II, 363) thinks that the *madrasah* of Baihaqi (d. 454/1,062) was the first and Dhahabi that of Nizam-ul-Mulk. (Subki, III, 137). In Jauhari the word is not found but in Hamadani it occurs. *Ras.* p. 247. (2) Subki, III, 52. (3) Ribera seeks to establish in his interesting essay '*Origen del Colegio Nidami de Baghdad*' (reprinted in his Opuscula) that the madrasah originally was a *Karramite* institution. But there is no proof for this theory. (4) Subki. III, 33. (5) Nawawi, *Taqrib*, JA, 1901, 18 p 88. That this also obtained in the 4/10th century is shown by the order of the Khatib : " that this formula is to be loudly recited." (6) Yaqut, *Irshad* VI, 282.

questions, Abu Ubaidah took his sandals, ran into the mosque and called out : How come all the cattle to be herded in my room today[1] !

The pious scruple against transmitting traditions which had previously existed, had not yet quite disappeared[2]. Birqani (d. 425/1,094) tells us that his teacher was always reluctant to teach tradition. His pupils, whenever he spoke to any one, were wont to step aside and, without his knowledge, to make notes of traditions which he wove into his conversation[3]. Another actually refused to teach tradition until he was seventy[4]. And yet the transmission of tradition was an act of worship and required a certain amount of purification. " It is desirable that the transmitter of traditions should purify, perfume himself and comb his beard before beginning his lecture. He is to sit upright in a dignified posture. He is to take severely to task any one who interrupts him. But he himself should be polite and courteous to all[5]."

From the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries we hear of people, who seeking intercession for a sick or needy person, throw a slip of paper before an honoured theologian while sitting with his circle of students around him. The professor picks it up, utters a prayer and the students confirm it with *Amin*. Then the instruction proceeds. The following story comes from the 4th/10th century.

One day, during his *wizarat*, Saheb ibn Abbad, intending to dictate notes, showed himself, in the fashion of a theologian, in a veil and chinband and said : " You know my zeal for theology"—his statement was confirmed by the audience. He, then, proceeded : " I am always preoccupied with this subject. Whatever I have spent, in acquiring a knowledge of it, from childhood up to now, has come from my father's and grandfather's purse and yet I have not kept free from lapses. God and you are my witnesses that I do penance to God for any sin committed." He owned a house which he named the ' house of

(1) Yaqut, *Irshad*, V, 272. (2) Goldziher, Z. D. M.G. Vol. 61 (1907), p. 861. See also Samarqandi's, *Bustan el-arifin* (p. 10) where one says : I have met 120 companions of the Prophet and there was no traditionist among them who did not wish some one other than himself to repeat traditions and no *mufti* among them either who did not prefer some one other than himself to decide. (3) Marcais in the ' *Taqrib* of Nawawi' J A 1901. 17 p. 196 note 2. (4) Subki, *Tabaqat*, II, 161. (5) *Taqrib* pp. 18,85 ff. (J. A. 1901). From Ghazzali Marcais quotes that Sufian Thauri always seated the poor in the very first rank

penance.' There he was wont to remain for some weeks (doing penance), taking care that the validity of his penance was testified to by canonists. On completion of the penance he dictated notes. To every copyist some six others attached themselves, of these six every one passed on the dictated matter to others[1]. Darqutni (d. 385/995) silently prayed while the students read aloud before him. He called attention to mistakes by saying: '*Subhan Allah.*' We are also told as an example of his acumen that he corrected mistakes by citations from the Quran[2]. A theologian, who died in 406/1,015, began his lectures by recitations from the Quran and traditions and, during the whole time, never moved a limb till he was quite exhausted[3]. Bahili always sat at the lecture which he delivered once a week behind a curtain for fear that his pupils might look upon him and the populace with one and the same eye. On account of deep pre-occupation with God he had become frenzied and never knew what length his lecture had reached until reminded of it[4]. The theological lecture concluded with a prayer, prefaced by *Qumu*, stand up[5].

Opinion was naturally divided as to the age when study should begin. Some recommended that the study of tradition should not commence until the 30th year; others not until the 20th. In the VIth century Qadi Iyadh of Cordova (d. 544/1,149) states the opinion of experts to be that the study of tradition should not be taken up before the age of 5. In support of this view, even a tradition from Bukhari (*'Ilm*, ch. 18) is cited and Nawawi, who died in 476/1,083, states this to be the general rule in his time. The famous Humaidi is said to have been carried on his father's shoulder for instruction[6]. And, for this reason, indeed, notices of learned men invariably refer to the age when they commenced to attend lectures.

Rare are the instances of boys of six attending lectures. The famous Qadi Tanukhi (d. 384/994) belongs to this rare group[7]. Abu Nu'aim of Ispahan, the greatest traditionist of the age, began attending lectures at eight[8]. But generally they commenced at 11. At the age of 11 the

(1) *Irshad*, II, 312. (For his life, see, Ibn Khall, II, 239). (2) Subki, II, 312. (Ibn Asakir on 'Dictation', Ibn Khall, II, 253 Tr.). (3) Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 163 a. (4) Subki, *Tabaqat*, II, 257. (5) Subki, *Tabaqat*, II, 192. (6) *Taqrib*, J. A. 1901. 17, p. 193. (7) Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 180. b. (8) Subki, III, 8.

famous Khatib[1], three of his disciples, and Ibn al-Jauzi[2] began attending lectures.

There were teachers, indeed, who would not, at their lectures, admit beardless youths for fear of love-intrigues. An ardent, youthful scholar, had to use, in consequence, a false beard[3].

There was a difference of opinion even as to the age when one should teach theology. Nawawi seems to think that one could do so at any age provided an audience is found. The old teacher should cease to lecture when he feels that through age or blindness he mixes up traditions[4]. As a poor student, Isfaraini, the greatest Shafiite jurist of the 4th/10th century, worked as a porter[5]. Others went through their course of study by sleeping on the *minaret* of the mosque in which they heard lectures.

It is related of the wazir Ibn al-Furat (d. 312/924) that, during his *wizarat*, he allowed 20,000 dirhams as a permanent annual grant to poets, apart from individual donations or gifts for panegyrics. In his last *wizarat* he thought of the students and said : Perhaps they can ill-afford to spare a penny or even less to buy ink and paper. It is, then, my duty to help and provide them with these. And he, accordingly, sanctioned 20,000 dirhams out of his own purse for these[6].

This story suggests that institutions for students were not common then. Moreover, the larger portion of this grant, as is expressly stated, was diverted to other purposes. The poor scholar—when not a jurist or official—earned a living as copyist, as did the Christian Yahya ibn Adi (d. 364/974). One of the outstanding philosophers of the 4th/10th century, who twice transcribed the entire commentary of Tabari on the Quran, used to copy as many as 100 leaves in twenty-four hours[7]. Abu Hatim, who for 50 years worked as copyist at Nishapur, thus expresses himself : " Copying is a wretched, accursed business. It secures neither bread to the living nor a shroud to the dead[8]." By copying Daqqaq (d. 489/1,096)

(1) *Tarikh Baghdad*, J.R.A. S. 1902, p 50. (2) Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 187 b (3) Wüstenfeld , *Schafiiten*, AGGW 37, Nr. 88. (4) *Taqrib*, J A (1901) 18 p 50. The later theorists are very severe upon blind theologians. Some even refuse to regard them as trustworthy traditionists, an indication of the value set upon writing and a corresponding decline in the high esteem in which memory was held in the past. The Khatib rules : We are to look upon a blind theologian or traditionist in the same light as an uneducated person with eyes. Ibid, p. 68. (5) AGGW, 37 Nr 28. (6) Yaqut, *Irshad*, 1,255. Wuz, 201 f. (7) *Fihrist* 264 ; Kifti 361. (8) *Yatimah*, III, 319.

maintained mother, wife, and daughter. In course of a year he copied the *Sahih* of Muslim. He once dreamed that on the Day of Judgment he was absolved and " as I was through the gate of Paradise" says he, "I threw myself at full length on my back, put one leg on the other and called out ' ah, now, by God, I am rid of copying [1]'."

The imposture of the copyists was regarded as a misfortune of learning[2]. Extremely conscientious savants copied their libraries out for themselves[3], whenever possible.

Private tuition did not bring in much. A whole band of savants; *e.g.*, the entire Hanafite school, Ahmad ibn Hanbal, Sufyan Thauri and others, declare it unlawful for teachers to take money for instruction in Quran and tradition[4].

Others considered it lawful but placed the traditionist higher who " only taught for the sake of heavenly reward." Even Nawawi in the 8th/13th century refused to accept the salary, assigned for his post, at Ashrafiyyah.

After an unremunerated lecture of the sort mentioned the pupils said: May God reward thee! Whereupon the teacher replied: May God let it profit ye[5]!

In 346/957 there died a famous Khorasanian teacher, who became so hard of hearing, from his thirtieth year, that he could not even hear the braying of a donkey. When he went to the mosque to deliver lectures he invariably found it full of people who carried him on their shoulder to his seat. He would receive no remuneration for his lectures but earned a living as copyist[6]. Jauzaki (d. 388/998) said: " 10,00,000 dirhams have I spent on Traditions but not a single dirham have I earned thereby." An Alid, wishing to present 300 dinars to the famous, Khatib al-Baghdadi, who happened to be at the mosque of Tyre, placed the sum on his prayer carpet. The Khatib took up the prayer carpet in anger and left the mosque. The Alid had to pick up the gold pieces from the fissures in the mat[7].

To become a school-master, as the later famous Abu Zaid al-Balkhi (d. 322/933) became, meant " Sour bread and a despised occupation[8]." Jahiz has written a book on school-masters which is full of fun and of anecdotes, descriptive of their helplessness and folly. " As stupid as

(1) Yaqut, *Irshad*, VI, 337. (2) *Yatimah*, IV, 122. (3) Often. particularly in the account of the lives of the Malekite jurists. e.g., *Bibl. Arabhisp.* (4) Muk. *Bustan el-arefin.* Marcais, *Taqrib*, J A (1901), 17 p. 143. (5) Subki, II, 297. (6) Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 87. (7) Subki, II, 169. (8) Subki, III, 14.

a school-master " was a familiar proverb[1]. Greek comedy may be responsible for much of this, for in it the school-master is a stock comic figure[2]. But it was averred in all seriousness that the oaths of weavers, sailors, and those who let animals on hire have no validity in law and those of the carriers of loads and school-masters but partial validity[3]. Ibn Habib (d. 245/859) counsels: when you ask one regarding his business and he answers, School-master! then give him a cuff[4]. Ibn Haukal reports[5]: " The daily consumption of onions has made the Sicilians weak-minded with the result that they see things otherwise than as they are. As an illustration they regard the school-masters, of whom there are more than 300, as the noblest and the most important members of their community and out of them make confidants and choose assessors in their courts. But we all know how cribbed and confined is the understanding of the school-masters and how light-headed they are! Through cowardice and fear of fighting they have resorted to their occupation."

The School-master was paid at times in kind. Proverbial is the School-master's kitchen for its heterogeneous contents. It was great or small, good or bad according to the purse or the generosity of the pupils' parents. Jahiz said of a school-master.

> Their cakes and bread, that is no good—
> A plague upon such work and food[6].

More happily placed were private-tutors (*muaddib*) in rich houses. An ordinary teacher received about 60 dirhams for tuition; exceptionally competent ones not quite a thousand[7]. A private tutor of this sort received 70 dirhams per month at the house of an officer of Abdullah ibn-Tahir in the 3rd/9th century but he stood under the supervision of his own teacher who had recommended him and who occasionally examined the boys and had the power of removing him, if necessary[8]. Most fortunate, indeed, were the tutors of princes. Such a position was held by distinguished philologers. Mohamed ibn Abdullah

(1) Yaqut, *Irshad*, 1,141. (2) Jahiz, *Bayan* 1,100. (3) Ibn Kutaibah, *Uyun al-Akhbar*, 93. (4) Yaqut. *Irshad*, VI, 473. (5) p. 86. (6) Tha'alabi, *Kit. umad el-mansub* ZDMG, VI,. There was no school on Tuesdays and Fridays (Ibn al-Mutazz II, 1; Abulqasim, LVII). For later times *Alif Ba* 1,208; *Madkhal*, II, 168. Children wrote with chalk on boards (Muk, 440). Straps were used for chastisement. *Yatimah*, II, 63. (7) Jahiz, *Bayan*, 1, 151. (8) Yaqut, *Irshad*, 1, 122.

ibn Tahir, one of the most generous men of his time, allowed to the grammarian Tha'lab, the resident private tutor of his son, a house close by the palace where he and his pupil lived, receiving daily seven rations of black bread, a ration of wheat bread, seven pounds of meat, forage for horses, and a stipend of 1,000 dirhams[1]. In 302/912 the son of the Wazir celebrated at Baghdad the admission of his son to the school-room with an invitation to 300 guests—officers of all rank and status. The private tutor received 1,000 dinars as present[2]. In the school-room of princes a slave of his tutor stood by the side of the little Mamun to take the board from his hand, wipe it and, again, hand it back to him[3]. At court, savants were always welcome and received pension. They were classed under two headings: (1) Jurists (*Fuqaha*) and (2) Theologians (*'Ulema*). The third and the best paid group was that of the *Nudama* (messmates of the sovereign) of the Caliphs. The same individual could draw simultaneously all the three stipends. It, then, made up 300 dinars a month with free quarters[4]. The philologer Ibn Duraid (d. 321/933) received from Al-Muqtadir 50 dinars per month when he came destitute to Baghdad[5]. Al-Farabi (d. 339/950) received from Saif-ud-Dawlah, the ruler of Aleppo, one dirham per day and was quite satisfied with it[6]. Rarely, indeed, do we read of a savant, at this period, concerning himself with any business or craft as a means of livelihood. Sibghi (d. 344/955), however, sold dye. In his shop met all the traditionists of the day[7]. He bequeathed this, his house, 'the House of Law' (*Dar as-Sunnah*) to a savant as *madrasah* and made a suitable endowment for it[8]. Diligh (d. 351/962), who was at once a savant and a successful merchant, died leaving behind 300,000 dinars (3 million marks). He sent his collection of books to a colleague, inserting between every two folios a gold piece. He used to say: 'There is nothing in the world like Baghdad, nothing in Baghdad like the *Qatiah*, nothing in *Qatiah* like the *Derb-Abikhalif*, nothing in the *Derb-Abi Khalif* like my house[9].

Another who lived in old Cairo had tailoring as his sole means of subsistence. Every week he made a coat (*Qamis*) for a dirham and two danaqs and maintained himself thereby—not accepting even a drink of water

(1) Yaqut, *Irshad*, II, 144. (2) *Kit. al-uyun Wal-hadaiq.*, Berlin, fol. 125 b. (3) Baihaqi, ed. schwally, 620. (4) *Fihrist*, 51. (5) Wüstenfeld, AGGW, 37 Nr 92. (6) Abulfida, *Annales*, year 339. (7) Subki, II, 168. (8) Subki, III, 66. (9) Subki, II, 222.

from any one[1]. Another Cairene savant (d. 494/1,101) maintained himself by selling robes of state to the aristocracy[2]. But Mutarriz (d. 345/956), the greatest philologer of his age, endured life-long privations; for occupation with learning hindered him from earning a livelihood[3]. And the celebrated philologer Ibn Faris (d. 369/979) speaks of the dirham as the best physician for his malady and wishes that he had 1,000 dinars so that the blockheads might serve him[4].

At the end of this period the Muslim savant becomes eligible for privy councillorship. The young Isfaraini (d. 418/1,027) was the first of his guild in Nisapur to receive a title—the title of Rukn-ud-din (pillar of religion)[5]. Then also came into view, yet only as a mark of honour, the later important title of the *Shaikh-ul-Islam*. Both the Asharites and the Persian conservatives conferred that title upon their chief theologian[6].

Nor were comic pictures of the professors wanting. The grammarian Tha'lab and Al-Mubarrad used so to take each other off, that the audience, enthralled and spell-bound hastened from the lecture of one to that of the other[7]. Another once boasted: I have never forgotten anything and continued: Slave, hand me my shoes. Lo! rejoined the slave: You have them on[8].

The famous philologer Ibn Khaluyah was learned but coarse. Once at a social gathering at the palace of the Amir Saif-ud-Dawlah he struck the poet Mutannabbi with his keys in the face and caused him to bleed[9].

And Naftawaihi was as famous for his learning as he was notorious for filth and bad odour.

The strain caused by his work affected the mind of the lexicographer Jauhari (died about 390/1,000). After he had dictated his dictionary up to the letter *DAD* he went up to the roof of the old mosque at Nisapur and called out: Ye people! I have accomplished something this side of the grave such as no man has accomplished before. Now I will achieve something for the other side of the grave such as no man has hitherto achieved. He tied

(1) Subki, II, 102. (2), Subki III, 297. (3) Abulfida, *Annales*, year 345. (4) Yaqut, *Irshad*, II, 9. (5) AGGW, 37, Nr. 316. Already a savant (d. 356/966), who was held in great esteem at the court of Bokhara, ranked higher than the Wazir and was addressed as the great master (Shaikh Jalil). Subki, II, 86, (6) Subki, III, 47, 117. (7) *Irshad*, II, 149. (8) *Irshad*, VI, 209. (9) Ibn Khallikan Wüstenfeld's ed. I, 65.

two door-leaves with a piece of string under his arms, mounted to the highest point in the mosque and tried to fly. He fell to the ground and died[1].

(1) Yaqut, *Irshad*, II, 269.

S. KHUDA BUKHSH.

(*To be continued.*)

THE 'ITIMAD-UD-DAULAH INSTITUTION AT DELHI

Of the several indigenous institutions of Hindu and Mahomedan culture which were ruined through apathy and neglect during the early British rule, the 'Itimâd-ud-Daulah Institution at Delhi was one. It is now entirely forgotten, and its complete history is not to be found in any published work. To the student of the history of Islamic culture in India, the origin, development and fall of this oriental college are of interest.

In June 1823 the Governor-General in Council (the Government of India) resolved that there should be constituted a General Committee of Public Instruction for the purpose of ascertaining the state of public education in the upper and lower provinces of the Bengal Presidency—that is the eastern part of India—and of the public institutions designed for its promotion and of considering and from time to time submitting to Government the suggestion of such measures as it might appear expedient to adopt with a view to the better instruction of the people to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and in the improvement of their moral character.

At the time when the above General Committee of Public Instruction was formed, there was at Delhi an Oriental institution or college for the education of Mahomedans. On the 3rd December 1824 the Government of India sanctioned a grant from the general education fund of a lakh of rupees sanctioned by the British Parliament of Rupees six hundred a month for the instruction of Mahomedan youth in Delhi. On the 14th July 1826, the Government assented to a further appropriation of Rupees four hundred a month from the education fund for the institution at Delhi ; and on the 18th October 1827, having before them propositions strongly recommended by Sir Charles Metcalfe, then Resident and Chief Commissioner of the Upper Provinces, for adding one English

class to this Oriental institution, allowed a further grant of rupees two hundred and fifty a month, as a fixed equivalent for certain local funds claimed at Delhi as being properly devoted to purposes of education.

In April 1828 an English class was attached to this Oriental College, but it was subsequently considered expedient to separate the establishment and found a district English seminary, which was accordingly done in August 1829. On the 11th October 1828 the salary of Mr. Taylor, the Secretary to the Oriental College, was raised by Government, on the grounds of the prosperity of the institution and his laudable exertion, to rupees there hundred, chargeable to the general education fund. There being but one Government seminary at the time at Delhi, namely this Oriental College with the English also attached to it, the salary of Mr. Taylor was charged on the portion of the general education fund assigned to this College. The Delhi Institution or English Seminary, subsequently established, was placed under the control of the Mahomedan College Committee, with the same Superintendent and Secretary.

Such then was the Delhi Oriental College, an institution with the large allowance of Rs. 1,250—Rs. 1,000 from general education fund and Rs. 250 equivalent from local funds—with a partial provision already commenced for English education in connection with it, when the Nawâb 'Itimâd-ud-Daulah Sayyid Fuzul 'Alî Khân, Minister of the King of Oudh proposed to found a separate Oriental College at Delhi. In the year 1830 the Nawâb executed a *will* providing as follows . :—

"* * * In this transitory world, I have hitherto paid such regard to the concerns of this life as cannot easily be effaced from the memory of my contemporaries, and have done nothing which would after death ensure salvation in spite of crimes committed against the God of life and death, or performed any undertaking which would, by its continuance, be productive of reward and divine mercy with the exception of this one act of leaving the sum of Rs. 1,70,000 to the College founded by the late Nawâb Ghâzi-ud-Dîn Khân, stituated in Delhi, my native place of residence, solely for the instruction and study of the sciences in Arabic and Persian, the sciences of my own religion and the source of morality, in good faith, in the hands of the British Government and bequeath its profits (interest) to the expenses of the students of those sciences and of their professors ; and although I am

confident that the Government will be a safe trustee and that its high designs will always be directed to the prosperity of the institution, and that the profits arising from the above amount will always be apporpriated to the expense of the children of respectable persons and of the professors of the College, in conformity with my above expressed wish ; yet in order to guard against any unforeseen causes which may tend to impede the advancement of the College arising from other more important avocations of Government, it will be necessary and proper for my son (Sayyid Hamîd 'Alî Khân), in order to secure the motive and intent of this bequest, to suggest to Government such means as shall appear to him just and proper and, in failure thereof, to apply to Government to establish a separate college and appropriate the profits accruing from the amount deposited to its efficient management in such manner as to ensure its stability and the realisation of the benefits contemplated.* * * "

The above Will was executed shortly before the death of the Nawâb ; but the arrangements connected with the endowment had been completed sometime previously as is implied by the terms of the Will. On the 15th June 1829 the Resident at Delhi reported to the Government of India the intention of Nawâb Fuzul 'Alî Khân to found in his native city of Delhi a college to bear his name and to remain as a permanent endowment, wholly independent of his heirs ; and with that end in view to lodge in the Government Treasury a sum sufficient to yield an interest of rupees five hundred per month. On the 17th July 1829 the Government of India thanked the Nawâb for his munificent donation, and wrote as follows in a letter to the Resident at Delhi : —

" It is evident that the sum of Rupees five hundred will not go far in maintaining a really efficient and superior description of College, worthy of the generous and philanthropic motives which actuate its founder ; whereas the addition of that amount to the fund appropriated by Government for public education at Delhi would prove of incalculable advantage, and widely extend the sphere of usefulness of the institution already existing. If this notion were approved by Nâwàb 'Itimâd-ud-Daulah, the Government and the General Committee of Public Instruction, Calcutta, would take every possible means to perpetuate the memory of so munificent a donation by founding lectures and scholarships in his name, and appointing him patron of the institution and in short, the

Nawâb might rest satisfied that arrangements the most effectual would be adopted for securing to his native city the full benefit of the grant and to himself lasting honour and renown as the donor."

On the 17th September 1829 the Nawâb expressed his wish to make over to Government Rs. 1,70,000, to be invested in 5 per cent. Securities for the purpose of being employed in conformity with the views of the Government of India in forming an institution at Delhi for the education of the Mahomedan youth. This offer was accepted with thanks, and a letter was addressed to the Calcutta General Committee of Public Instruction, by the Secretary, Persian Department, from which the following is an extract :—

" The Governor-General in Council requests that you will take into consideration in concert with the Delhi Committee—(Local Committee of Education at Delhi)—the best mode of laying out the interest of the Nawâb's donation, so as to secure to the public the utmost amount of advantage therefrom, and to the donor that lasting honour and celebrity in his native city as the benefactor of his fellowmen, to which he has just established so just a claim. It seems to Government that the income by this grant might be fitly applied to the maintenance of a College for the education of native youth in the oriental languages exclusively, to be called the College of Nawâb 'Itimâd-ud-Daulah, by which arrangement the amount now expended on the Delhi College, or the greater part thereof, would be left available for the formation of a separate institution on an enlarged and efficient scale devoted to affording tution in the English language, sciences and literature."

On the 8th August 1829 the Resident at Delhi addressed the Nawâb in the following terms :—

" But on consideration that Rs. 500 a month is not adequate for the completion of the object in view, His Lordship friendly advises you that if the sum intended by you for the above purpose be joined to the amount fixed by Government for its college (in the city of Delhi) and conjointly appropriated to the existing College, every anticipated advantage would be gained by the people, and that in the event of your acquiescence in this proposition, you will be considered the Mohtamim or head of the affairs of the Government College, and the professors and students will also be in your own name."

And in reply to the above communication the Nawâb expressed his willingness to be head of the institution, without saying anything about the other proposal put before him, and thus of course allowing it to be implied that he agreed in that proposal.

Sometime after the Nawâb's death, in February 1835, the Nawâb's son-in-law, Sayyid Hamid 'Alî Khân, with some others, petitioned the Government of India, asking for the return to them of the money made over to Government by the Nawâb, and promising to found a college as intended by the donor and to secure its permanency. The petitioners assigned some very good reasons for their request. The Calcutta General Committee of Public Instruction, being consulted on the subject, reported as follows :—

" The late Nawâb Fuzul Ali Khan, when Minister of Oudh, offered to the Resident at Delhi to endow a College at that city with the yearly sum of Rs. 6,000 depositing sufficient Government notes to yield that income.

" The Government proposed that he should contribute that sum to the fund appropriated by Government to public education at Delhi, and promised to perpetuate his name by founding lectures and scholarships in his name.

" The Nawâb agreed and deposited notes to the amount of Rs. 1,70,000, and Government suggested that the interest should be appropriated to a school exclusively oriental dedicated to the Nawâb.

" The result was that the Delhi College to which the General Committee contributed Sicca Rs. 1137-2-0 and the Government Sicca Rs. 239-3-7, was dedicated to the Nawâb, and Rs. 708, the monthly income of his donation, applied to its uses, an equal sum of income of the General Committee being relieved and made available for the Delhi Institution. * * *

" To the General Committee of Public Instruction the application of the heirs appears very unreasonable. Fuzul Ali Khan knew what was intended and survived some time after the application of his donation to the Delhi College which is dedicated to him, though his fund only pays part of the expenses."

In consideration of the above report, the Government of India recorded a Resolution on the 15th July 1835, declining to comply with the request of the petitioners, and expressing the opinion that it would be an appropriate

and sufficient compliment to the late Nawâb Fuzul 'Ali Khan to commemorate at the Oriental college at Delhi on a marble slab the munificence of his gift to that institution, and that the income of the donation ought to be fully expended on their Oriental College.

Sayyîd Hamid 'Ali Khân again memorialised the Government in November 1835, complaining that the institution was in a bad condition, and explaining that his object in petitioning the Government was to have the interest of his father-in-law's donation applied to the object intended, that is, " giving instruction to the poor of Delhi in the Persian and Arabic languages." This memorial was again referred to the General Committee of Public Instruction, Calcutta, then presided over by Thomas Babington Macaulay, afterwards, Lord Macaulay, then Law Member of the Governor-General's Council, with a request for report on the appropriation of the fund assigned by Nawâb 'Itimâd-ud-Daulah as an endowment for purposes of education at Delhi, and also for a statement as to whether the amount then paid in promoting the study of Arabic and Persian literature exceeded or fell short of the interest of the endowment.

In reply to the above enquiry the General Committee of Public Instruction reported as follows in regard to the appropriation of Nawâb 'Itimâd-ud-Daulah's endowment, and the expenditure from other sources for the maintenance of the Delhi College :—

'Mr. Taylor, Secretary and Superintendent.	..	Rs.	300	a month.
Professors of Arabic	..	,,	155	,,
Persian Teachers	..	,,	130	,,
2 Arabic Scholarships	..	,,	16	,,
22 Persian ,,	..	,,	110	,,
174 ,, ,,	..	,,	348	,,
		,,	1,059	,,
Sanskrit Professors and Sanskrit Scholarships	..	,,	163	,,
Servants and sundries	..	,,	102	,,
		,,	1,324	,,

The General Committee added as follows :—

" Of this, it will be seen the sum of Rs. 759 is appropriated to promoting the study of Arabic and Persian."

The Government of India quite acquiesced in the existing state of things, and only authorized that Sayyid Hamîd 'Ali might be appointed a member of the Local Education Committee at Delhi.

In reporting to the Honourable the Court of Directors the later correspondence above mentioned, the Government of India wrote :—

" It appeared to the late Governor-General in Council that the sum granted in donation applied exclusively to the promotion of the study of Arabic and Persian literature, and that a sum equal to more than half the amount was superadded to it from the funds at the disposal of the General Committee—*vide* paragraph 57 of Despatch No. 15 of 1836. "

Sayyid Hamîd 'Ali Khân continued to petition the Government of India over and over again during 1836 and 1840, complaining of the mismanagement of the fund. His chief grievance was that a large salary was given to Mr. Taylor, as Superintendent of the College, while, owing to the ignorance of Mr. Taylor of the Vernaculars, he was unable to make any adequate return to the institution, and that a portion of the available interest of the endowment was devoted to the teaching of Sanskrit, etc.

On the 22nd June 1840 the whole matter was referred to Mr. J. R. Colvin, then Private Secretary to the Governor-General—father of Sir Auckland Colvin, Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces, for his opinion. On the receipt of his report on the 15th July 1840 the Government of India issued orders on the subject to the General Committee of Public Instruction. Below is given an extract from these orders :—

" The education of the Mahomedan youth of Delhi appears to have received its first aid from the General Committee by an appropriation of Rs. 600 a month from the Parliamentary grant in 1824, and in 1826 a further appropriation of Rs. 400 a month was made from the general fund for the Oriental Institution at Delhi. In 1827 an English class was added to this institution, and a third item of receipt amounting to Rs. 250 a month, called the escheat fund, was allowed as a fixed contribution to the purposes of education. The resources of the Delhi Institution accordingly at this period were Rs. 1,250 a month.

" The Delhi College acquired a large accession of income in 1829 by the munificent grant of the late Nawâb Fuzul Ali Khan 'Itmad-ud-Daulah, formerly Minister at

Lucknow, who endowed the institution with a sum of Rs. 1,70,000 of Company's Paper, in return for which donation the Oriental College was thenceforward dedicated to that nobleman in order to do honour to his name and to perpetuate the memory of his generous and philanthropic gift. The Nawab was also assured that lectures and scholarships would be founded in his name, and that arrangements, the most effectual, would be adopted for securing to his native city the full benefit of the grant, and to himself lasting honour and renown as the donor.

" No doubt can be entertained as to the intentions of the Nawab in placing this liberal sum in the hands of the Government in aid and in extension of the educational establishment which had been already formed in his native city. Himself a Mahomedan Nobleman, the College an institution for Mahomedan education, the religious feelings which influenced the Nawab in the act itself, and the expressions by which the grant was accompanied, place beyond any doubt the circumstance that oriental learning and literature were the chief and primary concerns intended by him to be provided for by his munificent addition to the income of the Delhi College. * * *

" The Governor-General in Council understands that in 1829 when the large accession of funds was obtained through the Nâwab's grant, the English class was separated from the Mahomedan or Oriental College, and a distinct institution or English seminary was established under the control of the Original College Committee with the same Superintendent and Secretary. * * *

" The Nawab died in 1830 before the Delhi Institution, as it is now called, was finally established, so that he had not the opportunity of offering remarks upon any part of the arrangements which were contemplated by the Government and the General Committee of Public Instruction.

" The General Committee gave effect to the orders of the Government by appropriating to the English Institution Rs. 800 out of the Rs. 1,250 before described, leaving Rs. 450 and the income of the Nawab's grant, Rs. 708 (subsequently reduced on account of the omission on the part of the Government to have the Government securities renewed at the proper time, which was complained of in his petitions by Syed Hamîd 'Ali Khân) for the support of the Oriental college."

For the reasons given above, the Government of India ordered the discontinuance of the high salary given to

Mr. Taylor. It was observed that in January 1836 the expenditure on the Delhi College was Rs. 1,324 a month, of which the sum of Rs. 759 (reduced to Rs. 651 in 1840 for the reasons stated above) was devoted to the teaching of Arabic and Persian. The Government of India admitted themselves bound in good faith to see that the income derived from the Nawâb's endowment was applied to the promotion of Arabic and Persian Literature, and expended on the Oriental College at Delhi in such a manner and with such additions from the Government as to constitute that College a perfectly efficient institution of Mahommedan learning. The Government of India further directed that the College should be called the " College of Nâwab 'Itimad-ud-daulah ", and issued several other instructions in respect of the management of the institution, such as the appointment of efficient teachers ; the grant of scholarships of merit instead of alimentary allowances to students; and the admission of Sayyid Hamîd 'Ali Khân to a fair share in the management of the endowment by appointing him a permanent member of the Delhi Educational Committee—vide letter to General Committee of Public Instruction, Calcutta No. 582 dated 15th July 1840.

In October Sayyid Hamid 'Alî Khân again petitioned the Government of India, complaining of the existence of an English school as a joint institution with the Oriental College, finding fault with the composition of the College Committee (the members being mostly Christians), offering to undertake the management of the College if entrusted with the task, etc. In reply the Government of India said that the complaints and requests were altogether unreasonable. The above proceedings of the Government of India were reported to the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, and were generally approved by them, especially as regards the continuance of the scholarhips in the Nawâbs' name. The matter remained in this State till 1857 when the Indian Mutiny broke out, and the Nawâb 'Itimad-ud-Daulah institution like other local institutions, ceased to exist. After the Mutiny was over, the Delhi District was transferred from the North-Western Provinces to the Punjab Government, and this Local Government reported in November 1858 about the non-existence of the Nawâbs' institution and said that they had no idea how the interest of Nawâb 'Itimad-ud-Daulah's endowment was disposed of by the authorities in Calcutta.

The Delhi community then expressed an earnest desire for the establishment of a school, and the Punjab Government, on the strong recommendation of the Local Director of Public Instruction, wrote as follows :—

" The monthly interest on the bequest (one lakh and seventy thousand rupees) amounts to Rs. 604. The money was invested in Government securities and the interest drawn somewhere in Calcutta. But up to May 1857 the sum of Rs. 604 per mensem used to be disbursed from the Delhi Treasury. Further enquiries are being made as to the manner in which the interest is appropriated at Calcutta. But in the meantime, as there was no doubt whatever that the monthly sum of Rs. 604 does, by virtue of bequest, belong to the city of Delhi, for educational purposes, and as a school was urgently required at Delhi, the Director engaged the services of Ramchander, an able teacher, for this purpose. But as sometime may elapse before it is finally ascertained as to how the money is appropriated in Calcutta, it becomes necessary to obtain provisional sanction to monthly disbursements for the present up to an amount not exceeding Rs. 604 monthly ".

Under these circumstances the Punjab Government recommended that the salary of Ramchander at the rate of Rs. 300 per mensem might be allowed from the 1st of September 1858 for a period of six months, and that a further expenditure within the limit of Rs. 604 might be charged in contingent bills under the Local Government's authority. The object was to establish a school at Delhi with a Normal School as a Branch. The proposal was referred to the Finance Department for consideration and orders, and after some enquiry, which elicited the existence of a large balance in favour of the Delhi Educational Endowments, etc., the Finance Department sanctioned the proposal made by the Panjab Government.

In December 1862 the Punjab Government strongly recommended the raising of this Delhi School to the status of a College with the necessary increased establishment. This was sanctioned by the Government of India on the 8th January 1864. In the same year the Government College at Delhi was affiliated to the Calcutta University, and certain changes were subsequently made in the establishment of the College with the view of improving its efficiency.

In April 1864 Sayyid Hamîd 'Alî Khân, seeing the strange turn which the 'Itimad-ud-Daulah Institution

had taken after the Indian Mutiny, under Government control, complained again on account of the non-submission to him of the accounts of the Delhi College for examination and maintained that the sum of Rs. 240 a month out of the interest of his father-in-law's endowment had long before been ordered to be devoted to the education of students of the Shî'ah persuasion. The Punjab Government was then asked to report on the complaints in question, and especially to report whether before the Indian Mutiny a specific sum was devoted either to maintain a Shî'ah professorship and scholarships, or to the education of students of the Shî'ah persuasion.

In reply to the above enquiry, the Punjab Government sent a report from the Local Director of Public Instruction, giving some extracts from the old correspondence, and expressing the following opinion :—

" It does not appear in any way that these Nawâb's, scholarships were to be limited to Shî'ah scholars, or that they were to be restricted to Mahomedans even, to the exclusion of Hindus. But I have no doubt that in the lapse of time from their first institution in 1840 or thereabouts, previous to the Indian Mutiny of 1857, several circumstances had favoured their falling so largely into the hands of Shî'ah scholars, as to lead to the impression that they were expressly designed for the benefit of Mahomedan scholars of that persuasion. The appointment of a Shî'ah Professor of Arabic on a high salary naturally attracted Shî'ah scholars to the college, and a considerable rivalry between the Sunni and Shî'ah teachers and scholars was the natural result."

The Punjab Government was of opinion that there was no obligation on the State to maintain a Shî'ah Professor on the Staff of the college, although Shî'ahs should not be excluded from the appointment. That matter was referred for consideration to the Government of India, and the Hon'ble Sir William Grey, then a member of the Viceroy's Council in charge of the Home Department, expressed the opinion that there was no ground for the interference of the Government of India, but owing to insufficient knowledge of the matter owing to the absence of the previous pertinent papers, referred the subject to the Viceroy, then Sir John Lawrence—afterwards Lord Lawrence, under the impression that he possessed some personal knowledge of the origin and character of the endowment of Nawâb 'Itimad-ud-Daulah. Sir John

Lawrence, quite ignorant of the whole matter, wrote on the 13th August 1864 :—

" I am not certain ; but my impression is that no reservation was made by 'Itimad-ud-Daulah Syed Fuzul Ali Khan, and that the statement last received from the Punjab is correct."

The Punjab Government was accordingly informed in reply that there was nothing in the case calling for the intervention of the Government of India. About the middle of the year 1872 this College became again the subject of correspondence in connection with the Panjab University scheme at Lahore under a misapprehension of its primary object of educating Mahomedan youth, and in 1873 and 1874 the Punjab Government refused to accede to the recommendation of their Director of Public Instruction to make the institution a Government institution, except at the *bona fide* request of the Mahomedan community of Delhi. It should be noted here that previously in the year 1868 when the question of establishing a University at Lahore was under consideration the Hon'ble Sir Edward Bayley, member of the Viceroy's Council, and an oriental scholar wrote thus :—

" The correspondence contains a proposal to amalgamate the Delhi college with that at Lahore. This would seem to be unadvisable, and it is evident the measure would be exceedingly unpopular at Delhi, the memorial sent from that place may be read."

In the year 1873 the Punjab Government had under consideration a proposal for the creation of a Shî'ah Department in the College, and under the Viceroy, Lord Mayo's instructions the Honourable Sir Edward Bayley made some local enquiries at Delhi as to the origin and object of the Nawâb 'Itimad-ud-Daulah's endowment, but no action was taken.

On the 15th February 1877 the Panjab Government abolished the Delhi college—'Itimad-ud-Daulah Institution at Delhi and amalgamated it with the Lahore college on the ground of financial necessity and in consideration of the desirability of having one efficient college in the Province instead of two inefficient ones. Below is given an extract from the orders of the Punjab Government :—

" As might have been anticipated there was considerable difference of opinion among the officers consulted, but the majority were opposed to the amalgamation on the ground that it would be unfair to the inhabitants of so

large and important a city as Delhi to withdraw from them the advantages of a high class education, which the college had for many years permitted them to enjoy.

" Delhi which is fast growing in commercial importance, has long ceased to be a centre of literary activity, and its interest in high education, as tested by the number of college students, is less than that of the capital of the Province."

The inhabitants of Delhi as well as those of Lahore submitted several petitions to the Government of India, strongly protesting against the abolition of the Delhi College, and urged that the interest of Nawâb 'Itimad-ud Daulah's endowment should be devoted to the object for which it was intended. In reply to these petitions the Punjab Government again said that the abolition of the Delhi College was due to financial reasons, and the Lieutenant-Governor decided to remove the college classes from Delhi, and to secure at Lahore the means of giving the highest and completest education to students from all parts of the Panjab.

As regards the petitioners' arguments based on the existence of the Nawâb's endowment, the Punjab Government wrote as follows :—

" With the Delhi College as originally constituted, and as it existed up to the Mutiny, the Punjab Government has in no way interfered. It was then known as a college, but was in reality no more than an exceedingly good town school, aided by an endowment due to the liberality of the Nawâb 'Itimad-ud-Daulah.

" With reference to the above-mentioned endowment regarding which you call for special notice, I am directed to observe that the middle class school formed out of the Anglo-Vernacular Department of the district school is entirely supported by this endowment at a monthly cost of Rs. 607. The endowment was originally intended for Mahomedan education exclusively ; but subsequently, at the suggestion of the Government of India, it was granted by Nawab 'Itimad-ud-Duulah for the general advancement of education at Delhi."

With reference to another memorial from the Trustees of Nawâb 'Itimad-ud-Daulah's endowment, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab said that he was desirous of applying the whole of the available portion of the endowment of the support at the Lahore University of *Delhi* students, as this would in his opinion be only equitable in accordance

with the terms of the original grant of the Nawâb "who desired the money to be spent on the education of Students of his native city of Delhi."

From the above historical survey it is clear that it was only the college classes, that is, the English teaching branches of Nawâb 'Itimad-ud-Daulah's institution at Delhi, that were abolished, but the outstanding question remained to be answered whether the whole amount of the interest of the endowment was expended in the teaching of the Arabic and Persian languages in the *School* portion which remained at Delhi. The Nawâb's wish was clearly that the money should be spent *at Delhi* and not anywhere else. In the middle of the year 1874 the Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, wrote with reference to the object and scope of the Lahore University College, that the "Oriental College" (of the Lahore University) was in no way subject to the authority of the Educational Department. It was designed to afford to Moulvies and Pundits and scholars who had already made some progress in Oriental classical languages, a course of training in Oriental literature, combined with instruction in European Science. The class of students who attended the Oriental College was entirely different from those who attended the Government College, and so also was the course of study in Arabic and Sanskrit pursued in the two institutions.

S. C. SANIAL.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

A Rendering of the Quran.

A cheap popular edition of Moulvi Mohammad Ali's translation of the Holy Qur'ân has just been published. His first edition, with the Arabic text placed opposite, has been a boon to those who prefer reading the Qur'ân in the original with the help of a literal translation. The welcome accorded to that edition by an appreciative public was certainly encouraging, and it must have suggested the idea of providing a cheaper edition without the Arabic text for a wider circle of readers.

The idea in iteslf is good, and we are in sympathy with it ; for we consider nothing so desirable, nothing so essential to the cause of Islâm in the West as that a really good exposition of the Qur'ân, moderately priced, should be in the hands of the English reading public. And now that some serious-minded Englishmen and women are beginning to look towards Islâm as a reasonable, intelligible creed in perfect harmony with natural laws, such a need has become all the more urgent.

But, while wishing success to Moulvi Mohammed Ali's new edition, we may be permitted to make a few general observations on the subject of Qur'ân translation. Many scholars have attempted it, some of whom occupy a high place in the estimation of competent judges. To mention only a few names, Sale and Rodwell and Palmer are the leading translators whose work has been accepted by the English reading public as authoritative. Such being the case, Moulvi Mahommad Ali's version must necessarily challenge comparison with them, and indeed it does by claiming superiority in the one point of literal correctness at least.

We do not profess to have made a close comparative study of all these versions, but we have consulted them for

the purpose of judging, (superficially of course) which of them, if any, is likely to impress English readers who are accustomed to a certain style which has long been associated with sacred scriptures. Apart from the phraseology and the style of the Bible, some English readers may possibly think of the great capabilities of their language and wish for an English version of the Qur'ân in language recalling, though faintly, the cadences and the harmony, the volume and the sublimity of Milton's ' organ voice '. This would be aiming too high ; but in a case like this is it not best to aim high ?

It is well known to all who have ever given thought to the subject that words have a subtle charm of their own apart from the meaning which they convey. It is neither the sense nor the sound alone in which the magic lies ; it is a combination of sense and sound and arrangement and association ; and the responsive mood awakened and kept enthralled by these serves to enhance the magic. This spirit quality unfortunately cannot be translated from one form to another, or from one language into another, and this is the chief reason why so few translations of great poetry have been successful. Word-translations are often no better than " keys " for the use of diligent school boys ; while mere sense-translations, though on the whole helpful, are yet incomplete and unsatisfactory. A good translation must be a combination of both, and must aim at retaining the spirit and the characteristic sound-and-sense melody, together with the suggestiveness and the magic of the original as far as possible. The greater the similarity in this respect between the original and the translation the more conspicuous the success of the translator.

Sacred writings like the Qur'ân, which partake both of the nature of poetry and of impassioned rhythmic prose, are the most difficult to translate. The translator can do nothing with the word-material at his command until he has got his mind into the right mood to be dominated and possessed and inspired by his subject. His mind, we imagine, has to pass through a state of ferment and ' frenzy ' before he can begin to see his meaning assuming definite form and proportions and emerging out of confusion and obscurity as a thing of beauty fit to be placed by the side of the original. And it has to do all this through a second-hand inspiration, as it were, which makes the task more difficult and less satisfying than the poet's. The unhappy translator's difficulty is increased by the fact that

a strict adherence to the content of each line or verse of the original is demanded of him. He has to give only that, neither more nor less, and he has to give it in words almost as dignified, awe-commanding, faith-inspiring, sonorous and sublime in their context as those of the inspired original. In this respect almost every translator of the Qur'ân, so far as we are aware, has failed.

We have just touched upon some of the difficulties inherent in the task of translating the Qur'ân, and in view of these our belief is that the greatest merit in a translator would be, while he is faithful to his original so far as the real meaning is concerned, to give to his work a semblance of original composition. It should read as though it was written originally in English. But we must remember that even this success, though considerable, is not all that is needed. The living fire must be there, and the garb of language must be made luminous by it.

If the translator happened to be a European capable of commanding the utmost resources of his native tongue, he might yet fail if he did not feel his soul fired by his subject. If, on the other hand, the translator was an Oriental with a heart full of religious ardour excited by the sanctity of the message he was attempting to have re-conveyed, he might yet be unable to impart to the words of a foreign language anything like the impressive dignity, to say nothing of the sublimity, of the original. And then what about the sacred prophetic fire that glows ceaselessly at the heart of the Arabic words ?

An English gentleman, a great Arabic scholar, once remarked : " The translator of the Qur'ân substitutes a dull stone for a jewel flashing light in all directions..... And the music and the thunder and the blaze —who can reproduce them in a foreign medium ? ".

It is almost an article of faith with the Muslims that the language of the Qur'ân is itself a miracle ; and when in conjunction with this we recall the fact that the idolatrous Arabs before whom the Qur'ân was recited by the Prophet denounced it sometimes as poetry and sometimes as sorcery, we can form some notion of the extraordinary quality of its language. This is what Palmer has to say on the subject : " The language of the Qur'ân is universally acknowledged to be the most perfect form of Arabic speech....the language is noble and forcible, but it is not elegant in the sense of literary refinement....To Mohammed's hearers it must have been startling from the manner

in which it brought great truths home to them in the language of their everyday life ". Again, " there was nothing antiquated in the style or the words, no tricks of speech, pretty conceits or mere poetic embellishments ; the Prophet spoke with rude, fierce eloquence in ordinary language "..... " Mohammed speaks with a living voice, his vivid word painting brings at once before the mind the scene he describes or conjures up," and Palmer confesses that " to translate this worthily is a most difficult task. To imitate the rhyme and rhythm would be to give the English an artificial ring from which the Arabic is quite free ; and the same objection lies against using the phraseology of our authorised version of the Bible. To render it by fine or stilted language would be quite foreign to the spirit of the original, while to make it too rude or familiar would be to err equally on the other side".

This is an honest appreciation of the difficulties inherent in the subject, and a correct statement of them. The language of the Qur'ân is above ' literary refinement' ; it has the grand forcefulness and sublimity of Nature which lie beyond the limits of a translator's powers. But in spite of these difficulties the attempt has yet to be made, —and is well worth making—to achieve such a translation of the Qur'ân as would give an English Muslim an idea of the unique force and unearthly beauty of his Scripture. As the oriental Muslim thinks and says of the Qur'ân ' This is our book, and it is perfect', so must the English Muslim, reading the translation, feel the like enthusiasm and contentment. Unless he has such a feeling deep down in his heart the Qur'ân can never become the Book of books for him.

We do not wish to decry any of the existing translations of the Qur'ân in English ; but we may be pardoned for saying that none of them comes anywhere near our ideal. None of them satisfies the ear, and none of them can excite any fervour in the reader's mind. The music and the thunder and the blaze, all are missing.

Moulvi Mohammad Ali has with commendable zeal aimed at correctness rather than at nicety in the choice of expressions, and his translation is professedly literal.

> " I have tried to be more faithful to the words of the Holy Writ than all existing translations in the English Language, among which Palmer has remained nearest to the words."

This may account to some extent for its prosaic character while the fact that the translator is working at

two languages (Arabic and English) neither of which is his own, accounts excusably for a somewhat extraordinary use of English and occasional obscurity.

We come across a passage like this in Chapter XXX, " The Romans " sec. 4. cl. 30 :

> " Then set your face upright for religion in the right state—the nature made by Allah in which He has made men."

The expression " set your face upright "is not a very happy one, and puzzles the mind. It is only on reading it with the original Arabic that we can understand the meaning.

In Chapter XLVII. Sec. 4 cl. 29 we read " or do those in whose hearts is a disease think that Allah will not bring forth their spite " ?

Here the meaning is obscure because the expression " bring forth " in English has a signification not quite the same as making apparent or bringing to light.

Again in the same Sec. cl. 37 we find the following :—

" If He should ask you for it and urge you, you will be niggardly, and He will bring forth your malice."

In Chapter LIV sec. 3 cl. 54 we read :—

" Surely those who guard (against evil) shall be in gardens and amplitude ". Even if the word ' nahar ' in the original means, not a stream, but a state of being, the English reader will never be able to guess what is meant by being " in amplitude."

In the translation of the beautiful short Sûrah called the Expansion, Chapter XCIV cl. 8 we come across these surprising words : " And make your Lord your exclusive object " which neither give the true meaning nor reproduce the terse form and the exhortatory tone of the original.

In Sura CI : Al Qâriah has been translated " repelling calamity " which sounds strange in English.

We point out such defects in no carping spirit ; but because if they were removed this popular edition of Moulvi Mohammed Ali's devoted work would be unexceptionable as a literal translation, though it may never be regarded by the English reader as a rendering of the Qur'ân in worthy English.

HAFIZ.

The Decorative Inscriptions of the Alhambra.

In Herr Otto Harrassowitz' Oriental Book-List[1] for October 1929 we came upon an interesting article by Prof. Dr. O. J. Tallgren on the Decorative Inscriptions of the Alhambra. Among modern accounts of those inscriptions two Spanish works are noteworthy : *Inscripciones arabes de Granada* by Lafuente y Alcàntara (Madrid 1859) and *Estudio sobre las inscripciones arabes de Granada* by A. Almagro Cardenas (Granada 1877). The former is a monumental work and generally regarded as exhaustive. Each text included therein is accompanied by a translation-commentary, and the whole is furnished with a good historical introduction. The tourist and the general student might easily suppose that nothing remained to be written regarding the inscriptions ; but not so the Arabist. The object of Prof. Tallgren's essay is to show that considerable room is left for further study and research.

In the first place many inscriptions have been brought to light since Lafuente wrote ; and in the second place many of the translations (even of perfectly legible inscriptions) given in his work are manifestly faulty to the eyes of the modern scholar, the knowledge of Arabic, and especially of Spanish Arabic having made vast strides since 1859. As for Almagro's work, it is of a less erudite character, with little concern for correct reading or orthography. Almagro also gives a translation of each text, but where such text has already been dealt with by Lafuente, he simply reproduces Lafuente's version. Individual inscriptions were subjected to a new treatment, rendered possible by the use of photographic reproductions, by G. Remiro in a work entitled : *Las Inscripciones de la Alhambra* (*errata corrigenda*) in 1910. Photographs of the inscriptions were not to be obtained in the times of Lafuente and Almagro ; but clear and accurate reproductions can now be brought from any Granada photographer, under the trade-name *Detalles de la Alhambra.* It is to such photographs that Prof. Tallgren is indebted for his discoveries, since he tells us that he had the joy of actually visiting the glory of Granada only once for a few days. He takes two typical examples of inscriptions which have been entirely mistranslated, one being the long-poetical inscription garlanding the top of the windows in the lovely *Mirador de Lindaraja*, whch is an imaginary address to the reader by the room itself, inviting him to rest ; and the other is the poem on the forepart of a little marble niche

(1) Otto Harrassowitz, Querstrasse 14, Leipzig.

in the bathroom, where the delicate script is set in unusually rich ornamentation which to some extent obscures it. Professor Tallgren ably proves his case, which is not only that the Alhambra inscriptions have never yet been properly translated and commented but also that their intrinsic merit and historic interest is such as to demand more careful study. The essay is so simply written that a casual reader might not recognise the little mine of knowledge, which it really is, upon a subject which possesses a romantic charm alike for Muslim and non-Muslim. We commend it to our readers interested in the Arabic of the latter Spanish period.

M. P.

ISLAMIC CULTURE

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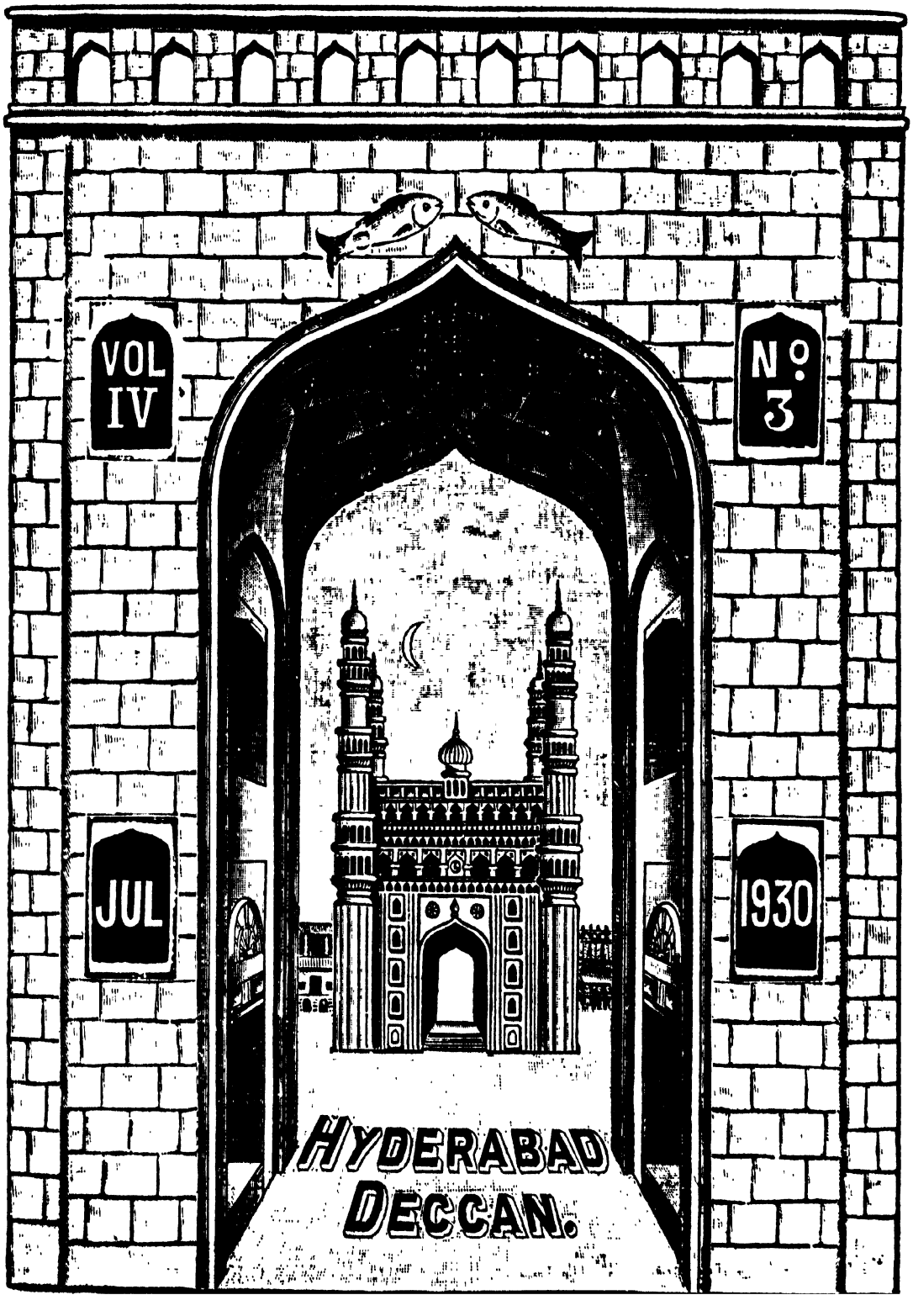
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THE

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Edited by

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IBN QUTEIBA'S 'UYUN AL-AKHBAR[1]

(*Continued from our last issue.*)

II

Selection of the Governors.

It is related, that Abû Bakr-al Siddîq, may God be pleased with him, when the time of death was at hand, wrote an injunction in which it was said: In the name of Allah, the Merciful and Compassionate: this is the injunction of Abû Bakr, the Caliph of the Messenger of God, at the time of his last acquaintance with this world and his first acquaintance with the world to come, in that state in which even the unbeliever believes and the wicked becomes pious: I appoint 'Umar ibn al Khattâb. In case he be truthful and just, this is in agreement with what I know of him; in case he act wrongfully and change, well I do not know what is hidden. I have willed what is good and unto every man what he has earned. "And those who do wrong shall know by what a reverse their future will be changed." (Sura XXVI, 228).

And in the Tâj[2] it is said: Abarwêz wrote from the prison to his son Sheroya: The man you select for your governorship should be one who having been in abasement has been raised by you, or a nobleman whom you found wronged and whom you have benefited. But do not make a man governor whom you punished and who thus sank into contempt, nor a man who obeyed you after your humiliating him, nor one of whom you think that your removal from rulership would be more desirable for him than its continuation. And beware of employing one who is young and unexperienced, very proud of himself and of little experience with others: nor yet one who is old and declining and whose intelligence time has impaired just as the years have reduced his body.

(1) The figures in the margin give the pages in the Cairo edition of the *'Uyun* to facilitate comparison.

(2) On the *Kitab al Taj* see G. K. Nariman, *Iranian Influence on Muslim Literature*, p. 67 seq.; further W. Bjônkmann's article *Taaj* in the Encyclopedia of Islam.

Laqît[1] said with regard to this :

" Invest with your rule–What generous people you are!–
" One who has ample strength, who is well-versed in warfare,
" One who is not effeminate, if ease of life helps him
" Nor if adversity bites him cast down.
" As long as he milks the milk of time, its various flows,
" He will be following at once and followed
" So that his steadiness lasts in the end in spite of trials ;
" One who is solid in years, neither bulky nor weak."

And in the proverb it is said : The opinion of the old is better than the witnessing of the young. And among the proverbs of the Arabs with regard to experience there is also this : The middle-aged woman will not require to be taught the mo le of wearing the veil.

16 One of the Caliphs said : Direct me to a man whom I may appoint for work that has given me trouble. They said : " What do you want him to be like ?" He said : " If he is among the people without being their Amîr, he should be as if he was their Amîr : and if he is their Amîr, he should be as if he were an ordinary man amongst them." They replied : The only one we know to be like this is al Rabî' ibn Ziyâd al Hârithi[2]. He said : You are right ; he is the man for it.

Al Haytham related from Mujâlid from al Sha'bî : he said : Al Hajjâj said : Direct me to a man suitable for the police. When asked, What kind of a man do you want ? he replied : I want him to be a man whose sternness is lasting, who sits long, who is fat in faithfulness, lean in disloyalty, not bearing rancour in what is right against his subjects, who makes light of the moustaches of the noble in their interceding. When it was said to him : You had better get hold of Abdu'r-Rahmân ibn' Ubeyd al Tamîmî, he sent for him, appointing him. But Abdu'r-Rahmân said : I shall not accept the appointment unless you protect me against your family, your children and your followers. Al Hajjâj said : Slave, announce among the people : "He of them who will ask him anything will lose my protection." Al Sha'bî said : By Allah, I never saw a chief of police like him : he never imprisoned a man except for debts, and whenever a man was taken to him who had made a breach in a wall, he put his lancet into

(1) *i.e.* Laqît ibn Ya'mar of the tribe Iyâd, who lived in the time of Anoshirwan ; see Nöldeke in *Orient und Occident* I 689 seq.

(2) He died as Governor of Khurâsân in 53 A.H. s. Tabari II 53. The Caliph alluded to is Mu'âwîya.

his belly until it came out from his back; and when a grave-digger was taken to him, he dug a grave for him and buried him in it; and when a man was taken to him who had fought with an iron or drawn swords, he had his hand cut off; or when a man was taken to him, who had burned people's lodgings, he had him burned; and when a man was taken to him with regard to whom he had doubts, of whom he was told that he was a thief, although nothing had happened with him, he gave him a whipping of three hundred. He said: Many a time he passed forty nights without anybody being taken to him and Al Hajjâj added to his charge the police of Al-Basrah along with that of Kûfa.

And I read in the letter from Abarwez to his son Sheroya: Select for the supervision of your poll-tax one of three: either a man who pretends abstemiousness with regard to property and claims godliness in religion; because if he is like that, he will be just towards the weak, fair to the noble, he will increase the poll-tax and strive after prosperity. Even in case he does not abstain and refrain out of concern for his religion and out of regard for his loyalty, he will at least be likely to embezzle only little, but to bring in much, in order to hide himself through hypocrisy and to conceal himself through unfaithfulness. If you find this out from him, punish him according to his breach of trust without praising him for the increase brought about by him; if however he goes on heedlessly in his unfaithfulness and comes out with his hypocrisy, you can inflict an exemplary punishment on him and take away the whole of his property in addition to imprisoning him. Or secondly a man, who is acquainted with the details of the poll-tax, who is well-to-do, and trustworthy with regard to his intelligence; in that case his acquaintance with the poll-tax will urge him on to acting moderately in milking, and to the cultivation of the lands and to compassion for the subjects; whilst his wealth will urge him on to abstemiousness and his intelligence to desiring that which is useful to him and to fearing what harms him. Or thirdly a man who is acquainted with the details of the poll-tax, trustworthy with regard to faithfulness, of little property. Make his livelihood large, so that he may make use of it for his needs and may find even the little excessive for his poverty: he will then, owing to his knowledge, push on the poll-tax and owing to his faithfulness abstain from disloyalty.

'Umar ibn 'Abdu'l-'Azîz asked for advice with regard

to people he might appoint. One of his companions said to him : You want the people of excuse. When he said : Who are they ? he replied : Those who when they do right, do what you hoped for, and with regard to whom, when they fall short, people will say : 'Umar has struggled against difficulties.

'Adî ibn Artâ said to Iyâs ibn Mu'âwiya[1] : Show me among the reciters of the Qur'ân those whom I might appoint. He said : There are two kinds of reciters of the Qur'ân. The one work for the sake of the world hereafter, but not for you : the other work for the sake of this world ; what do you think of them, once you appoint them and give them a chance in it ? He said : " So what should I do ?" " You must take men of noble family who will feel ashamed of wrong-doing on account of their noble descent ; so appoint them."

Al-Rashîd had a man brought before him in order to appoint him to a judgeship, whereupon the man said : I could not manage it well, and I am not a Faqîh. But Al-Rashîd said : There are three qualities in you : you are noble and nobleness prevents its possessor from
18 lowliness ; you are forbearing and forbearance prevents you from haste and those who are not hasty make few mistakes ; and you are a man who consults in his affairs, and he who consults acts rightly in many things. But as for *fiqh*, those will gather round you, from whom you will learn it. So he took charge, and they found nothing in him for which he could be blamed.

Sahl ibn Muhammad told me : al Asm'aî told me : Sâlih ibn Rustam Abu Amîr al Khazzâz told me : Iyâs ibn Mu'âwîya al Muzani said : 'Umar ibn Abî Hubeyra[2] sent for me but when I came to him, he kept silent, so I kept silent too. After I had kept silent for a long time, he said : Come on ! I said : Ask what seems good to you. " He said : "Do you recite the Qur'ân ?" " Yes. " "Do you make binding upon yourself the divine laws ?" "Yes. " " Do you know something about the days of the Arabs ?" " Yes. " " Do you know something about the days of the Persians ?" " I know them well. " " I want to ask your assistance. " "There are three things in me on account of which I am not fit for office." " Which are they?" " I am ugly, as you see, I am sharp, I am faltering in speech. " " As for your ugliness, I have no desire to surpass

(1) Iyâs was judge at Basra, when 'Adî was its governor in 100 A.H.; see Tabari II 1347.

(2) Governor of the 'Irâq 103–5 A.H.

people in beauty through you ; as for your faltering in speech, I see that you can explain what is in your mind ; as for your bad qualities the whip will straighten you. Get up, I appoint you." So he appointed me and gave me two thousand dirhams, the first money I laid aside.

I read in a book of the Indians[1] : The resolute ruler may sometimes love a man and yet remove him and cast him away out of fear of his damage ; just like him, whose finger has been bitten by a snake and who cuts it off, lest the poison spread in his body. And sometimes he may hate a man and yet compel himself to appoint him and bring him near himself on account of a competence he finds in him ; just as a man may dislike a medicine, that is unpalatable just on account of its usefulness.

Al Mu'allâ ibn Aiyûb told me : I heard Al Mâ'mûn say : He who praises a man before us, makes himself responsible for his blemishes.

19 *Chapter on the Companionship of the king and its discipline and on the changing of the king and his varying.*

Muhammad ibn 'Ubeyd told me : Abû Usâma told us from Mujâlid from Al-Sha'bî from 'Abdullah ibn 'Abbâs. He said : My father said to me : O my son, I see that the Prince of the Faithful asks you to meet him and that he asks your advice and that he prefers you to those older than you among the companions of the Messenger of God. So I advise you to practise four things : do not reveal to him a secret, do not let him experience any lie from you, do not speak evil to him about anybody who is absent, and do not withhold advice from him. Al-Sha'bî said : I said to Ibn 'Abbâs : everyone of these words is better than one thousand. He said : Yes, of course, and even ten thousand.

It used to be said : If the king makes you a brother, you make him a father, and if he gives you an increase you give one to him.

Ziyâd said to his son : If you visit the Prince of the Faithful, wish good to him and after that withdraw in good grace, let him not experience from you either rushing eagerly upon him or shrinking from him.

Muslim ibn Amr said : He who serves the rulers should not let himself be deceived through them when they are pleased with him : nor get altered towards them when they get angry with him. He should not find hard that which

(1) Kalila wa Dimna ed. Cheikho 100.

they impose upon him, nor be importunate with his questions.

And I read in a book of the Indians[1]: The company of the king, although bestowing honour and wealth, yet is full of danger: It resembles a steep mountain full of excellent fruit and hostile beasts, to ascend it is difficult, and to stay in it harder still. And the good of the ruler does not equal his bad, because the good does not transgress the increase of the present circumstances, whilst the bad removes the present circumstances and destroys the souls for whose benefit the increase is sought. And there is no good in the thing, the safe possession of which means property and rank, but the loss of which means calamity and destruction.

And I also read in it[2]: He who sticks to the door of the king with graceful self-restraint and the repression of anger and the flinging away of scorn, will gain his want.

I also read in it[3]: The ruler does not aim by means of his regards at pleasing him who is most noble, but him who is nearest, just as the vine does not attach itself to the noblest of trees but to those nearest to it.

The Arabs used to say: If you do not belong to the favourites of the prince, be amongst those that are remote from him.

And I read in the Adâb of Ibn al Muqaffâ[4]: You should have no intercourse with the ruler unless you have trained yourself to obey him even in things you dislike and to agree with him in things with which you disagree, and to arrange things according to his desire as against your own. So take care of a thing they entrust you with, be cautious when they show favour to you, be trustworthy when they confide in you; teach them, but in such a way as if you were learning from them, correct them but in such a way as to make them believe that it is you who are being corrected, show them gratitude but do not impose gratitude upon them, be humble when they cut you off, pleased when they make you angry. Otherwise keep away from them and beware of them as much as you can. And if[5] you find that you can do without the ruler and the intercourse with him, dispense with it, because he who serves a ruler truly, will find that he intervenes between

(1) Kalila ed. Cheikho 58.
(2) Ibid. 57 line 18.
(3) Ibid. 57 line 11.
(4) ed. Ahmad Zaki 57.
(5) Ibid 59.

him and worldly pleasure as well as striving for the world to come: whilst he who serves him without truth, will carry away with himself disgrace in this world and a heavy load in the next.

He further said[1]: If you have intercourse with the ruler, you must not, in spite of the length of your service, remonstrate with him at any length. If you have gained his confidence, leave off flattering speech and do not abound in prayers for him, except if you address him in the presence of other people. Do[2] not try to get things from him through asking and do not blame his slowness if he be slow; rather gain them through merit without telling him that you have a right against him and that you rely on him on account of a merit: though if it is in your power through renewing your advice and exertion to prevent him from forgetting your right and your merit, do it. Do not offer him the whole of your zeal in the beginning of your intercourse with him, lest you find no room for increasing it: rather leave room for an increase. If he[3] puts a question to somebody else, do not reply,
21 and know that your seizing the word is light-mindedness and means disregard on your part both towards him who puts the question and him to whom it is put. For what would you say if he who asks should say to you: Not you have I asked: or he who has been asked should say to you: Reply, you who admire yourself and disregard your ruler.

He further said: The companion of a ruler is like one who rides on a lion: the people are afraid of him, but he is even more afraid of his riding beast.

Abdu'l-Malik ibn Sâlih[4] said to the tutor of his children after having appointed him especially to keep him company and converse with him: Be more greedy in seeking your share of keeping silent than that of talking, for it has been said: Whenever you are pleased with talking, keep silent; and whenever you are pleased with keeping silent, talk. O Abdu'l-Rahmân, do not assist me in what is hideous in me, do not charge me with a mistake in my council, do not impose upon me a reply to a prayer for a blessing for me, or to a congratulation, or a reply to a question about my health or to a consolation; and give up saying: How is the Amîr this morning or

(1) Ibid. 32.
(2) Ibid. 36.
(3) Ibid. 45.
(4) Governor of Medina and other places under Hârûn.

evening ? Talk to me in the measure in which I ask you to, and instead of eulogising me, listen to me pleasantly. And know that the right way of listening is rarer than the right way of talking ; and if you hear me speaking, show me your understanding in your glance and in your restraint and do not exert yourself with excessive praise of my sound judgment nor invoke an increase of my speech by manifesting your approval of what comes from me. For who is in a worse condition than him, who requires much exertion from the side of the ruler through useless words and thus leads on to his being taken no account of ? For what do you think of a ruler who puts you in the place of one admiring what you hear from him, after your having put him in the place of one to whom one does not listen ? And a little of this makes your gift worthless and causes the disappearance of any true reverential feelings for you if there were any. I have made you a tutor after your having been a teacher, and I have made you a near companion after you have been kept far away with the boys ; but as long as you do not know the defects of the state you have left, you will not know the excessive value of the state into which you have entered ; and he who does not know the bad of what is brought upon him, does not know either the beauty of that with which he is endowed.

Abû Muslim visited Abû'l-'Abbâs when Abû Ja'far[1] was present. After having saluted Abû'l 'Abbâs he said : O Abû Muslim, this is Abû Ja'far, but he replied : O Prince of the Faithful, this is a place in which only the duty toward you is to be fulfilled.

Al Fadl ibn al Rabî'[2] said : To ask kings how they
22 are is a formula of salutation used by the foolish. Instead of saying : How is the Amir this morning ? You had better say : May Allah grant regard to the Amîr in the morning ; and instead of saying : How does the Amîr feel ? You had better say : May Allah send down on the Amîr recovery and mercy. For a question necessitates a reply and if he does not reply, it will be hard on you, whilst to reply to you will be hard on him.

And I read in the *Adab* of Ibn al Muqaffa'[3]: Avoid him who is hated or suspected by the ruler and do not let any sitting place or house unite you with him. Do not put forward any excuse on his behalf nor praise him in the

(1) Abû'l 'Abbâs the first Abbasside Caliph 132–36 A.H ; his brother Abu Ja'far al Mansûr, the second, 136–58. A. H.
(2) Made Wazir by Hârûn in 187 and kept on by Amin until 196.
(3) ed. Zaki 41.

presence of anybody ; only if you see that he has gone so far in punishing him that you may expect leniency for him after this, you may exert yourself through gentleness and kindness in order to make him pleased with you. Do not speak secretly with anyone in the council of the ruler, nor make a sign to him with your eyelid or your eye : for secret talk creates a suspicion in everyone who notices it of the followers of the ruler and others , that it is he who is meant. And if he talks to you, pay attention to his words and do not distract your glance from him by a look, nor your heart by means of inward talk.

And I have read in an Indian book[1]: One of the kings of India received as a present garments and ornaments, whereupon he called two of his wives and offered the one he favoured more the choice between the garments and the ornaments. His Wazîr was present and the woman looked at him as if to ask for his advice, whereupon he made a sign—by wrinkling his eyes—pointing to the garments. But the king looked at him, so she chose the ornament, lest he take notice of his making a sign. And the Wazîr kept on folding his eyes for forty years, lest this become fixed in the soul of the king and in order to make him think this to be his habit or natural constitution. And thus the garment came to belong to the other woman. But when the king was about to die, he said to his son : Take good care of the Wazîr, for he kept on excusing himself for a small thing for forty years.

Shabîb ibn Sheyba[2] said : For the one who accompanies a caliph in his journey it behoves to keep in such a place that whenever the Caliph wishes to ask him about
23 something he need not turn back ; and to stand in that direction, that in case he turn back, the sun should not encounter him and if he travels in front of him to stay away from the direction of the wind that brings dust into his face.

One of the pious said to another : If you are afflicted with visiting a ruler along with other people and they start praising, you take to praying.

Thumâma said : Yahya ibn Aktham[3] went for a walk with Al Mâ'mûn one day in the garden of Mûsâ. The sun was on the left of Yahya, Al Mâ'mûn was in the shade and placed his hand on Yahya's shoulders whilst they were conversing. When he had got as far as he

(1) Kalila 186 (ed. Cheikho).
(2) A courtier of al Mahdi's. See Tabari III 544.
(3) The Judge. See Tabari III 1102 etc.

wanted, he returned on the way on which he had started and said to Yahya : The sun was upon you, because you were on my left and he has hurt you, so be you on the side on which I was, whilst I shall change to where you were. But Yahya said : O Prince of the Faithful : if it were possible for me to guard you with my own soul from the terror of that place from which one will look down[1], I should do it. But Al Mâ'mûn said : No, by God, there is no way out of it, but the sun to hurt me just as he has hurt you. So Yahya changed and had his share in the shade just as Al-Mâm'ûn had had it.

Al-Mâ'mûn said : The beginning of justice is for a man to be just towards his familiars, after that to those near them until justice reaches the lowest class.

Said al Madâ'ini : Al Ahnaf said : Neither shrink from the ruler nor covet him eagerly, for he who comes into the sight of the ruler will be thrown down by him and he who makes humble entreaties to him will be favoured by him.

Yazîd ibn 'Amr told me, Muhammad ibn 'Amr al Rûmî told me, Zuheyr ibn Mu'âwiya told me from Abu Ishaq from Zeyd ibn Yuthey : he said : Hudheyfa ibn al Yamâni said : No people ever proceeded towards Allah's ruler of the earth in order to humble him, but Allah humbled them before they died.

24 Among the stories of Khâlid ibn Safwân there is this. He said : I visited Hishâm ibn Abdu'l-Malik who asked me to come near him until I stood nearer him than anybody else. Thereupon he heaved a sigh and said : O Khâlid, often a Khâlid has been sitting on this seat of yours, whose talk has been more coveted by me than yours. Since I knew that he was referring to Khâlid ibn 'Abdullah[2], I said : O Prince of the Faithful, why then do you not reappoint him ? He said : Khâlid acted presumptuously and disgusted me, he rendered lean and made run and did not leave a return for him that retracted, apart from his never having asked me for anything. I said : O Prince of the Faithful, that one is more suitable. But he said : Not in the least :

" Once my soul has turned away from a thing
" It will not in any way till the end of time proceed towards it."

(1) On the day of Resurrection.

(2) Al Qasrî, governor of 'Irâq under Hishâm from 105–120.

Al Fadl ibn Muhammad ibn Mansûr told us in the sense of this story, and part of it was told by Nahîk : Yahya ibn Khâlid got ill and sent for Manka[1] the Indian and said to him : What do you think about this disease ? Manka said : Your illness is great and its remedy little : and less than it is gratitude. He was skilled in various branches of learning, and Yahya said to him : Sometimes the suggestion of the truth to the ear weighs heavily on it and if this happens, to shun it is more necessary for it, than the co-partnership with it. Manka said : You are right, but I see in the rising stars a sign and its time is near and you will take part in the knowledge after having been awakened. Perhaps the appearance of the moon and of the star will be gloomy, not bringing about parturition, but to start with self-confidence is the fullest lot of the seeker. Yahya said : Things have to turn to their end and that which has been decreed must happen of necessity and the power of resistance through reconciling oneself with the days is an opportunity, so betake yourself to what I have called you to, namely the symptoms to be found in the constitution. Manka said : It is the bile with which the sap of the phlegm has intermingled
25 and through that has resulted a blazing up like that which results in the flame when the dampness of matter touches it. So take the juice of two pomegranates and bruise them with black myrobalan, which will stir you to a stool or two and that will quiet down the burning that you feel, if God will. After this conversation of theirs Manka behaved kindly to him and even visited Yahya in prison, where he found him sitting on a felt, whilst al Fadl was standing in front of him and serving him. Thereupon Manka shed tears and said : I have called out, if only I had been given a reply ! Yahya said to him : Do you think you have learned something about this, that I had not known ? Certainly not, but the hope for health through escaping free from sin has been stronger than fear ; but separation from a considerable rank is a responsibility which only rarely ambition will take upon itself. And further, there have been benefits the first outcome of which I hope to be gratitude and their last to be reward. But what do you say about this disease ? Manka said to him : I do not think there is any remedy more wholesome for it than endurance ; and if it could be redeemed

(1) The Indian physician who lived at Baghdad under Hârûn. See A. Mûller in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandishen Gesellschaft* Vol. 34 p. 496 seq. ; on his translation of Shanaq's (=Canakya) book on poisons from Indian into Persian' s. ib. 499 seq.

through personal property or through abandoning a limb, this would be the thing incumbent for your benefit. Yahya said: I am grateful to you for what you have said and if you have a chance of seeing us, do it. Manka said: If I had a chance of leaving my breath of life with you I should not be stingy with it, for the days used to act kindly with me through your well-being. Al Fadl said: Yahya used to say: We entered the world in a way that turned us out of it. And I read[1] in an Indian book: The ruler with regard to the rarity of keeping his promise to his companions and with regard to relinquishing those that are absent, may be compared to a harlot or a schoolmaster: whenever one goes away from them, another turns up.

And the Arabs say: The ruler is a man of adawân and of badawân and a man of tudra *i.e.* he is man who deviates quickly, who has many new opinions presenting themselves to him and who is rushing impetuously on things.

26 Mu'âdh ibn Muslim said: I saw Abû Ja'far along with Abu Muslim entering the Ka'b. Abu Ja'far took off his shoes and when he wanted to leave said: O Abdu'r-Rahmân, give me my shoes. When he brought them he said: Mu'âdh, put them on my feet. I clothed them with them, but Abû Muslim bore rancour for this. When Abû Ja'far sent Yaqtîn ibn Mûsâ to Abû Muslim in order to number his property, Abû Muslim said: Has the son of Salâma, the harlot[2], done it? without using his Kunya (Abu Ja'far). Yaqtîn said, O Amîr, you have been rash. He said: How so? "He told me to number the properties and hand them over to you in order that you may act with regard to them as you think fit." After this Yaqtîn returned to Al Mansûr and told him. When Abû Muslim proceeded to al Madâin on the day on which he was killed, he began to beat his hackney with a whip on the place where the mane grows and to say in Persian words the meaning of which was: Knowledge does not help, if it is not possible to avert that which has been decreed. Then he said: One who drags along her skirt will call out: O woe to her, on the Tigris or round it; as if after a while, we had got into the Tigris.[3]

(1) Kalîla ed. Cheikho 80.

(2) According to Al-Ya'qûbî (ed. Houtsma) II 436 Al-Mansûr's mother was Salâma al-Barbariya s. also Mas'ûdi (ed. Cairo) II 163.

(3) When Abu Muslim was killed in 137, his body was thrown into the Tigris s. Tabari III 112.

Al Mansûr said : There are three things in my breast from which Allah may cure me : The letter of Abû Muslim to me when I became Caliph, reading : May Allah preserve us and you from evil ; his messenger coming to see us and saying : Which of you is the son of the Hârithî woman ?[1] : and Suleymân ibn Habîb[2] beating my back with a whip.

Al-Mansûr said to Salm ibn Quteyba : What do you say about killing Abû Muslim ? Salm said " Were there in both (heaven and earth) Gods beside God, both would surely have been corrupted[3]." He said, That is enough for you, O Abû Umeya.

Abu Dulâma said :

" O Abû Mujrim[4], Allah has never changed a favour
" For his servant, unless the servant has changed it.
" Have you under the rule of Al Mahdî desired treachery?
" Verily your Kurdish fathers were people of treachery.
" Abû Mujrim, you have frightened me with death, but against you turned
" The tawny lion with what you threatened me with."

Marwân ibn Muhammad[5] when he was certain of the end of his rule said to 'Abdu'l-Hamid : I require you to stay with my enemy and to manifest treachery against me ; for their admiration for your good breeding and their need of your secretarial art urges them on to think well of you. If you can manage to help, whilst I am alive (so much the better), otherwise you will be in a position to
27 preserve my womenfolk after my death. 'Abdu'l-Hamid said : What you ordered me to do, is the most useful of the two things for you, and the most abominable of the two for me, but I can do nothing but bear up patiently until Allah aids you or I be killed along with you. And he said :

" I should keep faith secretly and afterwards I should manifest treachery ?
" Who then could provide me with an excuse, the outward appearance of which would render people free from straitness."

(1) Mansûr's father had been married apart from Salâma to Reyta bint Ubeydullah al-Hârithiya.

(2) When governor of Khurasan Suleymân had Abû Ja'far whipped when he had been accused of embezzling.

(3) Sura XXI 22.

(4) Abu Muslim's nickname.

(5) The last Caliph of the house of Umeiya.

On Consultation and Judgment.

Al-Ziyâdî told us : he said : Hammâd ibn Zeyd told us from Hishâm from Al-Hasan, he said : The Prophet used to consult even women and whenever they gave him advice he would accept it.

And I read in the Tâj : One of the Kings of the Persians asked his wazîrs for advice whereupon one of them said : It does not behove the King to consult anyone of us, except whilst he is alone with him ; because this takes the life out of secrets and makes advice more resolute and is most suitable for security and preserves everyone of us best from the mischief of the other. For to reveal a secret to one man means tying it more firmly than revealing it to two, and to reveal it to three is like revealing it to the generality of men ; because one is a pledge for what has been revealed to him, whilst the second removes from him this pledge and the third is a superaddition to this. And as long as a secret is confined to one, he is more likely not to manifest it out of fear for it and out of longing for it. Once it has spread among two, suspicion will enter the king's mind and ambiguities will spread against the two men. And in case he punishes them, he will punish two for one offence, and in case he suspects both, he will suspect the innocent one on account of the fault of him who has committed a sin ; and if he pardons both, the one will be pardoned because there is no sin with him and the other because there is no proof against him.

And I have read in a book of the Indians[1] : A king consulted some of his Wazîrs, whereupon one of them said : " The resolute king grows through the advice of the resolute Wazîr, just as the sea grows in substance through the rivers. And through resolution and advice he gains what he could not gain through strength and armies. And for secrets there are degrees : there are those in which a party of men share, there are those for which a whole people are required and there are others in which one may be satisfied with one. In the strengthening of the secret there is the gaining of a need and freedom from defect. And he who asks for advice, although he excel in judg-
28 ment him who gives advice, yet through his judgment he will grow in judgment, just as a fire grows in light through olive oil. And if the king builds a wall round his secret and keeps far away, so that what is in his soul can-

(1) *Kalila* ed. Cheikho 146.

not be known ; if he elects the Wazîr, is feared by the common people, gives satisfaction through the beauty of his acts, so that the innocent is not afraid of him and the suspicious does not feel safe from him : if he arranges that which is useful and spends money, his rule is likely to last. So all that is required for this our secret, are two tongues and four ears." After that he remained alone with him.

Abû Muhammad[1] said : I wrote a letter to one of the rulers and in one part of it I said : The resolute men have always found sweet the bitterness of the words of the sincere, they have always wished to be guided aright in their faults and to inquire after the right judgment from everybody down to the foolish maidservant. Whilst there are those who are in need of proving the love they claim for him and the purity of their intention, Allah has made this unnecessary for me through that which compulsion has rendered obligatory : since I have always been hoping for an increase of my present state from the lasting of your privilege and the rising of your scale and the unfolding of your high rank and power.

And in another passage I wrote : In this letter I have taken upon myself a certain amount of blame, and have acted contrary to my own knowledge by offering my judgment without having been asked for advice, and have put myself in the place of the special officers without having been placed there. But my soul burning with anger and feeling uneasy at what it heard, dragged me away from a path right for it, to one right for you, when I saw the tongue of your enemy unfolding itself with its charges against you and its arrows piercing you : whilst I was your friend incapable of arguing since he did not find an excuse, and whilst I saw the common people engage in all kinds of talk regarding you. For there is nothing more harmful for the ruler in some cases nor more useful for him in others, than they : for horsemen carry along what Allah makes run down their tongues and stories remain and remembrance holds out against time and the ends prevail and that which has become manifest of news has more weight in their eyes, than the testimony of trustworthy witnesses.

And again in another passage : He who leads people and manages their affairs is in need of a wide chest and he must gird himself with patience and bear up with the want

(1) *i.e.* the author of the 'Uyûn, Abû Muhammad 'Abdullah ibn Muslim ibn Quteyba.

of culture of the common people; he must make the ignorant understand and satisfy the man against whom
29 the decision has gone and who has been denied his request by pointing out whence he has been denied it; for since people are not universally satisfied, even if all the causes of satisfaction have been put together for their benefit, much the less so will they be satisfied if some have been withheld from them. And they do not accept obvious excuses, the less so dubious ones. And your brother is he who tells you the truth and is grieved for you, not he who follows you in your passion and afterwards disappears from you without bringing you near.

Ziyâd said to a man who consulted him: All those who ask for advice have confidence and every secret has its depository. But there are two things in men that cripple them in their efforts: the squandering of secrets and the venting of advice. There is no room for a secret except in one of two men: the man of future life who hopes for God's reward or the man of this world who has nobility in his soul and an intelligence with which to preserve his rank; and I have tested both of them for you.

One of the scribes wrote: Know that he gives you good advice and is anxious for you, who examines for you with his sight the things behind the ends and who shows you the likeness of the things of which you are afraid; who mixes for you the rough and the smooth in his speech and his advice, in order that your fear may equal your hope and your gratitude correspond with the benefit bestowed on you. And know further that he cheats you and instigates others against you, who helps your being seduced, who levels for you the smooth ground of oppression, who runs with you in your bridle obedient to your passion.

And in a passage: If I am suspect in your eyes at present, you will find on reflecting on the various sides of this advice things that will show you that it issued from truth and sincerity.

Ibrâhîm ibn Al-Mundhir said: Ziyâd ibn 'Ubeydallah al-Hârithi[1] asked 'Ubeydallah ibn 'Umar about his brother Abû Bakr as to whether to appoint him judge, and he advised him to do it. But when he sent to Abû Bakr he refused, whereupon Ziyâd sent for 'Ubeydallah asking him to help him against Abû Bakr. Abû Bakr said to 'Ubeydallah: I conjure you by God, do you think

(1) Governor of Medina from 133 to 136 A.H.

it right for me to take charge of the judgeship ? He said, By God, no. Whereupon Ziyâd said : " God is far from such imperfection ! I asked your advice and you advised me to appoint him and now I hear you forbidding him !" He said : O Amîr, you asked my advice, so I exerted my judgment for your benefit and gave you my sincere advice, now he asked my advice, so I exerted my judgment for his benefit and gave him my sincere advice.

30 Nasr ibn Mâlik was at the head of Abû Muslim's police. When Abu Muslim received Abu Ja'far's leave to come to see him he asked Nasr's advice and he told him not to go and said : I do not trust him with regard to you. Abû Ja'far said to him, when he came to him : did Abû Muslim ask your advice with regard to coming to see me and did you forbid him ? " Yes " " How is this ?" " I heard your brother Ibrâhîm the Imâm[1] quote in the name of his father Muhammad ibn 'Alî : " Men will go on receiving an increase in their judgment, as long as they give sincere advice to those who ask for their advice." So I behaved to him accordingly, and now I behave toward you as I did toward him.

Mu'âwiya said ; I used to meet an Arab of whom I knew that there was in his heart hatred against me and I used to ask his advice, whereupon he would stir up his hatred against me in the measure he felt it in his soul. Whilst he went on to overwhelm me with insult, I overwhelmed him with forbearance until he turned into a friend whom I asked for help and who gave it, and whom I asked for assistance and who answered my call.

And I read in the letter written by Abarwez when he was in prison to his son Sheroya : You should consult people, for you will find among them those who will render a wound ripe for cauterisation and who will cut off from you disease ; who will bring out for you that which is concealed and who will leave a chance for you with your enemy without seizing it, nor a chance for your enemy without surrounding it with a wall. Do not let the strength of your judgment according to your own opinion nor the superiority of your rank according to your own feeling prevent you from gathering along with your own judgment that of another ; if you find it praiseworthy, you will gather its fruit and if you judge it blameworthy you will refuse it. And there are in this various

(1) He had inherited the Abbaside imâmat from his father Abû 'Abdullah Muhammad.

good things, such as : if he agrees with your judgment your own judgment will increase in strength in your own opinion ; if he opposes your judgment, you will expose it to your examination : if you think it superior to your judgment, you will accept it ; if you think it inferior you will do without it. Further, faithful advice may be renewed to you from him whom you consult, even if he be wrong, and he may bear you sincere affection although he fall short.

In an Indian book it is said[1]: He who asks for indulgence from brothers in taking advice and from physicians in disease and from lawyers in doubtful cases, fails in his judgment, increases his disease and takes a burden upon himself.

31 In the Adâb of Ibn al Muqaffa'[2] it is said : do not allow the thought to grow in your heart, that by your asking for advice, people might get to know of your need for the judgment of other men, lest this thought should prevent you from asking for advice : because you do not want the judgment in order to boast, but in order to make use of it. And if you go in for praise, the best praise in the mouth of those gifted with sound judgment is, that they should say : He does not go merely by his own judgment, leaving aside that of those capable of judgment among his brothers.

'Umar ibn Al-Khattâb said : The judgment of a single individual is like a single strained string, the judgments of two are like two twisted strings and that of three is a well twisted rope hardly to be untwisted[3].

Ashja'[4] said :

" Judgment travelled during the night whilst the eyes
of people were slumbering ;
" As long as judgment delayed resolution, it preferred
caution."

Al-Hajjâj wrote to Al-Muhallab urging him on to speed in the war against the Azâriqa[5], whereupon Al-Muhallab wrote to him : It is a misfortune that judgment belongs to him who owns it, and not to the one who understands it.

And it was said to 'Abdullah ibn Wahb al Râsibi[6] on

(1) *Kalila* 82.
(2) ed. Ahmad Zaki 12.
(3) Cf. *Ecclesiastes* IV 12.
(4) A poet famous under Hârûn and his successors.
(5) The Khâriji extremists.
(6) Killed in 37 H.

the day on which the Khawârij entrusted to him their leadership: "Speak," whereupon he said: What have I to do with unleavened judgment and sharp speech? And he further said: Leavened judgment is better than unleavened; and there are many things that are better after some days have passed over them than when they are fresh, and which are better delayed than put forward.

To another it was said: "Speak," whereupon he said: I do not long for bread, unless a night has passed over it.

Ibn Hubeyra used to say: O God, I invoke thy protection against the company of him whose aim is the special share of his own soul and degradation to the passion of the one who consults him; and against the company of him who does not seek your pure love except through his readiness to fit in with your lust, and who helps you in the joy of your hour without pondering over the happenings of your to-morrow.

And it used to be said: He who is granted four, will not be denied four: he who is granted gratitude is not denied increase; he who is granted repentance is not denied approbation; he who is granted advice is not denied what is right; he who is granted asking for the better, is not denied blessing.

And it used to be said: Do not consult a teacher nor a shepherd of sheep nor one who sits much with women.

And it used to be said: Do not consult one who has a want that he wishes to fulfil; nor one who is hungry, nor one who keeps in urine.

And they said: there is no judgment in one who
32 keeps in urine, nor in one pinched by narrow shoes, nor in one suffering constipation.

They further said: Do not consult one who has got no flour.

One of the kings of the Persians was in the habit, whenever he consulted his marzbâns and found them remiss in their judgment, of calling those entrusted with their pay and having them punished. When they said: Your marzbâns make a mistake and you punish us, he replied: Yes, they committed their mistake only on account of their heart clinging to their pay, and whenever they are anxious about their pay they commit mistakes.

And it used to be said: Whenever a soul gets hold of its food and its pay, it enjoys tranquillity.

Ka'b said: Do not consult weavers, for Allah has deprived them of their intelligence and withdrawn abundance from their earnings.

The poet said:

"The most useful of those whom you consult are those that are sincere,
"Compassionate; so after this observe well the one you consult.
"But that compassionate one will not cure you, whose judgment
"Is strange, nor the men of judgment, whose breast is irritated."

And it is said: The token of following the right way is for the soul to be longing.

Another[1] said:

"Whenever judgment reaches sincerity, ask the help
"Of sincere judgment, or the sincerity of the resolute
"And do not think advice a lowering for you
"For the feathers concealed under the wing are succouring the forefeathers.
"And leave slowness to the weak, and do not be
"A great sleeper, for the resolute does not sleep
"And make come near of your relations him who brings himself near
"And do not ask to be present at consultation him who does not conceal.
"What is the good of a hand, whose sister is kept by a manacle
"And what is the good of a sword, that does not receive help from a hilt?
"You will not banish anxieties through wishes
"Nor will you gain the heights without noble deeds."

A Beduin said: I have never been cheated without my tribe being cheated too. "How is that?" "I never do anything without consulting them."

It was said to a man belonging to the 'Abs: How often
33 you do the right thing! He said: We are a thousand men, but amongst us there is one who is resolute, and we obey him and so we are like 1,000 resolute people.

(1) As pointed out by Brockelmann in his notes the author is Bashshâr ibn Burd, s. Jahiz, *Bayan* II 173.

And it is said: The question of a king ruling his subjects or their ruling him, is one of resolution or remissness.

Al-Qutamî[1] said with regard to disobedience towards a sincere friend:

" Disobedience towards him who is anxious for you
" Will only increase your readiness to listen to him another time,
" The best thing is that which you knew from him beforehand
" And it is not necessary for you to follow him consecutively,
" So it is. But I have never seen people
" Quick except towards that to which their seducer drew them.
" You see them calumniate him whom they find weak
" And avoid him who fights gallantly in a quarrel. "

And another[2] said as quoted to me by Al-Riyâshi:

" Many a Maula disobeyed me and stuck to his judgment
" Just as Qasîr was not obeyed in Al Baqqateyn[3]
" But when he saw that my affair and his came to their end
" And beginnings of things had passed away with their ends
" He wished lastly[4] he had obeyed me
" When other things had happened after the first."

Sabî' said to the people of Al-Yamâma: O Banû Hanîfa, may you be far off like 'Ad and Thamûd. By Allah, I told you the thing before it happened, as if I had heard its bell and had seen its secrets, but you refused advice and have now gathered repentance as a fruit; now instead of calling me a liar you hold me trustworthy and you repent of having suspected me, whilst with me there remains now weeping for your passing away and grief at your humiliation. And that which has elapsed will not be returned and that which has been left is not reliable. When I saw you suspect the sincere friend and deem foolish the forbearing, I put on despair of you as my garment and feared for you misfortune. But by Allah, Allah has not denied you repentance and has not seized

(1) See his Diwan ed. Barth XIII 23 seq.

(2) According to Yaqut ed. Wüstenfeld I 702 the author is Nahshal Ibn Harrî.

(3) The advice given by Qasîr to Jadhîma had been rejected, see Kitab al Aghani (second edition) Vol. XIV p. 72.

(4) The correct reading is na'îsh, not ba'îs, s. Yaqut l. c.

you unexpectedly, but has shown forbearance until the warner got weary of the weakness of the warned, and it looked as if others than you were concerned with what you were in.

A man having advised a friend of his and offered good judgment, the friend said to him: You have told me things a sincere and compassionate friend says, who mixes
34 sweet words with bitter ones, the rough with the smooth, and whose pity moves that which is resting in another than him. And I have learnt advice through them and have accepted it since it came from one whose love cannot be doubted nor the purity of his secret doings; and may you ever be, thanks to God, a well traced road towards everything good and a beaten obvious track.

And 'Uthmân when he was besieged, wrote to 'Alî: "Now the water has passed the heights and the strap has reached the two teats and things have exceeded their bound:

"So if I am to be eaten up, be the best of eaters
"Otherwise overtake me before I am cut asunder."[1]

And Aûs ibn Hajar[2] said:

"I am satisfied with the cousin if I act wrongfully[3]
"And pardon his foolishness if he is foolish
"And whenever he saith to me: what do you think? asking my advice
"He will find me a cousin interfering with things, skilful
"I remain in the house of resolution as long as its resolution lasts
"But how suitable for me to leave, once it changes!
"And I ask for one strong thing as exchange for another
"As soon as the tie of a weak-minded man is loosed."

And it used to be said: Delay with attainment as its end is better than haste with missing as its end.

And Al Riyâshi recited to me:

"He whose judgment is weak, will waste his opportunity
"Until when a thing escapes him be blames fate."

And it used to be said: Reflect firmly and as soon as you have gained clearness, carry out your resolution.

(1) The author of the verses quoted by 'Uthman is Al Muwaffiq al 'Abdî, s. *Asma'iyat* ed. Ahlwardt L 16.
(2) s. ed. Geyer XXXI 3–6.
(3) Or according to the reading in Geyer's edition:
"I blame the cousin if he acts wrongfully."

About attaining what is right through conjecturing and judging.

Ibn al-Zubeyr used to say: He has not lived well, who has not seen with his judgment that which he could not see with his eye.

One of the wise was asked: What is intelligence? He said: To attain what is right through conjecturing and to know what has not yet been through what has been.

And it used to be said: What remains gives sufficient information about what has passed away, and for the intelligent their experiences are sufficient as a warning.

And it used to be said: Everything stands in need of intelligence, and intelligence stands in need of experience.

And it is said: He whose conjectures do not profit you, his convictions will not help you either.

And Aûs ibn Hajar [1] said:

" The sharpminded who conjectures about you
" As if he had seen or heard."

And another said:

" I desire to conjecture rightly, knowing that
" If the conjectures of a man miss the target, his fate too goes astray."

'Alî ibn Abî Tâlib, may God's blessing be on him, said with regard to 'Abdullah ibn 'Abbâs: He looks into the hidden through a thin veil.

And it is said: The conjectures of a man are a piece of his intelligence.

And it is said: Conjectures are the keys to certainty.

One of the scribes said:

" I preserve you through thinking hard about you
" Because thinking is the key to certainty."

And Al-Kumeyt said:

" Reflecting on the results of things is as if you were to commence them anew.
" It is man who is weak in attempting, not cunning."

And another said:

" Whenever you were excited through an important affair, you would attack it
" With edges more thorough-going than the finest of swords.

(1) ed. Geyer XX_3.

" You took the greater part of it through judgment,
until you made him see
" Through it, with the fulness of his two eyes, the place
of the results."

Another said, describing the intelligent :

" Perceiving the consequences of things as if
" He saw through right judgment what would happen."

And another said similarly :

" Knowing the consequences of things through his
judgment
" As if today he had an eye for tomorrow."

And again another said, describing the intelligent :

" Perceiving the consequences of things as if
" Of everything its ends were conversing with him."

And Juthâma ibn Qeys said, scoffing at a people :

" You are a big people without hearts,
" Not knowing whether direction has come or disappear-
ed.
36 " You see the beginnings of things approaching
" But you do not see when they have turned their tails.
" Yet rarely what is disliked befalls a man suddenly
" If he sees causes for the beginnings of evil."

Another said :

" But they do not beware of evil until it befalls them
" And they do not recognise a thing except through
reflecting on its results."

And it is said : The conjecture of the intelligent is divination.

And in an Indian book it is said[1]: Men consist of two classes of resolute people and one class of weak ones. The one class of the resolute are those who whenever an adversity happens, are not bewildered, but encounter it with cunning and judgment until they are out of it. Even more resolute are those who know of the thing when it approaches and turn it away even before it has taken place. But the weak is faltering, bent, dazzled ; he does not consult rectitude nor obey him who would lead him towards it.

The poet said :

" I hope for God so that it is as if
" Through beautiful conjecture I could see what God is
doing."

(1) *Kalila* ed. Cheikho 75.

And another said :

" To be heedless once is the act of one unexperienced,
" But to be heedless twice is the deed of foolishness.
" Do not rejoice at a thing that has drawn near gradually
" And do not despair of the thing that is remote.
" For nearness becomes remote after having been near
" And remoteness draws near according to fate, that is urged on,
" And he who does not guard against shoal water,
" His feet will make him slip in the deep sea
" And those who pursue praiseworthy actions have not gained them
" Through the like of joyful countenance and bright face."

And Marwân ibn al-Hakam said to Hubeysh ibn Dalaja : I think you a fool. He replied : A Sheykh is most foolish, if he acts according to his opinion.

And a man had engraved on his seal : The seal is better than opinion.

And similar to this is : A piece of clay is better than opinion.

37 *On following passion.*

It used to be said : Passion is the companion of blindness.

And Amîr ibn al Zarîb[1] said: Judgment is asleep but passion is awake and for this reason passion overpowers judgment.

Ibn 'Abbâs said : Passion is a God worshipped, and he recited the verse (Sura XLV 22) " What then think ye of him who hath taken his passion for his God ?"

And Hishâm ibn Abdu'l-Malik said—this is all he composed of poetry :—

" If you do not disobey passion, passion will lead you on
" Towards something in which there will be a say against you."

And Buzurjmihr said : If two things are dubious to you and you do not know which of the two is right, find out which of the two is nearer your passion and avoid it.

'Amr ibn al 'As accompanied 'Umâra ibn al Walîd to Abyssinia and with 'Amr was his wife. 'Umâra fell in love with her and pushed 'Amr into the sea, but he clave

(1) On his identity with Odenathus, the husband of Zenobia, s. Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs* 35.

to the ship and got out of the water. When he had entered the land of the Abyssinians, 'Amr accused 'Umâra before the Najâshi and informed him that he had been visiting one of his wives during his absence. The Najâshi called wizards who blew into his orifice some urine whereupon he became mad and began to wander about with the wild beasts. 'Amr said with regard to this :

" Know, O 'Umâra, that the worst of things
" For a man like you is for a cousin of his to be called a son,
" And though you are a man of two garments, brownish, combed,
" Yet you do not think a thing unlawful with regard to your cousin.
" If a man does not leave off a food he loves
" And does not disobey a heart that goes astray in the aim it takes,
" He will fulfil a little of its want but
" The stories about him, when told, will fill the mouth."

And Hâtim Tey[1] said with regard to one like him :

" If you grant your belly its request
" And your organ of generation, they will gain the utmost of blame together.

And another said :

" Al Juneyd acted wrongfully towards me in passing his judgment
" Through ignorance, because I do not stand in the place of wickedness.
" Passion has eaten up my pleas and many a time passion
" Is of that which will eat up the plea of the adversary."

A Beduin said : Passion is really dual but a mistake has been made with regard to its name.

Al-Zubeyr ibn 'Abd-al-Muttalib said :

38 " I avoid obscene things wherever they be
" And I forsake what I desire on account of what I dread."

And Al-Bureyq[2] al-Hudhali said :

" Make clear to me what you see, for sometimes a man's steadiness

(1) ed. Schulthess XX_3.
(2) Diwan al Hudhaliyin ed. Wellhausen CLXXI 15–16.

" Refrains and his passion overpowers him.
" Thus that in him becomes blind, through which one sees
" And he thinks, of that which he sees, that he does not see it."

And it used to be said: Your brother is he, who tells you the truth and approaches you from the side of your intelligence, not from the side of your passion.

On concealing the secret and on spreading it.

Ahmad ibn al Khalîl told me: Muhammad ibn al Huseyb told me: Aûs ibn 'Abdallah ibn Bureyda told me from his brother Sahl from Bureyda: he said: The messenger of God, may God bless him and give him peace, said: Seek help against wants through concealing, because all those that are benefited are being envied.

And the wise used to say: Your secret is part of your blood.

And the Arabs say: He who seeks a depository for his secret, has already spread it.

'Abdu'l-Rahmân ibn 'Abdullah ibn Qureyb told me from his uncle al Asma'î, he said: One of our companions told me: The son of Abû Mihjan al Thaqafi visited Mu'âwiya. Mu'âwiya said to him: Is your father he who said—[1]

" When I die bury me near the root of a vine
" Whose root-fibres will quench the thirst of my bones after my death
" And do not bury me in the desert for
" I fear lest after death I should not taste it."

The son of Abû Mihjan said: if you like I can quote something more beautiful than that from his poems. " What is it ?" " It is this :[2]

" Do not ask people what my fortune is and what my noble descent,
" Rather ask them what my resolution is and what my moral character;
" People know well that I am of their leaders,
" Whenever the hand of the cowardly, the fearing is fickle,
" I present the spearhead on the morning of the battle with its share,

(1) Abû Mihjan ed. Abel XV. 1-2.
(2) *Ibid.* XIII 1-3.6.

" And as for the forepart of the lance, I quench its thirst
with thick blood ;
" Sometimes I embark on terrors, the armies of which
have been let loose,
" And I conceal the secret even though there be in it
the cutting of the neck."

And he ('Abdu'l-Rahmân) recited to me this verse by Al-Saltân al-'Abdî :

" It is your secret as long as it remains with one man
" But the secret of three does not remain concealed."

And 'Alî ibn Abî Tâlib--God's blessing on him !—used the following two verses as a proverb :

" Do not divulge your secret to anyone but yourself,
" For every sincere friend has a sincere friend.
" And I have seen the seducers of men
" Not leaving one reputation sound."

And the poet said :

" Two that are being watched and who practise concealment with their love for each other
" And make their hearts graves for what they conceal,
" They look at each other and it is as if
" They were handing down to each other lines of writing
from their eyelids."

And Miskîn al Darimi said :[1]

" I fraternize with men the one of whom I do not acquaint
" With the secret of the other
" Except that I am their common resort.
" They live far apart in the lands, but their secret
" Is confided to a rock, to split which baffles people."

And another said :

" And if I were capable of forgetting that which comprised
" My limbs of secrets and stories,
" I should be the first to forget their secrets,
" If I was one day in danger of spreading them."

And a man told a friend of his a story as a secret and when he had exhausted the subject, asked him : Did you understand? Whereupon he said : No, I have forgotten.

It was said to a Beduin : How do you hide a secret ? He replied : My heart is nothing for it but a tomb.

(1) 1. Hamasa ed. Freytaq 498.

It was said to Muzbid :[1] What is beneath your breast ? He answered : O fool, what did I conceal it for?

And the poet said :

" If your breast becomes too narrow for tidings
" And people spread them, whom do you blame ?
" If I blame him who has spread my tidings
" Whilst my secret was with him, it is I who am the wrong-doer.
" For if I am disgusted with keeping my secret,
" After having shut it in my breast I am showing little patience. "

40 It was said to a man : How do you conceal a secret? He said : I deny it to him who tells stories and I swear to him who asks for news.

And it used to be said : It means weakness for a thing to spread it before knitting it firmly.

And the poet said :

" If you impose a trust on the treacherous
" You have rested it on the worst support."

'Amr ibn al 'As said : I never blamed a man for spreading a secret that I had deposited with him, for my mind was shrinking when I deposited it with him.

And he said :

" If you cannot preserve a secret for yourself
" Your secret will spread even further among people and be squandered."

And it used to be said : He whose heart becomes narrow, his tongue becomes wide.

And Al-Walîd ibn 'Utba said to his father : The Prince of the Faithful told me a story as a secret, but I do not believe that he would withhold from you what he imparts to anyone else ; should I not let you know it ? He said : No, my son, he who conceals a secret has the choice for himself; but he who imparts it, leaves to others the choice against him, and you should not be a slave after having been a master. I replied : But is this the way between a man and his father ? He said : No, but I dislike your lowering your tongue by telling secrets. This Al Walîd continues—I told Mu'âwiya, who said : O Walîd, my brother[2] has set you free from the bondage of sin.

(1) On the *Kitab al Taj* see G. K. Nariman, *Iranian Influence on Muslim Literature*. p. 67. seq.; further W. Bjônkmann's article in the Encyclopedia of Islam.

(2) Utba, the brother of Muawiya was Governor of Mekka 41–42.

According to the books of the Persians one of the kings of Persia said : Keep your secrets, but there is no secret for you except in the following three cases : a stratagem sought through deceit, or a rank prosecuted or a secret entered into that should remain hidden. And there is no need for any of them becoming manifest through anyone of you.

And it used to be said : What you conceal from your enemy let not your friend know it.

And Jamîl ibn 'Abdullah ibn Ma'mar said :

" I shall die and meet Allah, O Butheyna, without having revealed
" Your secret, although those who ask for news are many."

And 'Umar ibn Abî Rabî'a al Makhzûmî[1] said :

" And when we met I knew that which was in her
" Like that which was in me as if you measure one shoe by another ;
41 " And she said, letting down the side of the curtain, there are only
" With me my people, so speak without fear.
" But I said to her I am not mindful of them
" Yet nobody will carry my secret as I do "

meaning to say : nobody will carry it like I do by preserving it and concealing it and I am not going to tell it to any one.

And Zuheyr [2] said :

" The veil covers foul things but not
" Will you come across a veil covering the good things."

And another said :

" My secret is like my manifestation, and this is my nature ;
" And the darkness of my night is like the light of my day."

And another said to a brother of his, when he had told him a story : Put this into a vessel from which no water drops.

And it used to be said : The speaker has the right to expect from the listener concentration of mind, discretion and readiness for excuse.

(1) See his Diwan ed. Schwarf LXXX 14, 23, 24.
(2) ed. Ahlwardt IV 19.

And it used to be said : Being mindful is better than asking others to be mindful.

A man came to 'Ubeydullah ibn Ziyâd and told him, that 'Abdullah ibn Hammâm al Salûlî had slandered him. When he had sent for him and said : O Ibn Hammâm, this one asserts that you said so and so, Ibn Hammâm said :

" You are a man who, when I confided in you free from suspicion,
" Proved unfaithful or said a word without knowing.
" And you are with regard to the thing you approach
" In a place situated between breach of trust and sin."

And another said :

" Lower the voice when you speak at night
" And turn round in the daytime before speaking."

And one of the Arabs said :

" And I do not hide secrets, rather I spread them
" And I do not allow secrets to boil over against my heart.
" He is a man of little intelligence, who passes his night
" Whilst secrets make him turn from one side to the other."

And Abû'l-Shîs said :

" Do not trust with regard to my secret
" Anyone except yourself or me or the folding of scrolls
" Or a bird I shall describe and characterise
" Who goes on investigating and building
" His clutches black, his locks inclined
42 " His eyelids yellow, dipped in beauty.
" Suleymân had a mind to kill him
" Had it not been for his informing him one day about Bilqîs."

And he further said :

" A pen has communicated to you his secrets
" Had it known it, the pen would have wept."

And Muslim ibn Al-Walîd[1] said with regard to a letter that tells you a secret :

" Resolution will be torn, if you are a man of caution
" For resolution is thinking ill of people
" When it comes to you transmitting its deposit ;
" Entrust its preservation to the interior of graves."

(1) See his *Diwan* ed. de Goeje 2374, 5.

And another said :

" I shall hide from him my secret and keep his secret,
" And I am not deceived through behaving nobly towards him.
" One is prudent so that he forgets, or foolish so that he spreads it ;
" And people are either prudent or foolish".

JOSEF HOROVITZ.

(*To be continued.*)

THE TABLE-TALK OF A MESOPOTAMIAN JUDGE

(*Continued from our last issue.*)

59. I was told the following by Abu'l-Husain. I heard, he said, Abû 'Isâ Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Khâlid, known as Sakhrah's brother, narrating to my father as follows. We have seen no one, he said, more mindful of favours than Abû'l-Qâsim 'Ubaidallâh b. Sulaimân. Here is an example. Ismâ'il b. Thâbit known as al-Zaghal during the vizierate of Abû'l-Suqr Ismâ'îl b. Bulbul was in charge of the districts of Bâdûrayâ, Qatrabull, Maskan, Bûq Canal, Al-Dhanab, Kalwâdhâ, and Bîn Canal. 'Ubaidallah b. Sulaimân was at the time out of office and in his home, his disgrace having terminated, though he was still confined to his house. Al-Zaghal trumped up against him a demand for three thousand dirhems, asserting that he owned these for moneys reclaimed (which had no existence) and arrears (which were not due) in Bâdûrâyâ for a number of years. Al-Zaghal summoned 'Ubaidallâh's agent and demanded the money. The agent said that he must interview his principal and arrange with him about paying.—Al-Zaghal put him in charge of a number of his retainers, and the man went off to 'Ubaidallâh who told him to promise the retainers *douceurs* and get off confronting Al-Zaghal for a couple of days, during which 'Ubaidallâh would send someone to ask Al-Zaghal to abandon the demand and make some arrangement with him about it.—The agent came out and offered the retainers handsome gratuities. They replied that they could not venture to release him for fear of Al-Zaghal. Offer and refusal were repeated till presently 'Ubaidallâh's door-keeper sprang upon them, got between them and the agent, and drew the latter into the house. The retainers went away and complained of their treatment to Al-Zaghal, exaggerating the outrage owing to their fear of him and anxiety to clear themselves with him. Al-Zaghal

went off and complained to the vizier Ismâ'îl (b. Bulbul), exaggerating as they had done, and attributing all sorts of wickedness to 'Ubaidallâh. Money, he said, which 'Ubaidallâh owes cannot be extracted from him except by torturing him severely, publicly reviling him, and imprisoning him in the Bureau till he pays up; else he will be an example for defaulters to follow.—Ismâ'îl (b. Bulbul) was exceedingly hostile to 'Ubaidallâh, hated him personally and feared to be superseded by him; and was in addition energetic in the support of his officials, and arrogant. His anger was now aroused and he sent for me; at the time I was in charge of the Bureau of his estates, and chief of the staff of his army; I was therefore in close intimacy with him. He said: Fetch me the fool 'Ubaidallâh b. Sulaimân, and let him know Ismâ'îl b. Thâbit's complaint against him, and that he has been emboldened against him by his banishment to Tangier and the seizure of his fortune and estates[1]. I know him to be an arrogant fool. Had not fate saved me the trouble of ruining him by ruining his father and brought him to a condition in which, were I to punish him as he deserves, I should be playing into his hands, I should not delay punishing him. But tell him: Were I not scrupulous, I should ultimately order him to be cuffed from his own dwelling to the bureau of Ismâ'îl b. Thâbit, and be made to stand on his foot until he had paid what he owes. And do not you allow him to leave the bureau until his agent and his doorkeeper come and he surrenders them to Ismâ'îl b. Thâbit. You may then dismiss him, and Ismâ'îl will demand of them what he owes.

I left his presence, and wrote a letter to 'Ubaidallâh in which I summoned him to the bureau, and employed the salutations usually addressed from the bureau to a man of his rank. There were two lines of salutation, and the address at the back was *To Abu—from—*[2]. A clerk wrote it in my name, and when he showed it to me I added in my own writing above the salutation *Sir*[3], and introduced *your servant* into the body of the letter. My intention was to give him his full rights, and conceal the matter from my clerk lest Ismâ'îl might hear that I had addressed 'Ubaidallâh with extreme respect and get into his bad books. At the end of the latter I added words to the effect that

(1) It would seem that Ismâ'îl b. Thâbit had previously suffered these misfortunes, since it does not appear that 'Ubaidallâh was banished.

(2) This was doubly respectful, as 'Ubaidallâh was addressed by his *kunyah* and his name put before that of the writer.

(3) Literally *O my lord.*

he must not be alarmed at anything done through me, as I would do my best to protect him ; and that his best course was to present himself that evening, for delay might bring serious trouble upon him. I desired him to appear in the evening in order that my room might be empty, so that I might give him his due, and that no enemy might be present, in which case if I paid him due honour I should incur rebuke from the vizier, whereas if I fell short, I should render myself culpable in his eyes. So I paid regard to the consequences in this affair. In reply to my letter he came in the evening, when I rose up to meet him (an act which was altogether out of order for a person in my position, especially in the bureau), gave him the chief seat, and sat down in front of him. I then informed him of Al-Zaghal's proceedings, and repeated such of the vizier's strictures and menaces as were civilly expressed, adding that he had said many other things of a horrible and atrocious character which I was ashamed to repeat to him : I respect you too much, I said, to shock your ears with them. What I have told you is the least and the gentlest. Moreover he has ordered me to see that you do not leave this place before you have produced your agent and your doorkeeper. After which I asked his permission for you to leave. He answered that you might if you do this ; but if you refuse you are to be put under arrest, and then I do not know what may come to pass from his spite against you, or what may happen to you, of which I shall be the cause. So enable me to rely on your sending the two men to him, and then go away, so that I may inform him what has taken place. If he finds fault with me for letting you go without permission, tell him that on the contrary I heard him give it. And be on your guard without it getting abroad until a trustworthy person from me brings you the facts of the case, according to which you will act, whether in feeling secure or taking to flight.—He thanked me, saying : How gladly would I repay you for this action !—He then rose, and I did the same, bade him farewell and ordered all the slaves to walk in front of him. He left, sent the two men, and took certain slight precautions[1]. I then went and informed the vizier of the situation, and put the best colour on the affair. He told me not to attack 'Ubaidallâh any more, but to hand the two men over to Al-Zaghal. I did this, but said to him : Will you take my advice ?—He bade me speak.

(1) Probably this means that he made certain preparations for flight, should this be necessary.

I said: You have got what you wanted, so now be as generous as you can.—He replied: Sir, this is a case of thwarting official action, and these two men must be corrected.—I did my utmost to persuade him to be generous, but he would not obey me, despatched the two men to the gate of 'Ubaidallâh and had twenty lashes administered to each of them there, and fifty cuffs to the agent after the lashes, and exacted the dirhems.

The years passed: God delivered 'Ubaidallâh, and he was invested with the vizierate. I went into hiding owing to my association with the vizier Ismâ'îl, and what it involved; 'Ubaidallâh arrested Al-Zaghal, the first of the dependents of Ismâ'îl (b. Bulbul) to be fined, who was put to torture of unsurpassed severity. He obtained no government employment during 'Ubaidallâh's time till he died in receipt of public alms. I hid myself for some days, but 'Ubaidallâh took no steps to search for me nor did he interfere in any way with my house, my estate, my family or my employees. This eased my mind, and after a time I wrote to him asking for amnesty. He gave it, and I presented myself at his audience-chamber, when it was crowded, and there were in front of him a number of heads of bureaux and generals. When he saw me, he rose to his full height, but I kissed his feet, and said: May the vizier, God prolong his life, excuse me[1]; this is not my place.—Why not?—he asked. My rising up for you is no adequate recompense for your rising up for me. For you did that at a time when that action exposed your life-blood, fortune, and station to the vengeance of that enemy of God. You treated me in a way which no amount of gratitude on my part will repay: you shall have from me anything that you desire, and no evil shall befall you in your property or anything else.—

He proceeded: Mu'tadid importuned him to fine me, but 'Ubaidallâh dissuaded him, and with this purpose told him various stories which had no foundation. One was: This person was repeatedly fined by Ismâ'îl (b. Bulbul) when he was in his employ, and impoverished by him with forced loans. He had besides great expenses, having to entertain, and, being an honest man, would take no secret profits, or anything in addition to his stipend. He has no private property out of which he can be fined, and there is no ground on which he can be attacked.—Still Mu'tadid insisted, and 'Ubaidallâh said to me: The only

(1) From such honorific treatment.

thing for you to do is to remove yourself far from Mu'tadid so that he may forget you.—I said: It is for the vizier to command.—So he made me chief of *kharaj* and Estates in Qumm, and wrote to the minister of public security there, bidding him serve me. He despatched me thither in grand style.—Mu'tadid demanded that he should insist on fining me, but he repeated what he had said before, adding: I need the help of his competence, and so have sent him to Qumm.—The Caliph said: You must make him pay something there.—So he wrote to me explaining, and ordered me to pay twenty thousand dinars, which he undertook to repay me.—I admitted the obligation, and this did not affect my fortune[1], but when I had paid ten thousand he remitted the rest, having asked and obtained the consent of Mu'tadid. Nor did he remove me from employment till his death. Thus both my person and my fortune were secure with him, and I acquired a second fortune in his employ. These I retain till now, as the fruit of my service. Al-Zaghal was ruined, was reduced to taking alms, and died in poverty, as the fruit of his wickedness.

60. Among the wonders and signs of the world are certain things to be found in the Black Country of Wâsit.

I have been told by a number of persons, among them a man known as Ibn al-Sarraj etc., and Muhammad b. 'Abdallâh b. Muhammad b. Sahl b. Hâmid of Wâsit, whose grandfather Abû Bakr Muhammad b. Sahl was for years one of the most eminent "Witnesses" in Wâsit, and afterwards held the judgeship there for years, a fact to which Muhammad b. 'Abdullâh set his signature after telling this story. At a distance (he said) of a parasang and a fraction from Rusâfat al-Maimûn[2] I saw a village of either the Nabatæans or the Kisras known as Al-Jir or Qullah, wherein there are ancient remains of buildings of lime and gypsum, and the statue of a man made of smooth black stone, of vast size, known to the people of that region as Abû Ishâq, because various persons of strength who have endeavoured to move it have been "crushed"[3] and their bones broken in the attempt. Some have been killed or paralysed. The inhabitants state that they have heard their elders calling it by that name from time immemorial. The village is deserted,

(1) He means that his fortune was too large to be affected by such a sum.

(2) Said to be the "chief town" of Nahr Maimûn.

(3) The root whence the name Ishâq appears to be derived.

without any cultivation worth mentioning. The stone was carried away by a man called Al-Jalandî, who was over Ma'mûn's garrison. Tying ropes to the statue he dragged it with oxen till he got to a place in the open country. At evening time he left it in this place, but next morning found when he came back that it was at a distance from the place in which he had left it, and had got near its original station. So he left it and went away. After that another man from Rusâfah carried it off employing porters who took turns, and brought it into Rusâfah. But the people of the place where it had been came crying and saying that that place was its home, and (they said) : We come to it for company at night, and the wild beasts keep off us when we are near it, as they approach nothing which resorts to it for protection. So they carried it off again and restored it to its original place, when the people of Rusâfah had given them leave. On its chest, back, and shoulders there was ancient writing inscribed, in an unknown character.

In this region too there is a village called Metropolis of Al-Fadl's Canal ; its proper name is Tell Hawâr[1], and it is some two parasangs from a *tell* called Tell Rihâ, an ancient site, containing relics of antiquity, among which is a square stone of great size, and great height ; it is like a throne, nine cubits long by several cubits. Much of it is sunk in the earth. It has on it images and engraving[2]. The owner of Tell Hawâr, Ahmad b. Khâqân, wished to remove it in order to see what was beneath it. He dug round it and tried hard to move it, but was unable to do so, since when they undermined it in order to move it, it sank lower and lower into the pit. Finding his efforts frustrated he left it in its place.

And in a place in———[3] which is behind the Marshes between Basrah and Wâsit, in the part of the Ancient Dome which adjoins the Tufûf[4], there is a Storehouse, called Al-Qârah, said to be one of the treasuries of Qârûn[5] forty cubits long by the same breadth, and of yet greater height, built of pitch, gravel, and date-stones, tapering to a point ; we could not find any entrance. One of the

(1) Probably identical with Yâqût's Tell Hawârah.

(2) Probably what is meant is relief.

(3) Blank in the original.

(4) Plural of *Taff*, said to mean the Arab country which overlooks 'Irâq. The Ancient Dome is not mentioned in the geographical works which have been published.

(5) The Qur'ânic form of the Biblical Corah. His treasures are, mentioned xxviii. 76.

inhabitants of Tell Hawâr called 'Umar the Mason hospitably entertained a passer-by. Wishing to reward him the man showed him how to get into that Qârah, and wrote out a document about it which he communicated to 'Umar. The latter said : We want the help of some great man, and suggested Khâqân and Abû'l-Qâsim b. Hût al-'Abdasi, who were the chief people of the place. Accordingly he informed them of the matter, and they provided him with instruments for his purposed excavation, such as spades, iron and wooden tools, baskets, ladders, further hire of boats, ropes, etc. The expenditure which they incurred for these together with wages for labour amounted to many thousands of dirhems, and the two in addition provided numerous guards, as the place was infested by Qarmatians and Bedouin. They then embarked 'Umar and the men with him in boats on the march, because when the water rises in the marsh it covers a space less than two parasangs between the town and this al-Qârah.

We were told by a son of 'Umar the Mason that he was with his father on the spot, and that he went and measured forty cubits to the East of this Dome. The place[1] was then excavated, and they came upon a huge stone, which could not be lifted save by a great number of men. He went on moving the soil round it till he brought it up, revealing a vast vault, the opening of which had been covered by that stone. Dusk came on, and it was his intention to start again the next morning and enter the vault with the view of reaching the entrance to the Dome. He and his company passed the night, and at early morning when dawn appeared, they heard the cry *Allah akbar*[2] with shouting, and looking they saw cavalry swords glancing in the darkness. Not doubting that these were Qarmatian cavalry, they took fright, and directed themselves to the marsh and the boats which they had there. They continued their flight till it was full morning, and they could see whatever they wanted in the open country. They saw no cavalry, and supposing that the cavalry had gone off, returned to their stations, when they found 'Umar the Mason with his throat cut on their way, but their goods intact. So they carried these off and the body of 'Umar the Mason and went away.

It is said that they were unable to find either the stone or any trace of the excavation. Passers-by or visitors to the spot occasionally find dirhems or gems round these

(1) Apparently the line thus drawn.
(2) "*God is greater.*"

ruins and the Dome. The ruins are frequented by ostriches which lay their eggs there owing to their desolation and their being only occasionally visited by human beings.

I saw a shaikh in Wâsit who told me in Rabî' I of 363[1] that he was near his sixtieth year, having been born and having grown up in Al-Ruhb, a village in the Black Country of Wâsit. His father, he said, was a Tamîmite of Basrah, who had come on business to Wâsit, and then made the Black Country his home. There he himself had been born, and remained till he reached maturity. He had then gone back to Basrah, owing to his desire for learning. Having stayed in Basrah to study, he had gone into the desert, where he remained some ten years, meeting people[2]. I found that he possessed some knowledge of vocabulary and grammar, was one of the most famous poets of Wâsit, and had the surname Sîdûk. He told me the following story. Abû Muhammad al-Muhallabî[3] (he said) having been eulogized by me when he was vizier, asked me how I came to be called Sîdûk.—I said: Because that is the name of the chief of the Jinn, and I am the chief of the poets.—But do you know (he asked) why Sîdûk, the chief of the Jinn, was so called?—I said: I do not.—He said: I have been informed that there is a tribe of Jinn called *Haluk*. and he is their lord (*sid*). *Sid Haluk* sounding too lengthy they reduced it to *Siduk*[4].

The man's *kunyah* was Abu Tâhir and his name 'Abd al-Azîz b. Hâmid b. al-Khidr, as he informed me.

He told me the following story. One day (he said) I was present at a drinking bout in the house of a certain magnate. He threw me an orange, half yellow and half green, and bade me produce some verses about it. I immediately recited:

Sweet of savour, sweet of scent,
Greetings kind its ornament,
Yellow like the sunset's sheen,
And like tint of rainbow, green.
Hue of cheeks of frighted maids;
Hue of henna when it fades.

(1) December 973. According to the *Fawat al-Wafayat* (1.277) this person died in this year.

(2) This probably means conversing with Bedouin who were supposed to speak the best Arabic.

(3) Famous vizier of Mu'izz al-daulah.

(4) Probably Muhallabî improvised this derivation.

One like grape juice from the vine ;
One like undiluted wine[1].

He also recited to me the following verses by himself :

I've quaffed the delights of life's springtime in truth
And tasted the bitterest draught, loss of youth.
But bitterer still is the mocking I bear
From the dye of thy hand at the dye of my hair.
The day of our quarrel it was a surprise
To see the two meeting - the two faded dyes.
The colour of sweet water-lilies had tinged
Her fingers which pointed ; my locks it had fringed.

Also the following :

Allotment of luck is a wonderful tale :
The lazy succeed, the industrious fail.
Some fools are well off, and some others in want ;
Some wise men are needy, and some opulent.
Both wise men and fools may be rich or be poor ;
The matter is God's both behind and before.

Also the following :

Some plague, methinks, my heart befell ;
To wit, the Sulamite gazelle.
Else why should I, who've done no wrong.
Endure that petulance so long ?
Or in its absence feel my eye
Like orb of sun in clouded sky ?

61. I was told the following by Abû'l-Qâsim 'Ubaid-allâh b. Muhammad b. 'Ubaidallâh. I was (he said) with Ibrahîm b. Nâfi' al-'Uqaili, known as "Son of the Collar-filer", or, as some of the Arabs called him "the Collar-cutter" ; I was informed that his father got that appellation because he once struck a man who had a collar on his neck, and the blow cut the collar. This person (Abû Ishâq[2] son of the Filer) was at that time governor of Aisar Canal, a district between Basrah and Ahwaz, having been appointed by Mu'izz al-daulah. There came to him a man who had fled from the Qarmatians. This was an 'Uqailite, named Mukhtâr b. Firnâs, of the same clan as Ibrâhîm, being one of the Banû Mu'âwiyah b. Hazan. He had on his neck a silver collar. The cause of his flight

(1) The first line of the last couplet is corrupt, and the translation is merely a suggestion for its import, which must refer to something green. None of the similes seem felicitous, but the literal rendering *a sucking of the cheek* (or *chest*) *of the beloved* suggests neither yellow nor green.

(2) Persons with the name Ibrâhîm usually have this *kunyah*.

according to what I heard several of the 'Uqailites narrate was that he had killed his brother and his cousin in defence of a guest whom he was entertaining. The guest had with him some valuables, and Mukhtâr's brother determined to murder the guest and seize his goods. He informed Mukhtâr of this design, but the latter forbade it, whereupon the two drew their swords, and Mukhtâr killed his brother. His cousin came and upbraided him, and in the course of the dispute the two drew their swords and slashed each other with them, till finally Mukhtâr killed his cousin too. He quieted the fears of his guest, and having no other food to offer him that night, slaughtered his horse, and roasted some of the flesh, while with the rest he made a fire to warm him[1]. When morning came, and the guest had departed, Mukhtâr was afraid lest the affair might reach the Qarmatians whose chief would then order him to be seized and " chastised "; so he fled to Ibrâhîm. I myself saw the envoy of the Qarmatians come to Ibrâhîm and take the man peacefully and under promise[2]. So he returned to his tribe. Presently the news reached us that they had " chastised " him by way of correction. We have heard of no Badawi in our time braver, nobler, or more civilized than this man. " Chastisement " with the Qarmatians means that when they resent any man's conduct, they summon him from his clan to their country Al-Ahsa, and either cast him out in fetters to beg, or make him a groom of horses or a shepherd or camelherd, or they scourge him, inflicting on him every day some form of punishment. He has to remain with them for a year or more. At times the punishment takes a different form. The term " Chastisement " is applied by them to all forms of correction which they employ in such a case.

The above-mentioned Abû'l-Qâsim recited to me the following verses by himself :

I splinter my spear's head in foeman's breast,
Then burn the broken shaft to cheer my guest.
Broken in twain on hostile throats my sword
Becomes a knife to slaughter for the board.
I serve for summer's warmth in winter's frosts ;
For winter's coolness when the summer roasts.
Of learning I'm the head, of clerkship too ;
The battle's heart, yet always just and true.

62. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain 'Alî b. Hishâm. We were told (he said) by Abû Ja'far Yahyâ

(1) This seems to be the sense.
(2) Apparently that his life should be spared.

b. Zakariyyâ b. Shîrzâd the following story. When Muqtadir (he said) despatched Hârûn b. Gharîb (the Uncle) with Mu'nis, Nasr and the other generals to fight the Qarmatian when he came from Zubârâ[1], we mustered the army, because the Army Bureau was under my chief Hârûn b. Gharîb, and I was his secretary for that business and the rest of his affairs. Muqtadir ordered the muster-roll to be read at Zubârâ, to see that none of the persons enrolled for service were missing. Hârûn ordered me to do this, so I went through the roll, and the whole number of cavalry and infantry together with those of the Hujaris[2] and servants of the Palace who had been enrolled was fifty-two thousand drawers of pay (or fifty-one thousand; the doubt was Ibn Shîrzâd's). This did not include followers who drew no pay from the government, but only from their own masters. There had remained behind in Baghdad Nâzûk with his army, at his service and that of the police[3], seven thousand strong, horse and foot; and there were left in the Palace a thousand Hujarî retainers, who had not joined the expedition, and a thousand eunuchs (more or less) left to guard the Palace. Nor did it include the garrisons stationed in the different regions, except such men as had been summoned from the Black Country to the defence of Baghdad, from places like the Khorasan Road, the Tigris Road, the Irrigation of the Euphrates, and similar neighbouring regions.

63. I was told the following by Abû'l-Qâsim 'Ubaid-allâh b. Muhammad al-Sarawî. I had (he said) been riding with a party of the Banû Qushair in Mausil, and they brought me to one of their clans in the desert some days' journey from that city. I remained with the clan some months, and one day when I was seated I saw a Bedouin lad, named 'Assâf, who was young in years and handsome of face. He was riding, and the owner of the tent said to me: This is one of the Banû Numair, a neighbour of ours, and a poet; you must hear some of his verse. I agreed. He asked the lad to dismount, which he did, and I began to discuss poetry with him, when I found that he could recite much of the Bedouin poetry of his time, but he recited no verse that I knew, nor did he name as author any poet modern or ancient with whom I was acquainted. I found that he committed no solecisms, and of the numerous

(1) A.H. 315. The account of this affair given by Miskawaihi (*Eclipse*, iv. 199) is very vivid.

(2) For the history of this regiment see Index to the *Eclipse*.

(3) Nâzûk was head of Police.

verses which he recited to me there remained in my memory one ode which I asked him to repeat many times till I had it by heart. Some of the lines indeed have escaped me. This was in the year 336 and the name of the poet was 'Assâf al-Numairi. I know (he added) neither his father's name nor his pedigree. The ode is as follows :

I gazed, while the mountains of Al-Sariyyah were between us, with the eyes of a love-sick swain, who thinks parting loss.

And there arose a company of riders, more than the eye could take in, wherein the black camels of Habash lay kneeling the whole day.

And I strained my vision, until it was as though I beheld an embroidered curtain spread over the open space.

When the people said " a certain course is right ", I thought him deaf and dumb so that he could not reject their counsel.

He called them (the ladies) from Najd to Haurân after they had shot shafts of love at an enamoured heart.

On the day of Al-Liwa they deliberately came in my way, and they made a tinkling in their two rows of gems.

And they said : Slay him, thou fine man ; for whenever he shoots, his shots cut.

The blood of the fair ones is lawfully shed in his view ; whereas if we discharge arrows, we meet one that is poisoned.

And she displayed upon her breast masses of hair, like clusters of jujube climbing up a ladder.

And a neck like the pith of a palm-branch, of great value, plucked from the fibrous mass.

And the eyes of a graceful gazelle with languishing glance, with black showing at the corners, when its horns are swathed.

And a white row of teeth with glittering tips, like hail-stones, wherewith she meant to smile.

And she said : I am happy, to have taken in exchange aversion for affection between us, and a lion, of commended clan for you.

And I said : I congratulate you. That is a thing which pleases me —her prosperity and her finding pleasure in life.

But ask me about lean, sinewy, travel-wearied camels, which toss off the well-strapped shoes.

Good steppers whose sides might seem stung by gnats when their proud rider hums.

And gallant lads with waving tresses whose galloping mounts toss them from crag to crag.

For part of the night they rode to the blaze of a fire, and so cold was it, none of them could show his swathed fingers.

And when they came to us, at the outskirts of the clan, they alighted hungry not having tasted food since the day before.

And I came to them before they had reached our villages and gave them hospitality which was not scanty, neither had it been obtained by plunder.

And ask about an ancient well at which no one had drunk for full twenty years.

And sturdy war-horses with flowing manes, like wolves carrying lances in rest.

Bearing in us proud chieftains, noble when they faced death or surmounted it.

Men of many onsets, who, as the people know, can deal fierce blows with the sword-blade.

I came up with them, the crowd of hawks, after those who had been travelling through the morning came near to speak.

The morning we met with no missive between us save honest blows that left the heads perishing.

There were launched on them swooping weapons like hawks of the trainer, who provides game for food.

It was as though on the slayers of both sides there were turbans soaked in black dragon's blood.

Ask the champion of the defeated side, for he was present, which of us two was the more honourable the morn we met.[1]

64. I was told by Abû'l-'Abbâs Ahmad b. 'Abdallâh b. Ahmad b. Ibrâhîm b. al-Bahrî, al-qâdî al-Dâwûdî,[2] a reverend deputy of the Chief Qâdî, famous in Baghdad for knowledge and familiarity with the law. He said: I was told as follows by Abû'l-Husain 'Abdallâh b. Ahmad b. Muhammad b. al-Mughallis al-Dâwûdi.—When Abû Bakr Muhammad b. Dâwûd (he said) and Abû'l-'Abbâs b. Suraij were present at the reception room of the qâdî Abû 'Umar, their conversation was as good as ever went on between two persons. Ibn Suraij used frequently to appear at these receptions earlier than Abû Bakr, but one day Abû Bakr was the earlier, and was asked by some of the Shâfi'îtes about the *return which involves expiation*[3]. What does this phrase mean? He said: It means the repetition of the formula a second time. (This was his system)[4]. Ibn Suraij then appeared and asked what they were discussing, and they told him. Ibn Suraij said to Abu Bakr: Whose view is this if all the Muslims have preceded you?—Abû Bakr was angered thereat and said: Do you suppose that the utmost which I can say of those whose opinion on this question I regard as "consensus"

(1) The sense of many of these verses is obscure, possibly owing to lapses of memory on the reciter's part.

(2) *i.e.* a follower of the Zâhirite system.

(3) If a man say to his wife *eris mihi sicut tergum matris meae* and afterwards "return," *i.e.* change his mind, and resume marital relations he has to expiate, *i.e.* perform some pious act in expiation of the breach of declaration. This is how the phrase is explained in the Shâfi'ite law-books.

(4) *i.e.* the Zâhirite.

is that theirs is an exceptional view ?[1] They are far removed from such a suspicion !—Ibn Suraij was angered and said to him ; Abû Bakr, you are better skilled in the Book of the Flower[2] than in this discipline.—Abû Bakr said : Do you taunt me with the Book of the Flower ? By Allah you are not qualified to read it intelligently to the end ! That book is an exploit. In it I say

In beauty's meads I let my vision stray,
But from illicit gains my passion stay.
My heart would state the promptings of my breast,
But ere it utter I its speech arrest.
Passion, I find, is what all men profess,
Nor know I love that's sound and passionless.

What, said the qâdi Abu'l-'Abbâs b. Suraij, do you boast about these lines to me, when I am the author of

One there was whose glances kept me
Waking, whom I kept awake ;
Whose reproofs and chatter charmed me,
For whose cheek my glances make :
But when dawn appeared, retained
The Creator's seal, unstained ?

Ibn Dâwûd said to Abû 'Umar : May Allah support the qâdi, this man has confessed to having passed the night in the style which he has described, but professes to be immune from the consequences. He should produce evidence.—Ibn Suraij said : According to my system, when a man makes a confession, but appends to it a qualification, the confession is referable to the qualification[3].—Ibn Dâwûd said : Shâfi'î has two views on this subject.—Ibn Suraij said : The view which I have stated is my " choice " at the present moment[4].

65. I was told the following by my father's freedman, Mubashshir[5]. I once (he said) arrived at Sûq al-Ahwâz after an absence with my master. He wrote from the quay to Abû Ayûb Dâwûd b. 'Alî b. Abî'l-Ja'd the Clerk, with whom he was on friendly and familiar terms, to

(1) The text appears to be corrupt, but the sense seems to be that Ibn Suraij declared exceptional a view which Abû Bakr supposed to be that of a " consensus " of authorities, the third source of law.

(2) Name of a work of belles lettres by Abû Bakr.

(3) The chapter on " Confession " terminates the legal treatise *Tanbih* of Abû Ishâq. As it deals mainly with confessions of debts, there is no passage in it which exactly illustrates the question here.

(4) The change in Shâfi'î's opinions is well known and the law-books repeatedly allude to it.

(5) This person is mentioned in vol. I, and helps to identify the author.

inform him of his arrival, and to request him to send a mount for him to ride from the quay to his house. Abû Ayûb sent the mount, and wrote the following verses to him :

Sickness has seized thy servant David,
Who cannot meet you as he craved.
So bade them his grey mule prepare ;
Ride it and be thou free from care.
My eye is on the gate, my ear
The Preacher's[1] who says : Master's here !

66. I was told the following by Abu 'Alî Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Alî Bakr b. Abî Hâmid, Chief of the Treasury. His ancestor[2] whose *kunyah* was Abu Hâmid had held the judgeship, and this Abû 'Alî had served as deputy to numerous judges in different places. I was told, he said, by Ibn Hijâ al-Isfâhânî that when Abû Muslim Muhammad b. Bahr came to Isfahan as governor, in lieu of Ibn Rustam,[3] he was told that Ibn Rustam had taken observations of the stars at the time of his arrival and declared that the result was not auspicious. Abû Muslim said : If he has taken my " rising "[4] I have taken his " setting ".

67. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain 'Alî b. Hishâm, When Abû'l-Hasan b. al-Furât (he said) was appointed to his first vizierate, he found Sulaimân b. al-Hasan in charge of the Room of Comparison[5] in the Bureau of the Privy Purse, to which he had been appointed by 'Alî b. 'Isâ, who at the time had been head of the Bureau. Ibn al-Furât gave this Sulaimân charge of the whole Bureau, and he remained in charge of it for some two years. At the end of that time when he stood up at the evening prayer, there fell out of his pocket a paper in his own writing containing charges against Ibn al-Furât and his dependents, and a recommendation of the Queen-mother's Secretary Ibn 'Abd al-Hamîd for the vizierate. One of Sulaimân's dependents got hold of the paper, and brought it to Ibn al-Furât in order to gain his favour. Ibn al-Furât arrested Sulaimân at once and despatched him to Wâsit in a covered boat, and he was fined and tortured in that town. Later on Ibn al Furât relented when he learned from the intelligence officer that Sulaimân's

(1) The name Mubashshir means "bearer of good tidings," missionary.
(2) Literally " father," but it would seem that here greatgrandfather is meant.
(3) In 306 A.H. See *Eclipse* iv. 65.
(4) The word " rising " is used for horoscope.
(5) Probably where copies of documents were checked.

mother had died in Baghdad, and Sulaimân had not been present, neither had she seen him before her death. Ibn al-Furât was distressed at this and of his own initiative wrote a letter to him with his own hand, which Sulaimân afterwards let me read, and which I committed to memory. It ran as follows :

I have weighed (may Allah exalt you !) your claims against your crime, and I find your claim outweighs the crime. I have reflected on your former services in the posts wherein you were reared and among whose holders you were nurtured, and this has caused me to relent towards you, and brought me back to the kindliest feelings which you have ever known me to entertain. Be assured of this and acquiesce therein, and make it the basis for the recovery of your damaged fortunes Be sure that in dealing with you I will pay regard to your father's claims which in establishing relationship between us serve as the tie of blood, lighten your heavy offence, diminish your copious ill-doing These, please God, I will scrupulously observe. So I put you in charge of the finance of Dastumisan1 for the year 298 and the remainder of the previous year. And I have written to Ahmad b. Habash to transmit to you ten thousand dirhems. So be installed in this office, and display therein such commendable activity as shall furnish proof of your competence, and lead to that promotion which I shall, please God, gladly confer.

68. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain 'Alî b. Hishâm. We were told, he said, by Abû 'Abdallâh Muhammad b. Al-'Abbâs al-Tirmidhî after Umar after the elder Yazîdî, tutor of Ma'mûn[2]. Abû'l-'Abbâs al-Fadl b. Al-Rabî (he said) went to the house of Abu 'Ali Yahya b. Khâlid the Barmecide, who was seated attending to business, while his son Ja'far was signing documents before him. Al-Fadl showed him one paper, and he said : Impossible ; then another and he said : This is the sort of thing which the Prince of Believers has forbidden ; then another and he said : This will alienate the troops ; then another, and he said : This will damage the revenue. This went on until he had shown Yahya ten papers, each of which the latter produced some reason or other for rejecting and he would not sign any one of them. Al-Fadl collected the lot, and said to them " Go away disappointed ", and started to go, saying :

Will fate some day turn round, one wonders,
And change affairs, for fate makes blunders ;
And boons be granted, rancours sated,
Some things destroyed and some created.

Yahya, hearing this, adjured Abû'l-'Abbâs to come back, which he did ; and Yahya gave his assent to all the petitions.

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(1) District between Basrah, Wasit and Ahwaz, with Basamata for chief town.

(2) His name was Yahya b. al-Mubârak.

69. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain. We were told, he said, by Abû'l-Hasan 'Ali b. 'Isa as follows. We were told, he said, by Abû Dâwûd b. al-Jarrah that Al-Fadl b. Marwân said to him : I used to work in the Bureau of Rashîd's Estates in the counting house, and made up accounts for the year in which the Barmecides were overthrown. I found entered therein as the value of two gifts presented to Ja'far b. Yahya out of the revenue of Rashîd's Estates more than ten thousand dinars ; and a few months after this presentation over ten *qirats*[1] of gold as the price of naphtha and cotton-seed purchased for the cremation of Ja'far b. Yahya's corpse.

70. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain after Abu 'Abdallâh Niftawaihi after Abû'l-'Abbâs b. al-Furât. I was told, he said, by Abû 'Abdallâh b. Sulaimân that his father had said to him : I heard Abû'l-Hasan 'Ubaidallâh b. Yahya b. Khâqân say : I heard Abû Ja'far Ahmad b. Yûsuf, who at the time was Ma'mûn's vizier, say when a poet after the execution of Saffâh's vizier Abû Salamah, sang :

Truly the vizier, the vizier of the family of Muhammad has perished, and he that hates thee shall be vizier !]

It is false. The viziers " those that hate thee ? " Only the unlucky take this office[2].

71. I was told by Abu 'Alî b. Abî Hâmid the following. I heard, he said, several people in Halab narrate how Abû'l-Tayyib Ahmad b. al-Husain who at the time was claiming to be a prophet there[3] had been in the desert of Samâwah and the neighbouring regions till Lu'lu' was despatched against him from Hims by the Ikhshîdî rulers, fought against him, and captured him, while his followers from Kalb, Kilâb, and other Arab tribes dispersed. · Lu'lu' kept him in prison a long time till he fell ill and came near dying. Being petitioned on his behalf, Lu'lu' demanded that he should retract, and drew up a deed wherein he attested that his former claims were false, that he reverted to Islam, that he repented of his profession and would not resume it. Lu'lu' then discharged him. He had recited to the Beduin a discourse which he declared to be Qur'ân

(1) The *qirat* is the twentieth part of the dînâr.

(2) The story of the death of Abû Salamah is told by Tabari iii. 60. where this verse is cited as by Sulaimân b. al-Muhâjir. One more verse of the ode is cited in *Muruj al-Dhahab* vi. 136. The translation of the comment by Ahmad b. Yûsuf is tentative.

(3) He was in consequence called Mutanabbi (Prophetaster).

revealed to him; and they repeated numerous Sûrahs by him, of which I took down one. I lost it, but retained the commencement in my memory. It is as follows:

By the travelling star, and the revolving sphere, and night and day verily the unbeliever is in a risky way. Proceed on thy road, and follow the track which the Muslims before thee trod. For by thee will Allah suppress the error of those who have perverted His faith, and erred from His path.

The Sûrah (he added) is lengthy, and this is all of it that I can remember.[1] When Mutanabbi monopolized attention in the audience-chamber of Saif al-daulah—we were at the time in Halab—we used to remind him of this Qur'ân of his and other similar things which were told of him, and he used to repudiate them.—The grammarian Ibn Khâlûyah said to him one day in the chamber of Saif al-daulah: Were not someone a fool, he would not consent to be called Mutanabbi, "Prophetaster", which means "liar"; a man who consents to be known as the Liar must be a fool.—Mutanabbi replied: I do not consent to be called by that name: only people who wish to lower me in general estimation call me by it, and I do not know how to get out of it. I myself[2] when I was passing through Ahwâz on my way to Fars in the year 354 in the course of a long conversation which I had with Mutanabbi asked him the import of his name, as I wished to hear from himself whether he had really claimed to be a prophet. He gave an elusive answer, saying: This was something which happened in my youth, and which the circumstances justified.—I was ashamed to demand details, and so left the matter alone.

Abû 'Alî b. Abî Hâmid proceeded to say: My father said to me, when we were in Halab and he heard some people reciting the Sûrah of Abû'l-Tayyib al-Mutanabbi which has been mentioned: Were it not for his stupidity, how could his words *Proceed on thy road*, etc., be compared with the verses of God Almighty (Surah xv. 94) *So utter what thou art bidden and turn aside from the polytheists, verily we have defended thee from the mockers* etc. Is there any comparison between the eloquence of the two or any resemblance between the two utterances?

(1) Another example of a Sûrah meant to rival the Qur'ân is given in *Ghurar al-Khasa'is*, p. 214. The most famous work of the sort is Abû'l-'Alâ Ma'arri's *Fusul wa-ghayat*, of which a portion is said to be in existence. Specimens are given in my Dissertation *Index Librorum Abu'l Alae Ma arrensis* in the Memorial Volumes to Amari.

(2) The author of the *Table-talk* is speaking here.

72. I was told the following by Abû'l-Hasan Muhammad b. Shujâ' the Metaphysician of Baghdad.[1] We were told, he said, by Abu Salamah al-'Askari, a retainer of Abû 'Alî al-Jubbâ'i[2] the following. I was in his presence, he said, one day when he was praying. We were seated conversing. One of our number said: To-day I was at the house of a friend of mine and he entertained me with a composition of honey and almond oil.—The other said: There is no one in the place who could produce such a dainty except the governor, and you are not one who eats governors' food[3]. Who is the man who talks nonsense of this sort? Abû 'Alî, having finished his prayer, said to us: Do not let the man puzzle you: he may have been at the grocer's and taken it in the usual way.

73. I was told the following also by Abû'l-Husain. We were told, he said, by Abû Muhammad al-Hasan b. 'Amr as follows. I was, he said, in Spain, and was informed that there was there a disciple of Abu 'Uthmân al-Jâhiz[4] called Salâm b. Zaid, with *kunyah* Abû Khalaf. I went to see him and found him a decrepit old man, and asked him how he had come into association with Abû 'Uthmân, when the latter had never visited Spain. He said: Students were honoured by our kings, and there came into our hands the *Book of squaring and circling*[5] which attracted attention, and its author presently followed it on with the *Book of expression and explanation*[6], and men got cheques for copying these two works. So I started and let nothing divert me till I had got to Baghdad, where I asked for the author. I was told he was at Samarra. I went thither but was told that he had gone off to Basrah. So I proceeded thither, asked for his house, and was directed to it. I entered and found him seated surrounded by twenty lads; no one there but himself had a beard. Being amazed, I asked: which of you is Abû 'Uthmân?—He lifted his hand, and shook it in my face, and asked whence I had come.—I said: From Spain.—He said: Stupid soil. What name?—I said: Salam.—He said: The name of the Monkey-man's dog.[7]—Whose son?—I said: Son of Yazîd.—He said: Good reason why

(1) Muhammad b. 'Umar b. Shujâ called Junaid.
(2) Famous Mu'tazilite theologian.
(3) Probably meaning that he was not of sufficient distinction.
(4) Famous polygraph, died 255 A.H.
(5) Work by Abu 'Uthmân Jâhiz.
(6) Treatise on rhetoric, which has been printed three times in Cairo.
(7) I am unable to explain this taunt.

he should not be employed.[1] Whose father ?—I said Father of Khalaf.—He said : The *kunyah* of Zubaidah's ape.[2] For what have you come ?—I said : In search of knowledge.—He said : Go back, for you will not succeed — I said : You have not dealt justly with me ; for I labour under four disadvantages, the dislike of an alien, the fatigue of a long journey, the inexperience of youth, and the bewilderment of a newcomer.—He said : What, you see round me twenty lads without a beard among them, except myself ; ought you not to have known me by that?— I remained with him, he said, twenty years.—The informant added that this Salam was a great scholar. He added : I have been told that Abû Bakr b. Mujâhid said : People are of four classes : A pleasant man who makes himself odious through his pleasantness : an odious man who tries to be pleasant—that is an incurable fever : an odious man who makes himself odious, but is excused because it is his nature ; and a pleasant man who makes himself pleasant, and that is life worth living.

74. I was told as follows by Abû'l-Husain. I was, he said, in Tânah[3] in the land of India, and I heard them narrate how the Indian kings gave high prices for war elephants varying with their strength. A fine elephant that is unique will fetch a hundred thousand dinars ; and any war elephant will always fetch ten thousand. When the king learns that that there is an elephant of great strength fit for service in war known to exist, he orders it to be hunted. The only device which they have for hunting such a beast is the following. A body of elephant-hunters go out taking with them a tamed and trained female elephant, accomplished in feminine wiles. Now elephants are exceedingly sagacious. The hunters go out with her and she brings them to a place where the elephant to be hunted goes for the evening. They approach the place and resort to some spot where there is a vast tree wherein they can hide, and with which the elephant cannot cope, or a pit which they can dig and cover over. They then allow the female elephant to pasture and when the male elephant scents her they advance towards each other, and she plays about him with her trunk,

(1) The father's name was given as Zaid above. The emendation, suggested here requires Yazîd. This word is not "declined," *i.e.* is diptote. But the verb also means to "employ in a public office."

(2) Abu Khalaf is given in the Dictionaries as the *kunyah* of any male ape.

(3) Said to be where Bombay is.

excites his desire and professes friendliness. The male elephant remains where she is, and the two pasture in one place. Her driver and the elephant-hunters remain in hiding for a month, and do not separate the two. After a month, more or less according to the extent to which they judge that the friendliness between the two has been established—they call to the female elephant at a time when the elephant is not noticing them, she comes to them, and they mount her. When the male elephant sees them with her he follows them and would like to destroy the hunters. But the female elephant touches him playfully with her trunk, hurries on and he hurries after her, and if the hunters see him turn away, they make the female elephant go back to him and play with him so that he returns with her. Thus they make him come after her for two or three days till they notice either that he is getting wearied or anxious to do them harm. They then stop for a night in a place, and scamper off her back to a place in which they can hide; the male elephant, being occupied with the female does not attack them, and they remain safely in their hiding place, leaving the two together, but for a shorter period than the first. They then make her move on as before, and the male elephant follows her, and they travel two or three days or as long as they can until he shows signs of fatigue; they then alight as before, and proceed in the same style till they bring the male elephant near their town; the length of time taken varies with the distance. When they approach the city, the king makes all or most of the inhabitants come out, and the populace, women and children, in gay attire, mount the roofs. When the male elephant sees this gathering he takes fright, and turns back making for the country; and when the female elephant sees that, she goes back to him and brings him back.[1] This she does repeatedly till she brings him into the middle of the crowd. The elephant-hunters keep him there some days till he gets accustomed to human beings, and when he has got so accustomed the king orders a gathering of players on drums, cymbals and similar instruments. When the elephant hears this noise he becomes even more frightened than before, and runs off. The female elephant goes in pursuit, and when he sees her, having got to some distance from the noise, he stops for her, and she coaxes him to come back. When he again approaches the noise, he takes to flight and is again brought back by her This procedure goes on for a series of days

(1) The text is corrupt, but this seems to be the sense intended.

till he gets accustomed to the noise, and when he has become familiar with the sights and the sounds the elephant-hunters bring the female elephant into the town, he follows them, and they drive her into a vast court that has been prepared for the purpose, wherein there are four stakes of teak, as heavy and as strong as possible, erected close together on firm foundations. The female elephant is brought within those stakes and stands there the male elephant follows and stands with her. The hunters descend : at the base of each of the stakes there is a massive ring, to which is attached a heavy and firm fetter. The hunters now attach one of these fetters to each of the male elephant's four legs, so that he is firmly chained to the four stakes, which he is unable to pull out of the ground, while he is also unable to throw his weight on anything which would afford leverage.[1] He remains in this condition some days, with the female at his side, and when he shows signs of hunger, the hunters bring him rice and melted butter, which they toss to him from a distance, and which he eats, so hungry is he. They continue to coax him and by degrees come nearer and nearer until after a time he will eat out of their hands. This (his eating out of their hands) is the sign that he is tamed, and when he has done this a number of times, and got into the habit of it, they mount him and put the iron on his head for some days, and practise this with him till he grows accustomed to it, and teach him and talk to him When some days have passed in this way they loose his fetters, while riding him ; he starts moving and they direct him as they choose. He is now regarded as tame.

He added : I heard that the king of Sanaf[2] (the place whence Sanafi wood comes) has a thousand elephants, which when they are brought out occupy a space of about a parasang.—I have heard too, he said, that when the king wishes to put a man to death he delivers him to an elephant whose driver talks to him to the effect that he must kill the man. This is effected in various ways. One is, that the elephant winds its trunk round the man's foot, and sets one of its forefeet on the man's other leg. Pressing on the latter he tears the man into two halves from one end to the other. Sometimes it leaves go of the foot

(1) The text is illegible, but this appears to be the sense.

(2) "Champa, the name of a kingdom at one time of great power and importance in Indo-China, occupying the extreme S. E. of that region" (Hobson-Jobson). " From this place is exported the aloes-wood called Chanfi " (ibid.). Yaqut asserts that this wood is worthless.

and placing the man in front of it thrusts its foot into the man's belly and crushes him.

I may observe that I saw in Basrah in the year 339 a small elephant sent by the prince of Oman to Mu'izz al-daulah. Passing through Basrah it was brought to our residence and into our courtyard. I heard a number of the people of Basrah relate at the time how when the elephant was passing through the street of the public Mosque, a young boy came near. The drivers shouted at him to get out of the way, but the boy lost his head and the elephant overtaking him wound its trunk round him lifted him up and set him before the drivers who took him from it. The boy cried and was distracted, and they had to give him some dirhems before he would let them put him down.

Some days after, they said, when they were passing a big stone hit the elephant, and it snatched up a lad with its trunk and flung him into the air, then caught him on one of its tusks, got him inside its body and killed him.

75. I was told the following by Abû'l Hasan. We were told, he said, by Al-Fadl b. Bahmad al-Sîrâfî in Siraf, a man who was famous for his voyages to the most distant regions, as follows. I was told, he said, by one of the Indian *Basurmans*[1], a word which signifies one who was born in India in the religion of Islam, how he was in one of the Indian countries, where there was a king of fine character. He would never face anyone when he either took or gave; he would in such cases always put his hand behind his back, by way of magnifying his office and in accordance with the practice of the land. This king died, and a usurper seized the throne. A son of the deceased king who was fitted to reign fled, fearing for his life which the usurper would take. It is the practice of the Indian kings that whenever anyone of them leaves his seat for any occasion he has on him a vest wherein there is a collection of precious articles, such as rubies and other gems, done up in silk; their value is such that, if necessary, he can maintain a kingdom with them. No one, they say, is a real king who leaves his seat without having on him sufficient for the establishment of a vast empire should some accident befall which drives him into exile.

When the disaster that has been mentioned overtook the king, his son took his vest and fled with it. The prince

(1) The word in the text appears to be this; from Hobson-Jobson we learn that it is a corruption of *Musulman*.

afterwards narrated how he walked for three days. During these, he said, I tasted no food, having on me neither silver nor gold with which I could purchase viands : I was ashamed to beg, and durst not display what I had on me. So I sat down on the kerb, and presently there came an Indian with a wallet on his shoulder, which he put down, as he took a seat in front of me. I said : Whither are you going ?—He said : To a certain *godown* (a word meaning " hamlet ")[1].—I said : I am making for the same. Let us be companions.—He said : Yes.—I was in hopes that he would offer me some of his food ; he lifted his wallet, and proceeded to eat, while I was looking at him, but he offered me none, and I was too proud to make the suggestion myself. He then shouldered his wallet and started walking, and I followed, hoping that humanity and good fellowship might induce him to offer me some. He treated me however at night as he had done in the day. Next morning we resumed our walk, and he behaved in the same style with me for seven days. I tasted no food during this time, and on the eighth day was so weak that I could not move. I saw a hamlet at the edge of the road, and some people building with a foreman giving them orders. Leaving my companion I turned aside to the manager and said to him : Employ me for a wage to be paid me in the evening like these others. He said Yes ; hand them the mortar.—I proceeded to take the mortar, but owing to my royal custom I put my hand behind my back and gave it to them so ; only whenever I remembered that this was a mistake which might cost me my life, I hastily corrected myself, and brought my hand back before they could perceive what I was doing. A woman who was standing there observed me, and told her master about me, saying : This must surely be a royal personage.—He bade her stop my going on with the masons, which she did. And when they departed she brought me oil and herbs to wash with, which is the first thing they do when they pay honour to a guest. So I washed myself with these and then they brought me rice and fish which I ate. The woman then offered herself in marriage to me, and I had the contract drawn up and married her that very night. I lived with her four years, managing her affairs, as she had a fortune. One day when I was seated at the door of her house there appeared a man from my country. I called to him and asked him whence he came. He said :

(1) The narrator is mistaken. The word *gudam*, Anglicized as above, means a storehouse.

From a certain place (mentioning my own).—I said : What are you doing here ?—He replied : We had a king of good character, who died, when the throne was usurped by a man who was not of the royal family ; the former king had a son who was fitted to reign, but he fled fearing for his life. The usurper maltreated his subjects, and they attacked and slew him. And we are wandering over the regions looking for the son of the old king who is dead, in order to set him in his father's place. But we can find no news of him.—I said to the man : Do you know me ?—He said No.—I said : I am your quest.—I produced the tokens, and recognizing the truth of my assertion, he did me homage. I asked him to conceal our secret till we had entered the country, and this he agreed to do. So I went to the woman, told her the story and all the circumstances, and handed her the vest. I told her what it contained, and what its importance was, and that I was going with the man ; if, I said, his tale is true, the token will be that a messenger will come to you from me, and mention the vest to you ; and in that case come away with him, If it is a plot, then the vest will be yours.—So he went with the man, whose story proved to be true, and when he approached the country, he was met by a procession, who rendered him homage, and set him on the throne. He then sent for his wife, and she came. When he was firmly installed, he commanded that a vast edifice should be erected, and gave instructions that every one who passed through his dominions should be brought thither and entertained for three days, and furnished with provisions for three more days. This he did being always on the look-out for the man who had been his companion on his own journey, and who, he imagined, would fall into his hands. His idea in building this edifice was to thank God for his deliverance from the adversity which had befallen him, but also to save people from the trouble which he had himself experienced. A year passed, and he was inspecting the visitors—it was his practice to inspect them every month, and when he failed to see the man to send them away—on that day he saw the man among them, and when his eye fell on him he gave him a betel-leaf, which with them is the very highest mark of respect that can be shown, when it is presented by the king to one of his subjects. When the king had done this to the man, the latter paid him homage, kissing the ground. The king bade him rise, looked at him, and perceived that he did not recognize the king. The king then ordered that a change of raiment be given him, and that he be honourably entertained.

This was done. He then summoned the man and said to him : Do you know me ?—He said : How could I fail to know the king, who is so great, so mighty, and so powerful ?—He said : I was not referring to that : do you know me from the time before I attained this station ?—The man said he did not.—The king then reminded him of the incident and how he had for seven days refused to offer him food while they were travelling.—The man was abashed.—The king ordered him to be taken back to the house, and be made comfortable, and treated him with even greater honour than before. When meal time came he was given food, and when he wanted to sleep the king bade the queen massage him till he slept.

When she had put him to sleep in this way she came and told the king. He said : This is not sleep. Move him. They did so, and found that he was dead. The woman said : What is this ?—He told her the whole story of his relations with the man, and added : He fell into my hands, and I treated him with the utmost respect. The Indians have large livers, and their imagination is their most notable characteristic. The man was seized with regret because he had not been kind to me on that occasion, and this regret killed him. I had expected him to die before this of the mental sickness, regret, and vexation, which he imagined or experienced, and indeed they have killed him.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

(*To be continued*)

SIR SAIYID AHMED KHAN

It would hardly be an exaggeration to call Sir Saiyid Ahmed Khan the finest and most representative Mohammedan in the annals of British India. In the following pages, I have tried to do justice to the life and character of this very great gentleman, to whom, perhaps, the Muslim world owes more than it does to anyone of its leaders in the past.

Saiyid Ahmed Khan was the son of Saiyid Muhammad Muttaki Khan, and was born at Delhi, October 17th, 1817. His ancestors came from Arabia to Herat, and from Herat to Delhi in the reign of Akbar Shah. As a child, he remembered the last scenes in the tragedy of the passing of the Moghul Empire, where the poor, blind Emperor was ending his days in decent dependence, veiled under the elaborate ceremonies of Oriental etiquette. He had vivid recollections as a small boy of the genial figure of Sir David Ochterlony, the British envoy at the court of Akbar II, who lived in semi-oriental state until he retired, heart-broken, to Meerut after his supersession by Lord Amherst.

When Saiyid Ahmed Khan was nineteen, his father died. The expiring Moghul Court had few attractions for an ambitious youth, so the young man, much against his family's wishes, determined to enter the British Service. In 1837, he was appointed Sheristidar of the local Sadar Court, and a few years afterwards he was sent to the Agra district as Munsif of Fathpur Sikri. He was still holding the position of Munsif at Bijnaur when the storm of the Mutiny burst over India in May 1857. Bijnaur is a town of 13,000 souls, midway between Meerut and Roorkee, and the headquarters of a district. When the storm broke, there were eight European Civil Officers, four ladies, and eight little children in the station. A few days later, the Roorkee Sappers broke out, and bodies of them streamed through Bijnaur *en route* to join their friends at Bareilly. The hot weather was at its height, and the

sufferings of the little European colony, cooped up in the Collector's bungalow, were terrible. Saiyid Ahmed, Mir Turab Ali the Tahsildar, and Rehmat Khan the Deputy Collector, worked like heroes. To the last they kept open communications with Bareilly and Muradabad. When the local *badmashes* tried to let out the prisonersin the jail, they rallied the jail-guard and beat them off. Then a Rohilla chief named Mahmud Khan swept down upon the place and surrounded the Residency. Saiyid Ahmed stole through his lines in disguise, and held a consultation with the inmates. What followed was a masterpiece of diplomacy combined with intrepid valour. With glorious effrontery, Saiyid Ahmed strolled unarmed into the Rohilla camp, and proposed that if the Collector signed a deed, handing over the district to Mahmud Khan, the latter should allow the Europeans to go scot-free! The guileless Rohilla fell into the trap. The document was signed, sealed and delivered, and the next morning the English residents, with two elephants and a bullock-cart and 3,000 rupees from the treasury, left under escort for Meerut, which they duly reached in perfect safety! Meanwhile Saiyid Ahmed coolly remained at his post until he had to flee for his life. "I cannot exaggerate", wrote Mr. Shakespeare, the Collector, "the help that they (Saiyid Ahmed and his colleagues) afforded me during this period of incessant anxiety and danger. On every occasion of special danger and difficulty, such as when the jail broke and I found it advisable to throw the treasure down the well, and when the sepoys of the 29th N. I., passing through from Saharanpur to Muradabad, and men of the same corps, subsequently sent to our aid had to be most cautiously dealt with,—on each and all of these occasions, the officers in question were ever ready, and behaved with great discretion and courage. And at the last, on the night on which we were compelled to leave the station, I have good reason to know that, but for the interposition of Saiyid Ahmed especially, the Nawab would have given licence to his followers, the result of which would have been fatal to our party." "No man" declared Sir John Strachey many years afterwards, "ever gave nobler proofs of conspicuous courage and loyalty to the British Government than were given by him in 1857-8; no language I could use would be worthy of the devotion he showed."

Saiyid Ahmed paid dearly for his loyalty. On the one hand, his private property, to the value of 30,000 rupees,

was looted by the rebels ; on the other, during the storming of Delhi, his uncle and cousin were bayonetted in error by the infuriated Sikhs, during the blind rush of a storming party, and his mother, who endured the horrors of the massacre, siege, and capture of the city, died of the shock. Saiyid Ahmed's devotion, however, was unshaken, and having received a sword of honour, a necklace, and a *khillat* from Government, he returned quietly to his old post. He subsequently published an essay in Urdu on the causes of the revolt, which is an invaluable document written as it was by one who was singularly well qualified to judge. It was written in the tone of absolute candour sparing neither friend nor foe, which was the most conspicuous feature of every thing Saiyid Ahmed ever did or said. The Mutiny, he maintained, was not a political conspiracy. The " hidden hand " of Russia or Afghanistan he pooh-poohed as ridiculous. The annexations of Oudh and Jhansi, though they added fuel to the flame, did not set the fire alight. It was a movement among the people, not the princes. The real reason was that for years a number of grievances, none the less real to the masses because many of them were purely imaginary, had been rankling in the public mind, and unfortunately, there was no Indian Member of the Legislative Council to keep the Government informed about what the people were thinking. This, he was convinced, was the root of the whole unhappy business. Hence, while the Government on the one hand, went its way serenely, in blissful ignorance of what the masses were thinking, the people on the other constantly misconstrued and misinterpreted every Government measure. It was a tragedy of mutual misunderstanding. The people had got it into their heads that religion was in danger. The East India Company had been most chary about interfering with Indian religious customs, however pernicious, and had been extremely cautious about admitting Christian missionaries to the country. But under the enlightened regime of Lord Bentinck, all this had been altered. *Sati* had been declared illegal : *thagi* had been blotted out. Lord Macaulay, regardless of the warnings of H. H. Wilson and others of the older school, had declared uncompromisingly for Western education. Missionaries were not always discreet in their language or in their methods, and while Sanskrit and Arabic had been discontinued in Government Schools, Missionary Schools had been opened, where Christianity was openly taught. Lastly there had been

a series of enquiries into land-tenures, creating a general sense of insecurity, tedious litigation which was dreaded and disliked, and roguery on the part of the money-lenders. Hence, a vast quantity of explosive material had been collected. It wanted only a match to ignite it, and this match was supplied by the mutinous sepoys. Our great mistake, Saiyid Ahmed thinks, lay in not replacing the British troops withdrawn for the Crimea. The English soldier had almost become a myth, and the Sepoys openly boasted that *they* had conquered India, from Kabul to Rangoon! "I feel it incumbent to say that which is in my heart" he characteristically concludes," even at the risk of it being distasteful." Saiyid Ahmed was deeply proud of the loyalty of many of his countrymen in those days of horror; he related how the sowars and local officials of Pilibhit rescued Mr. Campbell, the Collector, and his family, and escorted them to Naini Tal: the same, he maintained, had been done by scores of Kotwals and Tahsildars all over the country. Deeply sensitive of the honour of his co-religionists, Saiyid Ahmed in after years took up the cudgels against Sir William Hunter at a time when a Wahabi rebellion was vaguely apprehended, and proved to the hilt that loyalty to the *Raj* is implicit in the Mahommedan creed, however it may be perverted by ignorant fanatics.

But Saiyid Ahmed's constructive work for his co-religionists was his greatest achievement. He found them poor, depressed, and discontented, where they had once been proud and opulent. What was the remedy? Saiyid Ahmed summed it all up in one word—Education. "Look at England", he told his fellow-countrymen. "Look how her wealth has increased along with her education during the last century. She had great difficulties to contend with—far greater than those which obstruct the spread of education in this country. In those days she had no railways, no steam printing press—nothing but her own innate genius and unconquerable will." Ignorance is the root of every evil. "If in 1856", he said, "India had known anything of the mighty power which England possesses—a power which would have impressed the misguided sepoys of the Bengal Army with the knowledge how futile their efforts to subvert the Empire of Her Imperial Majesty in the East would be,—there is little doubt but that the unhappy events of 1857 would never have occurred."

Saiyid Ahmed's first effort was to found a literary and

scientific society at Aligarh, where he was posted as Judge in 1864. His idea was to diffuse among his countrymen modern ideas upon history, economics and science, chiefly by translating into Urdu the English classics upon these subjects. For Saiyid Ahmed, an uncompromising Westerner in his outlook, was an equally uncompromising vernacularist in the matter of language. Great as was his admiration of English, he saw clearly that it could only be the language of an infinitesimal minority, and the way to the heart of the masses lay through their mother-tongue. Like every true reformer, Saiyid Ahmed had to wage a long and bitter war against misrepresentation on the part of the forces of reaction and bigotry : but the battle was won when he laid the foundation-stone of the Victoria College at Ghazipur, built, be it noted, entirely out of the contributions of local citizens.

In 1869, Saiyid Ahmed made one of those plucky resolutions which were so characteristic of him. His son, Saiyid Mahmud, afterwards a distinguished Judge of the High Court, had been awarded the first Government of India scholarhip to Europe. Saiyid Ahmed determined to accompany him. He was an elderly man (over fifty two), and for one of his upbringing, the undertaking, involving as it did a complete change in life and habits, was no light one. But in January the indomitable old man, accompanied by his two sons, set out on their great adventure on the P. and O. steam-boat *Baroda*.—They found kind and sympathetic friends on board in Miss Carpenter, the friend of Ram Mohan Roy, and Mr. Dodd, D. P. I. of Nagpur. His conversations with his fellow-passengers were often amusing. To one of them who deduced the prosperity of England from her belief in Christianity, he replied that God did not give much in this world to Job or Jesus Christ, and that men go to heaven by belief, not in Christ or Mahommed, but in the One True God, " in Whom," he added impressively, " I believe as firmly as I do that I see yonder bright star above." His interlocutor, he adds naively, was silent after this. He mentions in his letters his joy at seeing the coast of Arabia. " I thanked God for allowing our Blessed Prophet to be born in it."

In England, Saiyid Ahmed met many distinguished people, including Thomas Carlyle, with whom he conversed on the character of the Prophet. The Duke of Argyle invested him with the order of the Star of India. But what struck him most was not the learning of the

few, but the education of the masses. The maid-servant could read and write: his landlady took an interest in politics. Cabmen kept newspapers under their seats and read them while waiting for a fare; "fancy a Benares *ekawala* doing this." is his comment. And this brings him back to his favourite topic. "Those who are really bent on improving and bettering India must remember that the only way of compassing this is by having the whole of the arts and sciences translated into their own language. I should like to have this written in gigantic letters on the Himalayas, for the remembrance of future generations." "The progress of the West," he goes on to say, "is entirely owing to the fact that all the arts and sciences are treated of in language they know. If the arts and sciences were not taught in English, but in Latin, Greek, Persian or Arabic, the English would be in the same state of ignorance, as, that in which I am sorry to say, the masses of Hindus lie buried. Until we assimilate the arts and sciences into our own language, we shall remain in this wretched state."

One thing which greatly impressed Saiyid Ahmed during his visit to England was her public schools and universities. In England, he realized, a boy is educated: in India he is only instructed. In an Indian university, unlike England, the students lie scattered about the town, separated by caste prejudices and enjoying little or no corporate life. There is little training in manners, morals or religion. The professor's or master's duties end with the classroom, and the love of learning is replaced by the sordid ambition for a Government clerkship.

It was for this purpose that he undertook the crowning work of his life, the foundation of Aligarh College. Its objects were three-fold:—

(*i*) To establish a college where Mussalmans might acquire an English education without prejudice to their religion.

(*ii*) To organize a boarding-house to which a parent might send his ward in confidence that the boy's conduct would be carefully supervised, and in which he would be kept free from the temptations which beset a youth in big towns.

(*iii*) To give an education which, while developing intellect, would provide physical training, foster good manners, and improve the moral character.

At first the scheme was bitterly opposed, but Saiyid Ahmed triumphed over all difficulties : he won the help and sympathies, not only of his co-religionists like Sir Salar Jung, H. H. the Nizam, and the Nawab of Rampur, but of Hindu Princes such as the Maharaja of Patiala, and at length the foundation-stone of the " Mohammedan Eton " was laid by the Viceroy, Lord Lytton in January 1877. Of the success of this great undertaking, the crown of Saiyid Ahmed's career, by which his name will be handed down to future generations, it is unnecessary to speak here. " Monumentum requiris, circumspice. "

Meanwhile, Saiyid Ahmed was hard at work upon another scheme which he held to be essential for the uplift of Muslim India, and that was the promotion of Social Reform, and he started a monthly periodical, *Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq* (Social Reformer) for this purpose. Saiyid Ahmed held liberal views on religious and social subjects. But he was opposed to violent changes, for which the public mind was unprepared. He held that Islam, properly understood, was essentially a rationalistic religion : the Quran, he declared, was not *verbally* inspired, but must be interpreted according to the light of reason and the individual conscience. His religious views gave violent offence in orthodox quarters, and for a time he was in considerable danger of his life from the assassin's dagger. But this did not deter him, and he continued to carry on a vigorous social compaign among all classes. In reality, Islam never had a stouter champion : Saiyid Ahmed was ever on the alert to take up the cudgels in her defence verbally or in the press.

Saiyid Ahmed twice had the honour of serving on the Imperial Legislative Council, in 1878 under Lord Lytton, and in 1881 under Lord Ripon. In 1882, he served on the Education Commission, and vastly enjoyed this, his favourite kind of work. His political views were characteristic of the man. Let India be a nation, he said. The terms Hindu, Christian, Mahommedan, are of religious significance only and not of national importance. On the other hand, he was convinced that India was not ripe for democratic institutions. He refused to have anything to do with the Indian National Congress when it was started in 1887. He opposed the Local Self-Government Bill. " In a country like India," he said, " where caste distinctions still flourish, and where there is no fusion of the various races, where religious distinctions are still violent. where education in its modern sense has not made equal

or proportionate progress among all sections of the population, I am convinced that the introduction of the principle of election, pure and simple, for the representation of the various interests on Local Boards and District Councils would be attended with evils of greater significance than purely economic considerations." In 1887, he served on the Public Services Commission, and he was made a Knight Commander of the Star of India in the following year. This terminated his public career: the evening of his life was devoted to literary pursuits and to working for his beloved Aligarh. The unpopularity of his earlier years had passed completely away and a visit which he paid to the Punjab was like a royal progress. At the advanced age of 81, Sir Saiyid Ahmed, full of years and honours, passed to his long rest, mourned by Europeans, Hindus and Mahommedans of all classes without distinction of caste or creed.

The outstanding feature of Sir Saiyid Ahmed's character was his absolute fearlessness. His candour was almost alarming. Whether it was the Viceroy or an infuriated Mulla, a Christian missionary or a newspaper critic, he said exactly "what was in his heart." Unpopularity, abuse, even attempts on his life, had not the smallest deterrent effect: he was imperturbable. He reproached the British official for his aloofness, and his countrymen for their backwardness, with complete impartiality. His book on the causes of the Mutiny was as outspoken and courageous as his essays on the life of the Prophet, and only the bravest of men would have ventured to utter the unpalatable home-truths on self government which he did. Sir Saiyid Ahmed belonged to no party, and our leaders of to-day might well take a lesson in selflessness and sincerity from the life of the Grand Old Man of Aligarh.

H. G. Rawlinson.

INCURSIONS OF THE MUSLIMS INTO FRANCE, PIEDMONT AND SWITZERLAND FROM THE BEGINNING UP TO THEIR EXPULSION FROM NARBONNE AND LANGUEDOC IN 759 A. C.

PART I.

(*Continued from our last issue.*)

If we believe in the account left to us by Roderic Ximenês, the troops of the Mussulmans of Languedoc made an attempt against the city of Arles about the same time as the events related above. That town was then in a very flourishing condition, and offered a strong resistance to the invaders. Roderic says that a sanguinary battle was fought on the banks of the Rhône, in which a large number of Christians lost their lives. Many were carried away by the waters of the Rhône, others were buried in Aliscamp, the old cemetery of Arles, which pious Frenchmen visited as late as the time of Ximenês himself—*i.e.*, right up to the commencement of the thirteenth century[1]. The town of Arles is not definitely named by the Arab

(1) Aliscamp still exists, but most of its monuments have unfortunately been destroyed. Vide, *Statistique du Departement des Bouches-du-Rhone*, Vol. II, p. 438. If we believe Turpin's Chronicle, the fact mentioned by Roderic occurred in the reign of Charlemagne, and what is said of the Christians buried in Aliscamp was really true of the French soldiers killed at the battle of Roncevaux. Vide Ciampi's edition of the Chronicle, p. 83. On the other hand there exists a French poem called the *Poem of William the Short-nosed* which takes it for granted that the Mussulmans were masters of southern France in the reign of Charlemagne himself. In this poem it is mentioned that an important battle was fought near Arles where a number of Christians are said to have been killed. The part of this poem where this battle is described is called the *Bataille d'Aleschans*. It is said that the Christians were led by the son and grandson of Aimeri of Narbonne. William son of Aimeri ran the risk of his life many a time during the battle, while his nephew Vivien was killed. This account was first indicated to us by M. Paulin Paris and is in the Royal Library, La Vallière collection, No. 23.

authors; they nevertheless speak of a town which is perhaps no other than this well-known city. "Among the places" says one of them, "where the Mussulmans carried their arms, was a town situated in a vast plain, a town famous for its monuments." Another author adds that this town was situated on the banks of one of the greatest rivers of the country, at a distance of two *Farsangs* or three leagues from the sea. The two banks of the river were connected by a very old and solid bridge, the supports of which were let in under the bed of the river, and the neighbourhood was covered by mills and intersected by highways[1].

The attack on Arles was made probably with the object of diverting the attention of the Christians. When the preparations, which 'Abdur Rahmân had been making for two years, were finished, the army began to retrace its steps towards the Pyrenees. Our authorities disagree with regard to the actual time of the year when this expedition took place, but probably it was somewhere in the spring of 732. The army was numerous and full of enthusiasm. It seems that 'Abdur Rahmân adopted the route across Aragon and Navarre, and that he entered France by the valleys of Bigorre and Béarn[2]. This fact is also proved by traces of pillage committed during his

(1) Vide Maqqari.
Re the bridge at Arles, it is probably the same which is mentioned by Ausonne in the following lines :—

Praecipitis Rhodani sic intercissa fluentis,
Ut mediam facias navale ponte plateam.
Per quem Romani commercia supcipis orbis.

(*Vide.* Ausone, *Ordo nobilium urbium*, VIII.)

A number of traditions exist at Arles today about its occupation by the Muslims. M. Anibert, a Barrister of Arles, published a treatise in 1779 in which he asserted that Mount Cordes, situated near the town, was so-called because the Muslims established themselves there in order to make enquiries about the country and named it after the Spanish capital, Cordova. There has been a discussion about the amphitheatre at Arles, and certain writers have supposed that this building, which is different from other buildings of the same kind in having towers all round it (of which two still exist), was really rebuilt and towers added to it by the Muslims. These problems had not been made clear when the book was written and they will probably never be made clear owing to the lack of contemporary material. We have, however, considered it our duty to refer to the matter here.

(2) Isidore de Beja says :—"Tunc Abderraman multitudine sui exercitus repletam prospiciens terram, et fretosa et plena percalcans, terras Francorum intus experdidat." On the other hand, we have the chronicle of the Moissac abbey, which says :—"Abderraman cum exercitu magno per Pampelonam et Montes Pyreneos transiens, Burdigalem civitatem obsidet."

march, for everywhere churches were burnt down, monasteries destroyed and men put to the sword. The abbeys of St. Savin near Tarbe, and of St. Sever-de-Rustan in Bigorre, were razed to the ground. Aire, Bazas, Oléron and Béarn were covered with ruins[1], while the abbey of St. Croix Bordeaux was given up to the flames[2].

Bordeaux could offer only a feeble resistance. In vain Eudes, who had had time to assemble all his troops, tried to prevent the Mussulmans from crossing the Dordogne. He was beaten, and the number of the Christians killed in the encounter was so great that, in the words of Isidore of Beja, God alone could determine it. Eudes was no longer in a position to continue the campaign, so he asked the help of Charles-Martel, whose domains, too, were on the point of being invaded and who had already called h's veterans from the banks of the Danube, the Elbe and the shores of the Atlantic. Nothing could, it seemed satisfy the rage of the invaders, for in the neighbourhood of Libourne they destroyed the monastery of St. Emilien, and at Poitiers burnt the churches of St. Hilaire[3].

The Arab authors speak of a native count who dared to oppose the progress of the Mussulmans and who was caught and beheaded. The conquerors gained a rich booty from his capita containing, among other objects, a wealth of topaz, hyacinth and emerald. So great was their enthusiasm and their impetuosity that the Muslim authors themselves liken it to a tempest which uproots all, and to a sword for which nothing is sacred[4].

The Arabs were preparing to capture the town of Tours with hopes of acquiring the rich treasures of the abbey of St. Martin, when the arrival of Charles-Martel on the banks of the Loire was announced. The two armies prepared to come to close quarters immediately. Never did greater issues hang in the balance. For the Christians it was a question of saving their religion, their institutions, their property, their very lives. For the Mussulmans, besides their deep conviction that they were defending the cause of God Himself, it was a question of being able to save the rich booty which was in their

(1) *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. I. pp. 1149, 1192, 1244, 1247, 1261 and 1286. Béarn has been the see of a bishopric for a long time.

(2) *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. II, p. 858.

(3) *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. II, p. 881; and Dom Bouquet's Collection, Vol. II, pp. 454, 484, etc.

(4) Conde: *Historia*, Eng. Tr. Vol. I, p. 109.

hands ; they, moreover, fully understood that it would be victory alone which would enable them to regain their homes in safety.

An Arab author says that when Charles was approaching the Arab camp, 'Abdur Rahmân began to fear the slackness which had spread in the ranks of the Mussulmans on account of the immense booty which the soldiers had obtained, and that for a moment he had the idea of inducing them to do away with a part of it. What he was afraid of was that, at the crucial moment, the riches acquired with such a great difficulty and trouble might become a cause of embarrassment. At the same time he did not desire to do anything which could make his soldiers discontented at this juncture, and relied on their bravery and his own good fortune. This weakness, says our Arab author, resulted in the most fatal consequences.

The same author describes how, notwithstanding the presence of Charles, the Muslims attacked the town of Tours with the greatest vigour, and that, like furious tigers, they satiated themselves with blood and pillage, an act which angered the Almighty and occasioned their disaster[1]. The Christian authors, whose narrative it must be said, is extremely faulty, make no mention of the capture of Tours and take it for granted that the treasures of St. Martin remained intact. From this we may deduce the fact that it must have been the suburbs alone which were delivered for a moment to the mercy of the foreigner.

At last after eight days had passed in watching each other, and after a few minor skirmishes had taken place, the two armies prepared for a general action. The Arab narrative already quoted gives one to understand that the battle took place in the vicinity of Tours, and this is also the opinion followed by Roderic Ximenès who wrote on the authority of the Arabs[2]. On the other hand, a majority of the French Chronicles, specially the Chronicle of the Moissac Abbey, written almost at the time the event was taking place, affirms that the battle took place near or in the suburbs of Poitiers. One can reconcile these two opinions by the supposition that the first encounter of the two armies took place at the gate of Tours, while the suburbs had already been captured by the Mussulmans, and that in the engagement which took place in the neigh-

(1) Conde : *Historia*, Eng. Tr. Vol. I, p. 110.

(2) Cf. Conde : *Historia*, Vol. I, p. 110 ; the author of the *Cartas*, p. CXLI ; Isidore de Beja, p. LXIII ; Roderic Ximenès, p. 13.

bourhood of that city the Arabs lost ground, but their final ruin was completed under the walls of Poitiers[1].

According to a number of authors this event took place in October 732. It was the Saracens who commenced the action by a charge of the whole of their cavalry. The French were encouraged by the memory of their past victories and by the presence of Charles-Martel who was seen wherever danger was most imminent. In vain did the Arabs, by the swiftness of their movements, seek to cause disorder in the ranks of the heavily armed Christians, who, as a contemporary writer says, resembled a wall or a sheet of ice which no effort could break[2], so that even the most impetuous attacks came to nothing. The struggle lasted the whole day, and it was night alone which separated the two armies. The next day, however, the action was resumed The Muslim soldiers, who had not expected such a violent resistance and were considerably weakened by their losses, now redoubled their efforts. All of a sudden, their camp was invaded by a detachment of the Christian army, probably commanded by the Duke of Acquitaine[3]. On hearing this the Saracens left their posts and went about trying to defend their hoard of booty. In vain did 'Abdur Rahmân rush up to re-establish order; his efforts proved useless while he himself was struck by a Christian arrow and fell, expiring. This was the signal for utter disorder in the ranks of the Mussulmans some of them regaining their camp, but the great majority remaining lifeless on the battle-field.

(1) According to an old tradition current at Tours, the battle took place in the suburbs at St. Martin-le- Bel (Sanctus Martinus â Bello not as some authors would have it, Sanctus Martinus â Betto). M. Chalmel, the author of the *Nouvelle Histoire de Tours*, published in 1828 (4 Vols. in 8vo.), and of a thesis about the battle which had already appeared in the *Tablettes Chronologiques*, Tours, 1818, thinks that the battle must have been fought three leagues from the city in the plain called the *Landes de Charlemagne* which he thinks ought to be the *Landes de Charles-Martel*. In his History of Tours he quotes an account of the battle written by a Muslim who was himself present at the battlefield, a French translation of which was sent to him by an unknown person. As this account is not found either in the Arabic manuscripts of the Royal Library of Paris or in Conde's Spanish translations, we are led to believe that it must be a faked one.

(2) Isidore de Beja says :—" Atque dum acriter dimicant gentes septentrionales in ictu oculi ut paries immobiles permanentes, sicut et zona rigoris glacialiter manent adstrictae, Arabes gladio enecant."

(3) Paul Diacre in Muratori : Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, Vol. I, p. 505. Paul Diacre has probably mixed up the battle of Poitiers and battle of Toulouse which was fought in 721.

When night came, Charles began to make preparation for the next day's action. But the Saracens, who had advanced into France with the object of subjugating it and who saw that they were not in a fit condition to make such a difficult conquest, thought that it was useless to continue the battle, and profiting by the darkness of the night, they turned their steps back to the Pyrenees. So great was their hurry that they left their tents standing and did not even carry with them the rich booty which they had obtained.

So the next day when Charles again attempted to try the fortune of arms, he was informed of what had taken place, so that he occupied the camp of the enemy and distributed the riches which he found heaped up there among his soldiers. But he did not follow the Saracen host, either because he feared that their sudden retreat hid some trap, or saw that his personal domains were henceforth safe from all danger. Whatever the reason may have been, it is certain that immediately after the battle, he recrossed the Loire, and directed his steps northward, proud of his brilliant triumph and adding to his name, *Charles*, already famous for a long chain of victories, the title of *Martel* or *the Hammer* owing to the part which he had played in person in the success obtained on this occasion ; and because, in the words of the chronicle of St. Denis, " as a hammer breaks and crushes iron, steel and all other metals, so did he break up and crush his enemies and all the other nations[1]".

Thus ended the great effort made by the Spanish Arabs, the preparations for which had been made for sometime past. We cannot believe the account furnished to us by certain Christian chroniclers who raise the number of the Mussulmans killed in the Battle of Tours to the large figure of three hundred and seventy five thousand men. All the invaders could not have perished on the battlefield, and where could an army of four or five hundred thousand have come from, especially at a period when internecine war was the order of the day, and disorganisation prevailed everywhere ? Even if we suppose that such an army did exist, how could it possibly have been maintained in a country like Acquitaine which had been overrun several times before, not only by the Mussulmans but also during the terrible war which had taken place between Charles and Eudes ? However, one

(1) Dom Bouquet : *Historiens des Gaules*, Vol. III. p. 310.

cannot deny that ' Abdur Rahmân's army was the most numerous and the best disciplined of all those which the Mussulmans had launched against the fair land of France. Nothing proves our assertion better than the united efforts made by the French people, and the place which this great event has always occupied in human history.

The Muslim writers, who had only a confused idea of the field where this battle was fought, have been unable to give an exact description of the march of the army. They content themselves with naming the battlefield the Plain of Martyrs[1] owing to the large number of devout Mussulmans who lost their lives there. They add that one can still hear on the place sanctified by Muslim blood, the voices of the angels of heaven calling the faithful to prayers.

The remnant of the Arab army wended its way back to the Pyrenees, destroying all that they found *en route*. One of their detachments crossed the Marches near Guéret[2] destroying the abbey of Solignac in Limousin[3]. It is probable that it was during this desperate retreat of the Saracens that they committed some of those ravages which we mentioned while describing their entry into France. An Arab authority says that the Muslims were pursued by the Christians at the point of the sword right up to the walls of Narbonne[4]. It is possible that instead of returning to his domains, Eudes sought to take vengeance on the retreating Mussulmans for harm done to his estate by them on their march northwards.

The news of this disaster to the Muslim arms in France produced a great effect on the minds of Christians as well as Mussulmans. The Christians of the Pyrenees and the northern provinces of Spain saw in this event the mark of Divine protection and they hastened to take up arms in

(1) بلاط الشهداء Maqqari Vol. II, p. 9. [Maqqari mentions two battles called, بلاط الشهداء the first at Toulouse in 102 A.H. (720 A.C.) in which es-Samh was slain, and the other at Tours in 732 (Maqqari Vol. I p. 146). Ibn-Hayyan mentions the angels calling the faithful to prayers in connection with the Battle of Toulouse not the Battle of Tours (*Tr.*)]

(2) Vide the *Bollandistes*, Oct. 6, Life of St. Pardou, abbot of Waract.

(3) *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. II. p. 566.

(4) Maqqari. Vol. I p. 173. Perhaps Maqqari is thinking of what really happened five years later when Charles-Martel marched right into the Languedoc.

the hope of regaining their independence[1]. The Mussulmans, on the contrary, fell into despondency and sadness. Those of them who were pious by nature, profited by the occasion and protested against the corruption which had taken place in the ranks of the Mussulmans. There is no doubt that the love of luxury and pleasure had taken possession of those who had up till then been busy with nothing save the glory of Islam, instead of which every one was now seeking only to satisfy his own passions and desires.

'Abdur Rahmân's lieutenant at Cordova hastened to inform the Governor of Africa and the Khalîfah of this sad event, so a new governor named 'Abdul-Malik was sent from Africa with fresh reinforcements. He had orders from the Khalîfah to do all that he could to avenge the blood of the Mussulmans which had been so freely shed. The new Governor marched immediately towards the Pyrenees, and on seeing the Muslim soldiers, once splendidly in form, now a prey to the most gloomy terror, he made a speech to them in the following words : " The happiest days for the true Muslim are those passed on the field of battle, the days consecrated to the Holy War ; they are really the ladders which lead one to the Gates of Paradise itself. Was not the Prophet called the child of the sword ? Did he not hope to seek rest under the shadow of the flags taken from the enemies of Islam ? Victory, defeat and death are all in the hands of God ; it is He who distributes them as He pleases. Perhaps he who was defeated yesterday will be a victor tomorrow." These brave words, however, did not produce the effect which the pious Mussulmans expected[2].

We have seen that the Christians of the northern provinces of Spain all took up arms after the retreat of the Saracens. An Arab author even mentions an expedition which left France and crossed the Pyrenees, capturing Pamplona and Gerona[3]. Indeed the Christians of

(1) We learn from the *Essai Historiques sur le Bigorre*, by M. D'Avezac, Vol. I, p. 108, that a part of the Muslim army fled into Bigorre and the native Christians took up arms under St. Missolin, a priest of Tarbes, cutting them to pieces. This account does not seem to be improbable in itself, but M. d'Avezac himself discovered later on that St. Missolin lived centuries before the invasion of the Muslims. *Vide* Gregory of Tours, Ruinart's edition, *De gloria confessorum*, pp. 934 and 1402.

(2) *Vide*, Conde : *Historia*, Vol. I, p. 112

(3) Cf the author of the *Cartas*, p. CLXV, and *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. XII, p. 270.

Northern Spain and those of Southern France followed the same faith, considered themselves as having sprung from the same stock and still remembered the time when a large colony left the banks of the Ebro and settled down in Gascony[1].

'Abdul Malik directed his earliest efforts against Catalonia, Aragon and Navarre ; then he went right into the Languedoc, placed the towns occupied by the Mussulmans in a state of defence, and was not slow to renew the offensive. It was only natural that the incursions of the Mussulmans into France should loosen all the bonds of French society. This disorder was felt first of all in Septimania and then in Provence, the two parts of France which had been totally deprived of governmental machinery since the fall of the Visigothic Kingdom. Certain ambitious persons had, however, profited by these circumstances and carved out small principalities for themselves. Under the titles of Counts and Dukes they had made themselves masters of the chief towns of the land, each having his own partisans and his own interests to serve. Before order could be re-established, it was necessary that they should acknowledge the superiority either of Charles-Martel or of the Duke of Acquitaine, but they feared both equally. It was for this reason that they appealed to the Muslims of Narbonne and made an alliance with them. Among these chiefs, we are told, was Mauronte, whose authority extended over the whole of Provence and to whom our chroniclers give the title of the Duke of Marseilles.

All this time Charles-Martel was busy trying to establish his authority over Burgundy and in the Lyonnais, the two provinces of France which had only recently been brought within the Kingdom of Austrasia, and where the recent invasion of the Saracens had caused the greatest possible disorders. He entrusted the most important posts in the country to those who were "*leudes*" or loyal to him, and made all the powerful persons do homage to him. After this he marched against the Frisians who had taken up arms. It is to be regretted that the position in which Charles found himself did not allow him to turn all his efforts against the Saracens. It was by violence that he had reached the important post of Mayor of the Royal Palace, so that he had to defend himself against

(1) *Vide* the article by M. Walckenaer on the '*Basques*' in the *Encyclopedie des gens du monde*, Vol. III, p. 117.

both external and internal enemies simultaneously. He was therefore obliged to sacrifice everything in order to be absolutely certain of the loyalty of his soldiers. As no other means to secure this were available, he had allowed his soldiers to rob the churches and monasteries, thus alienating the clergy who were then very powerful in France. We must also remember that there existed a line of demarcation between the inhabitants of Southern France, who were Goths or Romans by descent, and the inhabitants of the North who were either Frankish or Burgandian; this is the reason why, as a general rule, Charles met with such a small amount of sympathy from the very people who owed their deliverance to him.

In 734 Yûsuf, the Muslim Governor of Narbonne, in unison with Maurante, crossed the Rhône with a large army and, without striking a blow, took possession of Arles, where the convents of the Holy Apostles and of the Virgin were ransacked and the Tomb of St. Césaire destroyed[1]. After this he advanced to the very heart of Provence and captured the town of Fretta which is now known as St. Remi. Thence he went to Avignon. In vain did the soldiers of that town try to dispute the passage of the Durance with him for the Mussalmans overcame all obstacles[2]. Avignon did not in those days stretch beyond the rock where later on the palace of the Popes was erected, and it is this place, which seems to be identical

(1) *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. I, pp, 537, 600 and 620.

(2) The Chronicle of the abbey of Moissac says: "Yusseph Rhodanum fluvium transiit; Arelate civitate pace ingreditur, thesaurosque civitate invadit, et per quatuor annos totam Arelatensem provinciam depopulat." *Vide*, Collection of the *Historiens de France* Vol. II, p. 655. In the same way we read the following in Fredegaire's continuation, ibid, Vol. II, p. 436: "Denuo rebellante gente validissima Ismahilitarum, irrumpenteque Rhodanum fluvium, insidantibus infidelibus hominibus sub dolo et fraude morento, Avenionem urbem munitissimam ac montuosam Saraceni ingrediuntur, illusque rebellantibus ea regione vastata." What we know about the siege of Fretta is from a Provençal romance written long after the actual occurrence. *Vide* Rapon: *Histoire de Provence*, Vol. I, p. 85. But we know that a Muslim army must have been stationed at St. Remi because Arab coins have been discovered in the neighbourhood. *Vide La description de quelques medailles inedites de Massilia*, by M. de Lagoy, Aix, 1834, in 4to, p. 23. Re. the battle of the Durance, we may refer to the Latin inscription of a chapel near Bompas: "Sepultura nobilium avenionensium qui occubuerunt in bello contra Saracenos." *Vide* Bouche: *Histoire la Provence*, Aix, 1664, 2 vols.

with the "Rock of Anyoun" of the Arabs.[1] Thus a part of Provence came under the occupation of the Muslims, an occupation which lasted nearly four years[2]. Eudes died in 735, and Charles-Martel hurried to Acquitaine, where two of his sons did homage to him.

Meanwhile 'Abdul Malik, satisfied at the turn events had taken in France, returned to the Pyrenees with the object of subduing the inhabitants who had been resisting the Mussalmans for some time. He was, however, taken unawares during the rainy season in the midst of the mountains and sustained a complete defeat. When the Khalîfah heard this, he gave the government of Spain to 'Uqbah while 'Abdul Malik retained only the command over the provinces situated in the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees.

We learn from our Arab authorities that 'Uqbah was full of Islamic zeal and enthusiasm. He was given the choice among several provinces, and he preferred Spain on account of the opportunity which the governorship of that province would give him of distinguishing himself against the Christians. It was his habit that, whenever he captured a Christian, he never failed to try and persuade him to become a Muslim. Under his Government the Mussalmans of the Languedoc fortified all the positions which were capable of defence, right up to the banks of the Rhône[3]. These positions which the Arabs called Ribat (رباط) were garrisoned with troops, and were such as to facilitate for the Muslims observation of all that was happening in the Christian lands.

It was no doubt at this period that the Saracens renewed their attacks on Dauphiné. St. Paul-Trois-Chateaux and Donzère[4] were covered with ruins; Valence was occupied and all the churches in the neighbourhood of Vienne on both banks of the Rhône, which had escaped devastation during the earlier invasions, were reduced to ashes. The Muslims then attacked the provinces of Charles-Martel and thus avenged the defeat which that great captain had made them suffer a few years before. Their detachments again occupied Lyons and invaded Burgundy.

Charles-Martel could not let such incursions go unpunished. In 737, when he thought he was safe on the

(1) نبيون - نبيون حصن نبيون *Vide* Enayatullah: *Jughrafia-i Andalus*, Hyderabad, 1927 p. 89. (*Tr.*)

(2) Maqqari.

(3) Maqqari. Vol. 2 p. 58. Ibnul-Qutiah.

(4) *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. I, p. 703 and 737.

Northern and Eastern frontier, he despatched an army to Lyons under his brother Childebrand, who had been his right hand man in all his campaigns. At the same time he wrote to Luitprand, king of the Lombards of Italy for help[1]. It seems that the Muslims of Provence, assisted by Mauronte, had established themselves right up to the mountains of the Dauphiné and of Piedmont, and that without a large army from the banks of the Po it would have been impossible for the Christians to drive the Saracens away. Childebrand chased them back to the South and coming down the Valley of the Rhône, besieged Avignon. That city was very strong in those days, so that Childebrand was obliged to fall back on his machines of war. Soon, however, Charles himself advanced with a fresh army, while Luitprand attacked the Mussulmans on the Italian front[2]. The town of Avignon was at last captured by assault and the unfortunate Mussulmans found there were all put to death[3]. Then Charles immediately advanced to the Rhône as far as the city of Narbonne, which was, according to the French chroniclers, under the command of Athima. The passes of the Pyrenees were intercepted by the armed population of the Christians and all land communication between Spain and Septimania was entirely cut off. When 'Uqbah heard of these disasters and the danger which threatened Narbonne, he sent an army towards the North commanded by 'Amr[4]. This force landed a short distance South of Narbonne, and Charles at once marched to meet it with a a part of his forces. The battle was fought on the banks of the river Berre in the Corbière valley, a few leagues from Narbonne, on a Sunday. The Muslim army was posted on a raised platform, and their Amîr or Commander, thinking that the number of the Muslims was large enough to fight against the Christian foe, entirely neglected to take any precautions whatever. Charles attacked him with great vehemence without giving him time to gauge the

(1) Paul Diacre, in Muratori's collection, Vol. I, p. 508.

(2) Luitprand's epitaph at Pavia was as follows :

....Deinceps tremveri feroces
Usque Saraceni, quod dispulit impiger, ipso,
Cum premerent Gallos, Carolo proscente juvari.
(*Vide*, Sigonius, *de regno Italiæ*, Yr. 743.)

(3) In this connection Frédégaire's continuator says : " Carolus urbem aggreditur, muros circumdat in modum Hierico cum strepitu hostium et sonitu tubarum cum machinis et restium funibus super muros et aedium macnia irruunt, urbem succendunt, hostes capiunt, interficiuntes trucidant." Vide, *Historiens de France*, Vol. II, p. 456.

(4) Isidore de Beja, p. LX.

situation. The rout of the Saracens was complete, and their chief himself was among the slain. In vain did the survivors try to regain the boats which were lying across the neighbouring lakes, for the Franks, getting into their barges, began to shower arrows upon them, so that only a small fraction could finally reach the city[1].

In spite of Charles's brilliant success, however, the Muslim garrison of Narbonne continued to hold out, and Charles, both on account of his impatient temperament and because he was called in another direction to subjugate the Frisians and the Saxons in the North, had to give up the idea of taking a town which was so difficult of access. Before he left for the North, however, he took care to disarm the Christians of the neighbourhood whom he suspected of Muslim sympathies, and to raze to the ground the fortifications of Bêziers, Agde and other important towns so as to make it impossible for the Saracens to establish themselves firmly in any place other than Narbonne. We read with a heavy heart that Nîmes saw its magnificent gates pulled down and a part of its ancient amphitheatre delivered to the flames because it was said to serve as a rampart to the Arabs owing to its large dimensions and huge strength. The same treatment was meted out to Maguelone, a town which presented an imposing aspect even when Montpellier did not exist and the large and commodious harbour of which offered a safe asylum to the Arab ships from Spain and Africa. So great was Charles's distrust that he took away with him not only a host of Saracens as prisoners of war, but a large number of hostages chosen from the Christians of the surrounding country as well[2].

It is certain that the authority of Charles was not looked upon with favour in the South France. The people who had gloried in having saved some of the Roman institutions and a part of Roman civilization, looked upon the coarse Germanic strangers from the north as barbarians. Moreover the clergy, both in the South and in the North of France, never pardoned Charles for the arbitrary manner in which he had despoiled the churches of their wealth. When the Saracens first invaded the country,

(1) Cf. Frédégaire's continuator, Vol. II of the *Historiens de France* p. 456 ; Moissac's Chronicle, ibid, p. 656 ; and Maqqari Vol. I, p. 173.

(2) Moissac's Chronicle and Frédégaire's continuator. History is silent about Carcassonne. Probably this town, which was then built on a rock where the cathedral now stands, and surrounded by the Aude, soon fell into the hands of the Christians.

they devastated a large number of churches and convents, and took away the property belonging to these establishments. Charles did not hand this property back to the clergy after defeating the Saracens, but distributed the lands and the buildings belonging to the religious orders among his soldiers instead. To the great scandal of the pious Christians the majority of episcopal sees remained vacant because there were not enough means to maintain them. We read of Wilicarius, Bishop of Vienne, who, after the expulsion of the Saracens, tried to regain possession of his see. But on making enquiries he found that all the property belonging to the establishment was in the possession of the laity, so he made his way to Valais where he was nominated abbot of the monastery of St. Maurice[1]. Such abuses could be remedied only step by step, and were not finally eradicated till the reigns of Pepin and Charlemagne.

Had the times been different, the clergy, whose very existence was threatened, could very well have appealed to the enthusiasm of the flock; but judging from the little evidence that has come down to us of that distant period, the clergy were generally content to represent the evils under which their religion was groaning as a just punishment meted out by God for the evil deeds of man and exhorted the sinners to return to the path of virtue[2]. There were nevertheless, clergymen who were temperamentally too warlike to sit at home, and who, allying themselves with Charles, accompanied him in his wars against the enemies of their faith We read of Hainmarus, Bishop of Auxerre, whose large domain extended over the greater part of Burgundy, and who, disdaining to tie himself down to the service of the altar, left the government of the diocese to someone else and went towards the Pyrenees in order to test the strength of his arms[3].

After the departure of Charles, Mauronte reappeared in Provence and renewed his friendship with the Muslims. When Charles got to know this he made up his mind to rid the country of this turbulent element once for all and thus to free it from the germs of discontent which had been devastating it. It was with this motive before him that

(1) Charvet: *Histoire de la sainte eglise de Vienne*, p. 147.

(2) *Vide* the *Letter of St. Boniface*, archbishop of Mainz to Ethelbaldus King of Mercia (England), dated 745, Ferrarius's collection, 1605, in 4to. *Vide* also the passage of Charlemagne's Capitularies, Baluze edition, Vol. I. pp. 413, 526, 1056 and 1227.

(3) *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. XII, p. 270.

he reappeared with his brother Childebrand. Mauronte was driven from all the positions which he had occupied, and the sea coast, where the turbulent faction had an opportunity of hiding, was also visited by him. Charles occupied Marseilles so that the Saracens of Narbonne could not venture to go any further than the banks of the Rhône[1].

We have no exact information with regard to the manner in which the Muslims penetrated right up to the very heart of Provence. It is probable that it was mainly because of their friendship with Mauronte, who hoped eventually to become master of the country, that they did not fall a prey to their passions as much as they did in other parts of France[2].

Unluckily for France, a new source of misfortune now crops up which did not let the southern part of the country, *i.e.* Provence and the Languedoc, remain in peace for many centuries. We mean the raids which the Mussulmans of Spain and Africa now begin to perpetrate on those lands by sea.

Even at the time of their greatest warlike enthusiasm, the Arabs seldom thought of taking advantage of the routes which the sea offered them. From times immemorial the Nomads of Arabia had an intense dislike of the ocean. Accustomed to the independent life of the desert they believed it to be an insult to their liberty to be shut up in a frail vessel. Thus all the efforts which were made to maintain considerable fleets on the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf in ancient times, were the work of the Phœnicians and other foreign nations. This dislike of the sea was shared by the Prophet himself and is still the view of many a Mussulman of today[3]. The Muslim temperament, moulded in general according to fatalistic ideas, cannot view without a sense of pity the continual trouble which others undergo either inthe hope of increasing their fortune or else of satisfying their curiosity. If one of them decides to embark on a boat, he may be regarded as having lost his good sense, and his evidence in a

(1) Fredegaire's Continuation, *Historiens des Gaules*, Vol. II, p. 457.

(2) The details given in the life of St. Porcaire about the ravages committed by the Saracens in the interior of Provence must have belonged to the occupation of the country after 889. *Vide* the *Bollandiste* collection, Aug. 12, p. 737. Besides this there are a number of other accounts which we hope to discuss later.

(3) For the attitude of Islam towards naval enterprises, *vide* Translator's note at the end of this part [Tr.].

court of law can no longer be admitted[1]!

Nevertheless, when the Arabs had conquered Syria, Egypt and Africa, and the standard of Islam flew in the ports of Tyre, Sidon, Alexandria and Carthage, it was only natural that the renegades and adventurers of all countries should flock round the Arab commanders and give them the idea of taking to maritime expeditions. Since the year 648 A.C., *i.e.*, barely fifteen years after the death of the Prophet, the Governor of Syria, Mo avia, sent a naval expedition to the island of Cyprus. In 661 a similar expedition was sent to Sicily, and from that moment the maritime provinces of the Greek Empire, not excepting the city of Constantinople itself, had to suffer as much from naval raids as from attacks by the land route.

In the beginning the Muslim ships were generally manned by the renegades and adventurers of all religions ; but soon the Mussulmans too began to take part in those expeditions which were a source of inexhaustible wealth and riches ; and as most of the Muslims honestly believed that they were doing an action pleasing to God, for them the merit of the enterprise was measured by the danger attending it. We have already observed that the Prophet of Islam did not consider naval enterprise as the means for extending the religion he had come to teach ; nevertheless it was necessary to maintain the enthusiasm of the Mussalmans by a reference to some of the traditions of the Prophet himself[2]. It was related how the Prophet one day went to sleep in the house of one of his companions and dreamt that some of the followers of Islam were sailing on the sea for the propagation of the True Religion ; he was overjoyed at seeing them surrounded by prisoners of war, and when he got up he celebrated the glory of such an enterprise. Such were the traditions which were spread by pious Muslims for popularising the sea-voyages among their co-religionists. Several years afterwards, when Mo'avia made an expedition against

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(1) *Vide*, our *Extraits d'auteurs Arabes relatifs aux guerres des Croisades*, Paris, 1829, pp. 370 and 476.

[The Eng. Tr. has not been able to lay hands on this work, but he says from his personal testimony that the author is grossly mistaken to think that a Muslim who embarks on a boat is regarded as having lost his good sense and his evidence is inadmissible in a Court of law].

(2) The author seems to think that these Traditions have been concocted ; but most of these are entirely according to the Qurânic precept and have been put to thorough critical test by writers on the authenticity of the Traditions. *Vide* Translator's note at the end of this part, infra [Tr.].

the island of Cyprus, Ommi Harâm the widow of the Companion of the Prophet in whose house he was said to have dreamed the above dream, desired to have a share in such a sacred enterprise ; she died in the midst of the expedition, and the Mussulmans raised a tomb in her honour, and in later years people used to assemble there whenever there was a shortage of water[1].

It is also mentioned that in 716, when the grand fleet, which went to besiege Constantinople, left Alexandria, one of the sons of the Khalîfah 'Omar who at that time happened to be present in the port, asked the Admiral what he thought of the sins with which the souls of the greater number of the sailors were infected. The admiral thereupon replied that like everyone else they would receive proper punishment for their sins. " Not these men ;" replied the son of 'Omar, " I swear by Him who holds my life in His hands, that these men have left all their sins on the sea-shore."

According to the accounts given by some learned Mussulmans, the Prophet said that a naval war made in the service of Islam brings ten times greater merit than the war on land, and that those who were to come after him, not having the good fortune of fighting under his command, could enjoy the same advantages if they carried on their expedition in seafaring ships. He is also supposed to have said that the Muslim who dies while fighting on land is like one bitten by an ant, whereas to him who dies fighting a naval battle, death comes as does fresh water mixed with honey to him who is thirsty. It is this idea which seems to underlie the saying of 'Ayishah, the favourite wife of the Prophet, that had she been a man she would have devoted her life to a maritime war against the infidels[2].

The first maritime expeditions on which the Mussulmans embarked, were despatched from the ports of Syria and Egypt, and were chiefly directed against the provinces of the Greek Empire, then almost continuously at war

(1) *Vide* " The Tomb of the Righteous Woman Umm-Harâm in Cyprus," J.R.A.S., 1897, pp. 81-101. Her name was Umm-i-Harâm daughter of Malhan and wife of Ibâdah son of Sâmit. *Vide* Baladhuri : *Futuh*, 1319 A.H., p. pp. 159 and 160 [Tr.]

(2) For details, *vide* the Arabic treatise meant to excite the sentiments of the Mussulmans against non-Muslims entitled '*The direct route towards the rendezvous of Peace and the True Guide to the Abode of Prosperity*,' printed at Cairo in 1242 A.H. (1826 A.C.). On this *vide* our article in the *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, Vol. VIII, p. 387, p. 189 .

with the Khalifahs of Islam. When the town of Carthage fell into the hands of Arabs, it did not seem as if the conquerors themselves gauged the advantages which the possession of that city offered them. So little did they see that they were virtually the masters of the Mediterranean, that their chief wanted to build a city which might serve as a place of refuge for them in time of need, and he chose for this purpose the site of Qairuân a place at some distance from the seacoast[1]. Mûsa, who was governor of Africa at the time of the invasion of Spain, had only four ships at his disposal, and it was necessary that they should be employed continuously for the purpose of transporting the Muslim army from one side of the Straits of Gibralter to the other[2]. But Mûsa at once understood the necessity of having under him a fleet which would enable him to maintain these communications undisturbed between the peninsula and the African shore; consequently he hastened to have vessels constructed in all parts of the vast territory of which he was governor. From Barcelona to Cadiz the Spanish coast offered a number of excellent ports, and the same was the case with the African shore from the Straits of Gibralter as far as Tripoli-in-Barbary. In 736, the Governor of Africa built a formidable arsenal at Tunis[3], and henceforward the ancient fame of Carthage began to decline in favour of that of the new city.

There was an official in Spain whose special duty it was to look after the management of the fleet. This official was called Amîr-ul-Ma' or "Chief of the Water," and it is probably from this title that the European word 'Amiral' or 'Admiral' has been borrowed[4].

Our Arab authorities speak of an expedition sent by Mûsa to the island of Sardinia as early as 712[5], while the Christian authors mention an expedition to the island of

(1) *Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliotheque du Roi*, Vol. II, p. 157.

(2) Ibn-ul-Qutiah, [also, Maqqari, Vol. I, p. 159. Tr.].

(3) [This is corroborated by Ibn-ul-Azâri, who says that Ubaidullah ibn-Hijâh founded an arsenal at Tunis. But Ibn-Khaldûn says that it was the Khalîfah Abdul Malik who ordered Hissan ibn-i Nu'man to build an arsenal there. Hissan was the governor of the African Province from 697 to 701. Ibn-Qutaibah says that Mûsa b. Nusair had some boats equipped at Tunis (Vol. II, p. 56), and it is possible that Ubaidullah had the arsenal finally completed. Tr.].

(4) Novayry.

(5) *Eg.* Ibn-Athîr, under 92 A.H. Ibn-Athîr has collected the history of Sardinia in one place. Ibn-i-Abd-il Hakam, 1858 pp. 7 and 8. Ibn-i-Qutaibah (1331 A.H., Vol. II p. 57) says that Sardinia was conquered in 89 A.H. (707 A.C.) [Tr.].

Corsica even two years earlier[1]. These two islands as well as Sicily had for a long time been under the Emperors of Constantinople, but as the power of these princes declined, they found themselves abandoned to their own resources. Moreover the Islamic fleets for whom these islands were very convenient as ports of call, could have met there with only a feeble resistance. The invaders confined themselves at first to robbing the churches and the houses of the rich ; when these resources of loot were exhausted, they went farther into the interior, massacring all the men who opposed them and making the women and children their slaves.

The first descent which the Saracens made on the French coast was in the island of Lerins in the vicinity of the Antibes. We are, however, uncertain as to the exact date when this event took place, and the authors vary it from 728 to 739. The following is the description of the manner in which this event took place[2]:—

The island of Lerins was in those days celebrated throughout Christendom on account of its monastery which had always supplied the church not only learned men but also with a number of Bishops and martyrs. At the time of which we are speaking, it was under the charge of St. Porcaire, and contained five hundred monks among whom were found those who had come from France, from Italy and from other countries of Europe, not counting a number of children who had been sent there for the purpose of education and general culture. On the approach of the Islamic fleet, St. Porcaire despatched the children and the youngest of the monks to Italy. The saint assembled the other inmates of the monastery who could not be sent away for lack of time or of means, and exhorted them to wait for the Saracens, resigning themselves to any fate which the invaders might mete out to them. All consented to remain, except one who went and hid himself in a grotto. The Arabs arrived and began to overrun the island in the hope of finding there a great deal of wealth and riches. As, however, they did not find anything except old clothes and other valueless objects, they turned their fury on the monks whom they served with blows, and threw them on the ground. At the same

(1) A Corsican author of the fifteenth century has suggested that the Muslims entered Corsica as early as the time of the Prophet, and that they were masters of the island till Charlemagne's reign. This opinion has, however, been discredited now.

(2) *Vide* the episode connected with the sack of the Monastery at Monastier, supra, p. 268 and the Translator's footnote about it [Tr.].

time they broke the crosses, upset the altars and destroyed the buildings of the monastery. Not being able to drag away any of the old monks, they wished at least to take the young ones with them, and with the object of forcing them to change their religion they committed all manner of violence on them. But their threats as well as their promises were utterly valueless, for young and old alike remained faithful to their religion. The invaders then put them all to death except four of the youngest among them whom they took on their boats with them. Happily the vessel in which these monks were being taken, ran aground at the neighbouring port of Aguay[1], and the four monks took advantage of this occasion, saving themselves in the woods whence they returned to the island of Lerins and re-established the monastery[2].

Charles-Martel died in 741, and was succeeded in the Mayoralty of the Palace by his son Pepin the Short, who devoted the first years of his power to making his authority felt not only in Acquitaine which was in the possession of Eude's successors, but also in Northern France and in the provinces situated beyond the Rhine. No doubt the Mussulmans could have taken advantage of such an excellent occasion to renew their attempts against the southern provinces of France ; but there appeared serious dissensions among them which made it impossible for them to undertake anything important for a long time.

We have already observed that, in principle, the army of the conquerors was composed of the most heterogeneous elements. Each detachment had its own language, its beliefs and its interests. It was not long before disorders broke out between the Arabs and the Berbers, the latter of whom claimed to have contributed just as much as the others to the former conquests and complained that they were not treated as well as the others.

As a matter of fact the Arabs were themselves disunited. We know that nomadic peoples have ever given the greatest importance to questions appertaining to their race and their tribes, and it is owing to this fact that in their national chronicles the name of each individual is mentioned together with that of his father and the tribe to which he belongs. The Arabs maintain that they

(1) *Portus Agathonis.*

(2) The anniversary of St. Porcaire and his companions is celebrated on August 12. *Vide* also, the Life of St. Honorat, in Provencal verse, composed by the troubadour Raimond Feraud. Also, *vide* the *Bollandistes.*

belong to two distinct races, the one descended from Yaqtan or Qahtan, grandson of Shem son of Noah, and the other from Ishmæl son of Abraham. The Qahtanîs received the title of *'Aribah* or Arabs *par excellence*, and in ancient times occupied Eastern and South-Western Arabia specially Yemen or Arabia Felix, and were therefore surnamed Yemenîs. The Ishmælites descending from Ishmæl through his offsprings Qais and Mudir, were designated by the title Qaisîs and Mudirîs. They settled down in the Hijâz near Mecca and Medina and remembered with pride the honour which was theirs of including the Prophet of Islam in their ranks. For a long time a strong feeling of jealousy had existed between the two sections, and this spirit of faction, after having drenched Arabia, Egypt and Syria with blood, penetrated into the soil of Spain and France[1].

All of a sudden the conquerors began to fight against each other, Arabs and Berbers, Qaisîs and Yemenîs, each faction resolving to do that which would serve his faction best. The signal of this vast conflagration was given in Africa. In the first year of the conquest, the Arab generals had relaxed their severity in order to win over the people. They had not only left the Berbers free to profess their religion but had actually reduced the tax which they were legally obliged to pay ; some of them were wholly exempted from paying any tax whatever and only those who were in a fit condition were required to carry arms. At the time of which we are speaking, that is to say in 737, the Governor of Africa thought that it was high time to do away with all these distinctions, and announced that he would henceforward follow in all its rigour the lessons taught by the Prophet. He wanted to compel the Berbers to discharge the dues imposed by the Islamic[2] law, consisting of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on movable goods such as cattle and silverware which formed their only wealth[3]. The Berbers who were accustomed to all the freedom of the desert, looked upon this imposition as highly tyrannical, and took up arms for the purpose of preserving their

(1) The accounts of inter-tribal feuds seem to be greatly exaggerated. *Vide* Wellhausen: *The Arab Kingdom*, Calcutta, 1927, p. 180 [Tr.]

(2) Novayry.

(3) Nomads have always refused to pay taxes, and it required all the tact and persuasion of the Prophet of Islam to levy it on the Beduins, who, however, freed themselves later. Cf. Gagnier : *Vie de Mahomet.* Vol. III, p. 119 ; *les annales d'Aboulfeda*, Vol. I, p. 114 ; Burckhardt ; *Voyage en Arabie*, Fr. translation, Vol. II, pp. 26 and 296.

freedom. They were seen rushing up from the heart of the desert situated in the South of the Atlas mountains riding their horses which, though not very tall, were still very light and agile and showing the greatest courage in the defence of their so-called freedom.

As the insurrection was not quelled easily, 'Uqbah, the Governor of Spain, crossed the Straits in order to bring the Berbers under control. This withdrawal of the Governor helped Charles-Martel not a little in achieving his victories in Southern France. On 'Uqbah's death, his predecessor 'Abd-e'l-Malik again became Governor of Spain[1].

Meanwhile the rebellion continued, and a part of the Arab army, which was beaten at all points, was obliged to seek refuge in Spain. On hearing this news, those Arabs and Berbers who had settled down in the Peninsula and in France, and who had received large plots of land as a reward for their exploits, feared lest the arrival of these newcomers should necessitate a redistribution of their property. With this object in view they at once took to arms and made up their minds to face the Muslim army with all their might. We should like to mention one fact in order to illustrate the amount of rancour which existed in the minds of the conquering people. It so happened that the Governor of Spain, 'Abdul-Malik, unfortunately fell into the hands of the opposite party and was thereupon hanged on the bridge of Cordova, while his head was cut off and publicly exposed between the carcases of a dead hog and a dead dog. Now the Commandant of Narbonne, 'Abdur-Rahmân, had allied himself to the cause of 'Abdul-Malik, so that when he heard of 'Abdul-Malik's death, he immediately gathered all the troops he could command, and started immediately for Andalusia. The battle between the rival forces took place somewhere near Cordova. Just when the battle was raging most furiously, 'Abdur-Rahmân, who was a very good shot, aimed an arrow at the Officer commanding the enemy and killed him outright, and after winning the battle he

(1) Ibn-ul-'Azâri and Maqqari seem to differ about the end of governor 'Uqbah. There is a tradition which says that he was slain fighting in France in the battle called by Ibn-ul-'Azari Balât-ush-Shuhada', while another mentions his murder at the hands of the rebel Spaniards. It is also said that 'Uqbah on his death-bed gave over the charge of the province to Abdul Malik. *Vide* Ibn-ul-'Azâri, Vol. II, p. 29., Maqqari Vol. I, p. 146, Vol. I, pp. 11 and 12, Akhbar-i-Majmû'ah, Madrid, p. 29 [Tr.]

retraced his steps back towards Narbonne[1].

It was extremely difficult for the Khalîfahs of Damascus to pacify provinces which were situated at so great a distance from the centre of the Empire. As a matter of fact rival political factions were fighting their own battles in the East and when forces were after all requisitioned from the Western Provinces, they ended by finishing off the Khilâfat itself[2].

It was inevitable that these terrible conflicts should have a certain amount of influence on the fortunes of Septimania. The Muslims of Narbonne had taken possession of Nîmes and the neighbouring towns, but these places were stripped of all their troops, so that the commanders of the town had to make a number of concessions to the Christian population. The Goths, who then formed a large part of the population of the country, thus regained a part of their lost credit, and we see that while the towns of the Languedoc such as Béziers, Nîmes and Maguelone, were under the domination of the Mussulmans, they enjoyed their own peculiar institutions and liberties[3].

An analogous change had taken place in the condition of the Christians of the Asturias, Navarre and other Northern provinces of Spain, whose courageous leaders had united together and achieved some measure of independence. In 747 Yûsuf, the new Governor of Spain, sent his son 'Abdur-Rahmân towards the Pyrenees in order to crush the insurrection, but the rebels resisted them with a considerable amount of success.

Now that no direct communication was possible between Narbonne and the Capital of Muslim Spain, it seemed to be only a question of time that the Christians of Septimania should throw off the yoke of the Muslims. Septimania was coveted both by Eude's son Vaiffre, Duke of Acquitaine and by Pepin himself, and in 751 Vaiffre actually made an incursion to Narbonne. But such was the hold of Pepin in the mind of the people that only he could be relied upon to guarantee any amount of peace and prosperity to the people of the country. Pepin had in

(1) Ibn-ul-Qûtiah. [Also Ibn-ul-'Azâri, Vol. II, p. 32. He mentions the tradition that the Army of Syria was victorious and says that this seems to be the most trustworthy account. Also *vide* Vol. I, pp. 38 ff., Vol. II, pp. 29–32. Tr.].

(2) Vide, Abulfida's *Annals*, in Arabic and Latin, Copenhagen 1789, Vol. I, pp. 468 ff.

(3) Vide *Histoire du Languedoc* by Dom Vaissette, and *Histoire de Nimes* by Menard. We will discuss these points later.

the meantime been crowned king by the Pope of Rome and had thus received an honour and dignity which was not even dreamt of by Charles-Martel in spite of his magnificent victories.

In 752 Pepin went to the Languedoc with a large army, when a local Gothic lord, Ansemundus by name, gave him possession of the towns of Nîmes, Agde, Maguelone and Béziers[1]. After that Pepin could turn all his attention to the town of Narbonne, but as that town was strong enough to withstand a long siege, he left some troops under the command of Ansemundus to blockade the town. But fate seemed to be against the progress of the French forces, for on the one hand Ansemundus was surprised by the Muslims in an ambuscade and killed, and on the other both southern France and northern Spain were the scene of a terrible famine, so that further operations had to be suspended owing to utter lack of articles of food[2].

Just when these things were taking place, the Omayyads were dethroned at Damascus and their place was taken by the House of Abbâs, the uncle of the Prophet. The new Khalîfahs of Islam moved their capital from Damascus to Baghdad on the Tigris, and it is they who made the name of Islam famous all over the world. As regards the vanquished dynasty, it was proscribed, and all traces of it were entirely effaced. One of the scions of this house, which did so much to spread Islam during the heyday of its glory, somehow or other escaped the gallows, and fled to Africa where he spent a number of years among the Berbers. When he got the news of the turmoil in Spain, he immediately put himself in communication with certain Emirs of the Province, later (in 755) going to Malaga, where he was received with open arms by them as a liberator by the descendants of the early Muslim conquerors. The name of this prince was 'Abdur-Rahman[3].

It was fated that 'Abdur-Rahmân and his successors should give the greatest lustre to the name and fame of Islam in the West, and it is to their time that those splendid monuments of the 'Moorish' civilization can be traced

(1) Moissac's Chronicle, Collection of the *Historiens de France*, Vol. V, p. 68.

(2) Cf. Moissac's Chronicle in Dom Bouquet's collection, and Ibn ul-Qûtiah.

(3) 'Abdur-Rahman's father was an Umayyad prince named Mu'âviah, hence he was called Ibn-i-Mu'âviah or son of Mu'âviah according to the custom of the Arabs. This has been corrupted by the old French chroniclers into *Benëmaugius*.

which still bewilder the traveller. Up till then the conquerors were too busy pondering over their religious beliefs or else quarreling among themselves to accomplish anything very great, and even 'Abdur-Rahmân and his successors had to combat the spirit of faction caused by racial differences as well as the diversity of interests which were found in the peninsula. It must also be borne in mind that all Muslim lands, including the provinces of Africa up to the Atlantic Ocean had submitted to the new dynasty of Baghdad without offering any resistance, so that 'Abdur-Rahmân's authority was limited only to the peninsula of Spain. It was really for this reason that he as well as his successors contented themselves with the simple title of Emîr rather than to adopt the more splendid title of Khalîfah[1]. The capital of these Princes was Cordova, which soon became a great centre of light and learning.

As soon as 'Abdur-Rahmân saw his authority firmly established, he at once turned his attention towards Narbonne which was then hard pressed by Pepin's soldiers. He therefore sent a considerable body of troops toward the Pyrenees under the command of a general named Solaimân in order to help the besieged. But before they could cross the Pyrenees they were surprised in the mountain gorges and cut to pieces.

Finally the Christians of Narbonne, who formed a large majority of the population of the city, and who were the greatest sufferers from the blockade, made up their minds to rid themselves of the burden which lay so heavily on their shoulders. We have no details of what followed[2], and we only know that they secretly entered into negotiations with Pepin, who promised them that he would leave them entirely free to live under their own Gothic laws. After exacting this promise, they took the first advantage offered to them, and when the Muslim soldiers

(1) Assemani has been deceived by modern Arab writers and has put forward the opposite theory. *Vide* the collection called *Italicæ historiæ scriptores*, Rome, 1752, Vol. III, pp. 135 ff.

(2) True that we have considerable details in our possession in the romance of Philomène published by M. Ciampi at Florence in 1823 with the title of *Gesta Caroli Magni ad Carcassonam et Narbonam*. The author says that he wrote the work under orders from Charlemagne himself; but the work, originally in Provençal dialect, could have been written at the earliest in the XIIth century, because it attributed to Charlemagne, events which are bound to have happened in the time of his father Pepin and his grandfather Charles-Martel. It is for this reason that we do not attach any faith to it.

were off their guard they massacred them in cold blood, and then opened the gates of the town to the Christian army[1]. Ever since that year (759), the kingdom was finally rid of the presence of the foreigners, and in order to be on the safe side and prevent them from again making an entry into France, Pepin left a considerable army to guard its frontiers[2].

(1) Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, pp. 69 & 335.

(2) *Vide* Dom Bouquet, Vol. V. p. 6. According to certain writers there were a number of Mussulmans who remained in Dauphiné and the country of Nice and on the slopes of the Alps while peace reigned in these parts during the sway of Pepin and Charlemagne. Mention is also made in a number of works about the capture of Grenoble and the surrounding country by the Muslims. On the other a historian of the abbey of Lerins (Vincent Barrel, part I. p. 132) thinks that they settled down at Nice and were expelled from there by Charlemagne with the help of his pretended nephew Siagrius. Vide *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. III, p. 1275. It is this fact which has made certain authors believe that the Arabs were not expelled from Dauphiné from the time of Charles-Martel to the tenth century, a period when some other Muslim peoples who held sway on the Provençal coast advanced right up to Piedmont and Switzerland. This theory, put forward by certain authors of the chivalric romances who were keen on attributing some of the best known facts of the history of France to Charlemagne's reign, has been made use of by some of the old families of France whose fame rests partly on the fact that their ancestors died fighting against the Muslims, and who were proud to read back their ancestry to such remote days. Vide *Histoire geneologique des Pairs de France*, by M. de Courcelle (articles *d'Agoult*, *Clermont-Tonnerre*, etc.). But this opinion is not verified by contemporary writers, and it is impossible to believe that if it were based on actual facts, princes such as Charlemagne or his successors would not have driven from the very heart of their kingdom non-Christians whose very homes were actually invaded by them.

HAROON KHAN SHERWANI.

(To be continued.)

NOTE ON

NAVAL ENTERPRISE AND ISLAM

(*By the Translator*).

Our author seems to be entirely mistaken in the view he has taken of the attitude of the Prophet and the early Mussulmans toward naval enterprises, and his assertions that the Arabs never took advantage of the sea-routes, that the Prophet himself disliked the sea, and so on, are entirely without foundation in fact. In the first place we must remember that southern and eastern Arabia was in constant commercial touch with India, Persia and Africa for a very long time, and that the ancient capital of the Hijâz, which has also been the spiritual capital of Arabia from times immemorial—*i.e.*, Meccah,—is but fifty miles from its sea-port, Jeddah. Then, if we were to study the Qurân, we would perceive that a number of the great Prophets mentioned in the Holy Book of the Mussulmans are directly connected somehow or other with the sea, such as Noah, Jonah, Khidr and Moses, and it is they who furnish models of good and noble living to the Muslims the world over. Further there is a mass of literature dating from the Days of Ignorance, *i.e.*, the period before the advent of the Prophet, about seafaring ships. Students of the early period of Islamic History are aware that it was not long after the Prophet began to preach his doctrine that some of his most devoted followers had to leave their hearths and homes for Abbyssinia owing to the persecutions of the idolators of Mecca, among them being a number of women and children as well as men, and the party consisted, among others, of the daughter of the Prophet, Hazrat Ruqayyah herself. We are also aware that quite a number of the companions of the Prophet, *e.g.*, Talha, *s/o* Zubair, Sa'îd *s/o* Zaid, Tamîm Dâri and others were engaged in maritime trade and commerce. This could not be otherwise, for the Qurân is full of the description of the sea, of boats, of sea-game and of the recommendation of sea-voyage. Thus,

> " He has given you control over the sea (so that) you may extract fresh food and (articles of) ornaments which you wear, and seest thou the ships tearing through the waters in it (*i.e.*, the sea) so that you may see the Grace of God therein and you may thank Him (for His Mercies)." -Qurân XVI, 14.
>
> " He is the Lord God who has put the seas under your control so that ships may ply over them by His Command, that you may seek His Grace therein and that you may (have an opportunity to) thank Him."—Qurân, XLV, 12.
>
> " And verily We gave pre-eminence to the children of Adam and conveyed them over land and sea."—Qurân, XVII, 69.
>
> " Your Nourisher is He who carries ships on the seas that you may seek His Grace, for He is Kind to you all."—Qurân XVII, 65.

These are merely stray passages from the Qurân, which is full of the anecdotes of sea-voyages, and it strikes an average reader of the 'Book' how many times the command " Travel through the Earth "

is repeated and how much of it is devoted to maritime commerce and maritime enterprises.

So much for the text of the Qurân. When we return to the Traditions we find a number of the authoritative sayings of the Prophet in the same vein. Thus,

> " Ibn-i 'Umar says that the Prophet said : 'A maritime campaign is ten times better than a land campaign'."—Abû Dâwûd, Cairo, Vol. I, p. 247.
>
> " Abû Dardâ ' says that the Prophet said : 'A maritime war is equal to ten such land campaigns, and one who becomes sea-sick is like one who has been wounded on the field of battle in the Path of the Lord'."—Ibn-i Mâjah, Lucknow, Vol. I, p. 508.
>
> " Abu Umamah says that he heard the Prophet say 'A martyr killed in a sea-battle is like two martyrs in a war waged on land, and he who is sea-sick is like one wounded on the field of battle. .... Moreover when the Angel of Death comes to do his duty to one who has martyred his life on land, the martyr is recompensed for all his sins, while in the case of a martyr on the sea, not only are the sins recompensed, but his debts are also forgiven'."—Ibid.

All these and many more traditions are found in the body of Traditions known as the ' Correct Six.'

Under these circumstances it is very curious that the learned author should hold the opinion that the Prophet or the religion of Islam had any prejudice whatever against sea-voyages. There is, no doubt, a tradition that the Prophet once remarked that as there was fire under the sea, no one should embark on a sea-voyage except for the purpose of a pilgrimage or Jihâd ; but this tradition is unanimously declared to be unreliable, specially by such an authority on the authenticity of Traditions as Ibn-i Mu'în ; and Bukhâri has also quoted words of the well-known authority, Matar-i Rawwâq to the same effect. We also know that during the khilâfat of the second Khalîfah of Islam, ' Uthmân, the first maritime expedition—*i.e.*, that sent to Cyprus—included some famous Companions of the Prophet, such as Abu Żar, Abu Dardâ', 'Ibâdah ibn-i Sâmit, and many women, among whom was Umm-i Harâm who died in the island and was buried there. The manifest claim of Islam is that it is for the good of mankind, so that it is inconceivable that the whole expanse of the waters should have been exempted from its purview, and this is fully borne out by the Qurân as well as the Traditions. The whole history of the Muslim peoples is a direct proof of the falsehood of the author's opinion about the doctrine of Islam in this respect.

THE LANGUAGE OF AFGHANISTAN

ALTHOUGH Persian is the Court and Official language of Afghanistan, the vernacular tongue, which is spoken by over three million people, is Pukkhto, or as it is also frequently styled "Pukshto" or "Pushto."

This language is divided into two great dialects, the southern and the northern. The differences between these two dialects are mainly phonological: thus the North Afghan (خ) *Khe* (Kh), (ج) *Jim* (j), and initial چ *Che* (ch) in South Afghan are rendered ښ ښ *Shin* (sh): ځ *He* and ک *Kaf*, (k).

This language, like Hindi, is a dialect of Sanskrit, so far as regards its grammatical construction, but Persianised in respect of the bulk of the words in its composition. For instance in Pukkhto, the nouns, where they are inflected, take corresponding inflections in the oblique cases to those under similar circumstances in Hindi, whilst its adjectives and verbs undergo the same style of, or corresponding, inflections for number and gender as the same parts of speech undergo in the Indian dialect, whereas, in Persian, no such changes take place.

It would appear, therefore, that the Pukkhto, though in its origin a dialect of the Sanskrit, assumed its present Indo-Persian form at some remote period, by a long-continued contact of Indian border-tribes with the Persians, from whose language, owing to various influences, a large number of Persian words were introduced and came into the colloquial language. In time, these words, so introduced, bedded themselves into the language, without affecting its original grammatical construction, and in the majority of instances, following well-known philological rules, underwent certain modifications and alterations, more or less extensive or complete according to various circumstances, so as to become adaptable to the mould of the new dialect wherein they had become incorporated.

The language has undoubtedly suffered many corruptions, especially in its vowel system. It has acquired many loan words, mainly from the Persian and, through this, from the Arabic, and from the Hindustani, particularly Sindhi. Words derived from Turki are also not rare. Most of these foreign words are met with in Pukkhto in an unaltered form, and except in the vicinity of the countries from whence they have been derived, are for the most part used only in composition. The rest have undergone more or less modification.

It is probable that Pukkhto had assumed its present form anterior to the advent of the Arabs in Afghanistan, towards the close of the seventh century of the Christian era, for although the Afghans embraced the religion and laws of Islam, their doing so has in no material way affected their colloquial language, for the numerous words and phrases borrowed from Arabic are very rarely found incorporated with the Pukkhto, as are words derived from either Hindi and Persian, but are always distinct (*birgal*), and in the majority of instances used in an unaltered, or but very slightly modified, form.

It would seem that the region represented by what is now known as Afghanistan was at the time of the advent of the Arabs and for several centuries anterior to the Muslim era, successively governed by Persian and Indian rulers, and this is evidenced by the coins of Sassanian Monarchs and Hindu Rajahs, which have been so abundantly found, and also by the multiform relics of a Hindu people, in the numerous ruins which are scattered throughout the country and existing to the present day. Alternations of rule from Persian to Hindu and *vice versa*, it seems probable, continued for centuries subsequent to the time of the Muslim conquest, and its masters changed many times in the waves of conquest that rolled across Asia. On the decline of the Baghdad Caliphate it was included in the domains of the Samanids, one of the numerous dynasties that then arose in the Islamic world. The Samanid Princes were overthrown by a Turkish tribe, who founded the Ghaznevid dynasty, and Afghanistan was a part of their realm until the fall of the Ghaznevids in 1186. It was overrun in the first quarter of the 13th century by the conquering Mongols under Chengiz Khan (whose original name was Temoutchin, who was born in the year 1155 of the Christian era, and is said to have come into the world with a clot of blood clutched in his right hand), and in the last quarter

of the 14th century it was subjugated by the great conqueror, Timour the Tartar. The subjects of these various rulers, it is probable, were, as are many of the tribes of Afghanistan to-day, a mixture of aboriginal inhabitants with Indian, Persian and possibly Mongol colonists. Their descendants, probably, are represented by the Gujars, Kafirs, Hindkis, and other tribes of the Hindu Kush and the Eastern Provinces of Afghanistan (who speak dialects more or less akin to Hindi, and quite distinct from Pukkhto), on the one hand; and on the other the ancient inhabitants of the provinces to the westward of Kabul are represented by the Tajiks and Hazirahs, who speak either modern Persian, or dialects akin to it.

This continued existence of two distinct and uncorrupted dialects, Persian on the one hand and Hindi on the other, in the midst of a nation who speak a language which appears to be more or less a combination of both is a noteworthy fact, and especially so as that nation, although it has for many centuries occupied its present territory at the point of junction between the Persian and Indian empires, and has been, more or less, the dominant race since the 10th century, boasts that its people are a separate and distinct nation, a peculiar people claiming to be the lineal descendants of the house of Jacob through two of the lost ten tribes of Israel. This statement to a certain extent is borne out by the decidedly Semitic features of some of the people and the occasional appearance among them of Jewish traits, as well as by the place-names, many of which resemble Hebrew place-names in ancient Palestine.

Pukkhto, as a written language, is seldom used otherwise than in composition, as a vehicle for the literature and history of the nation. Epistolary correspondence and the general business of the country are conducted through Persian, which is the court language, and used in preference to Pukkhto by the nobility and educated classes more or less generally throughout the country. The theological and judicial literature of the Afghans is almost wholly in Arabic. This kind of learning, however, is practically the exclusive property of the Mullahs.

The non-literary character of Pukkhto makes it difficult to find true grounds of comparison between it and the older languages, such as Avestic, Sanskrit, Latin and Greek, or the standard European idioms of the present day which are largely under the influence of literary tradition and practice. It must always be remembered that Pukkhto is essentially a colloquial language and lacks the greater

fixity of form and pronunciation, largely conventional, and the more complicated forms of expression, which the presence of a living written literature always tends to induce or create.

Pukkhto is written in the Naskh form of the Arabic character and contains forty letters, named as follows : — Alif, Bé, Pé Té (T, soft, dental, as in *the*), Tu (T hard as in *Tea*), Sê, Dzim (*dz*), (" The Pushto Z "), Jîm, Tse (*ts*), Ché (*ch* as in church). Hé (H aspirate) , Khé, *kh* (as *ch* in *loch*) Dâl (De), Dhal, Da (D hard). Zal, Re (R as in run) Rre (guttural r), zé, jé, gé, sin, shin (*sh*) Kkhin (*kkh*) and Kshîn (Ksh), Swad, Dwâd, Toe, Zoe, 'Aîn (broad *a*), Ghain (*gh* guttural), Fé, Qaf (*qh*), Kâf (*k*), Gâf (g as in *go*), Lâm, Mîm, Nûn, Rûnr (nr), Waw, Hé and Yé (e, i or y according to the vowel points). Eight of the above letters are purely Arabic, and for the most part only found in words from that language.

Eight are only found in words purely Pukkhto. All the letters of the Pukkhto alphabet are considered to be, and are used as, consonants.

In Pukkhto, as in Arabic and Persian, the several parts of speech are classified under three heads : the noun, the verb, and the participle.

The noun is a word which by itself expresses an independent meaning, but does not indicate time. It possesses gender (*jins*), number and case, and comprises all substantives, adjectives, pronouns, participles, and infinitives.

In Pukkhto there is no word corresponding with the articles *a*, *an*, or *the*. The articles are inherent in the nouns but when special distinction is required they are expressed by the numeral *yo* (one) for the indefinite article, and by the demonstrative pronouns *da* and *daghah* (this) for the definite article. In this respect Pukkhto resembles Turkish where *bir* (one) and *bu* (this) are employed in the same manner.

The noun in Pukkhto has (as in French and according to Persian and Arabian grammarians) two genders, masculine (*muzakkar* or *nar*) and feminine (*muwannas* or *kkhadza*). They affect also the terminations of the verb.

Nouns have two numbers (singular and plural), and eight cases, namely, nominative, accusative, vocative, genitive, dative, ablative, locative and instrumental. In this respect Pukkhto greatly resembles Turkish.

The gender of nouns is determined by (1) their meaning or (2) the termination of the nominative singular.

What in English would be termed an adjective in Pukkhto is termed " a noun of quality," denoting the property or attribute with which it is coupled. Such words as *Klak* (hard), *gad* (mixed), *spuk* (light), etc., come under this category and are considered as of the masculine gender.

There are in Pukkhto certain words and expressions which might quite properly be termed Interjections, such as : *Khair*, All right ! *Khudago*, By God ! *Khlakak*, Damn me ! (An Afridi swear-word) ; *Shahbash* Bravo ! *Yerah*! Of a truth (equivalent of English " By Jove ! ").

The following short sentences in Pukkhto may prove interesting : —

Life is sweet—Jwandûn *kh*og dai.
You are foolish women—Tâsû kam-'agle *kkhadze* ya-î.
Thou art most wise—Be *shana* ho*kk*-hyâr ye.
You are worse than dogs—Tâsû la spîo na bad ya-i.
Go to sleep ! Udah *sh*a
Be quick ! Zir *sh*a

The Pukkhto word for cat is *pishu*, which is somewhat analogous in sound to our English " puss. "

HAROUN M. LEON.

THE RENAISSANCE OF ISLAM

13. Theology.

In the 4th/10th century Muslim theology passed through its greatest epoch; namely, its emancipation from jurisprudence whose hand-maid it had hitherto been. Even in the 3rd/9th century all theological works of note bear juristic impress. This change must be set down to the credit of the Mutazilites. Throughout the 3rd/9th century they propounded purely theological questions and, now, they challenged their opponents to reply. They were the first Muslim party which was free from all juristic leanings. And even in the 4th/10th century—of the five greatest groups in which Islam was then divided, namely; Sunnah, Mutazilah, Murjiah, Shiah and Kharijites—they were the only party of pure dogmatism (Kalamiyyah)[1]. They conceded complete liberty with regard to particular rules of law (*Furu'*) and taught that every jurist was free to follow his own lines[2]. Thus there were Mutazilites in every shade of juristic school, even among the Traditionists, (*Ashab el-hadith*) whom people are inclined to regard as born enemies of the Scholastics[3].

The Sufis again were avowed opponents of all juristic schools (*ilm ed-dunya*). Makki (d. 386/996) applied to it (*ilm ed-dunya*) an alleged saying of Christ: The base savants are not unlike a stone on the mouth of a canal. They would neither themselves drink the water nor would they let it fertilise a field. Such are the worldly-wise savants! They sit upon the road leading to the next world. They neither move on themselves nor yet do they let the servants of God move on to Him. Or, again, they are not unlike white-washed graves, externally well-cared for but within replete with the bones of the dead[4].

(1) Muk, 37.
(2) Muk, 38; Ahmad Ibn Yahya, 63.
(3) Muk, 439.
(4) Makki, 141.

And the Sufis won the day. In the following century Ghazzali—the pioneer of the later Muslim orthodoxy—declared jurisprudence to be something *worldly* and *untheological*[1]. In fact we notice among the Sufis a tendency to penalise all sciences. Ibn Khafif (d. 371/981) had to conceal his ink-pot in his breast-pocket and paper in his waist-belt for fear of the brethren[2].

Once again they opposed the Gnosis, the inner understanding, to knowledge, the theology. "O, Wonder! how is he, who knoweth not how the hair of his body grows black or white, to know the creator of things?" Thus Hallaj (d. 302/922) ridicules learning![3] Elsewhere he tells us: I saw a Sufi bird with two wings. He did not understand my business so long as he flew. And he questioned me about purity (Safa) and I replied: Clip thy wings off by the scissors of self-annihilation, or else thou wilt not be able to follow me. But he rejoined: My wings I need to fly. One day he fell into the sea of understanding and was drowned[4]. On the other hand others, like Junaid (d. 289/910), have expressly placed Theology (*'ilm*) above *Gnosis* (*Ma'rifah*)[5]. As a matter of fact the list, for instance, of the Shafiite savants exhibits a number of Sufis. The Sufiite Theology is by far the most important and successful as being the movement in the learning of that time which harbours the strongest religious forces. It imported into and impressed upon Islam three special features of its own which, even today, constitute by far the most important and effective features of its religious life. They are: A firm faith in God, the order of Saints, and the Prophet's cult.

The study of the Quran and Tradition, enjoined as a religious duty upon every believing Muslim, male and female[6], increased more and more, but the 4th/10th century inaugurated the modern practice of permitting the transmission of traditions, independently of personal intercourse, even without a special permission from the teacher[7]. The result was that in the place of the old-fashioned travelling, the individual traditionists took to the study of books.

(1) Goldziher, *Zahiriten*, 182. (2) Amedroz, *Notes on Some Sufi Lives*, JRAS, 1912, 554. (3) *Kit. et-tawasin*, ed Massignon, 73. (4) *Kit. et-tawasin*, 30. (5) Ibid, 195. (6) Samarqandi, *Bustan al-arifin*, Cairo, (1304,) p. 3. (7) Goldziher, *Muh. Studien* II, 190 ff. Nawawi mentions some savants who considered written transmission as valid. Even the canonical collections themselves called many instances of this mode of transmission into being. JA (1901) p. 226.

Thus Ibn Yunus es-Sadafi (d. 347/958) could become the head of the traditionists in Egypt without travelling or hearing any one outside Egypt[1].

Yet it was some time before the savant, in search of traditions, was less frequently to be found wandering in the streets or putting up at inns than the merchant or official. In 395/1005 died Ibn Mandah, 'the last of the travellers', that is to say, the most famous of those who travelled about the empire to hear traditions. He collected 1700 traditions and brought home 40 camel loads of books[2]. Abu Hatim of Samarqand heard about a thousand teachers from Tashkend to Alexandria[3]; an Afghan savant heard over 1200[4]. And yet Ghazzali—the most outstanding figure in the theological world—undertook very few journeys for purposes of study. Outside his home, Tus, he heard lectures in the North, in Jurjan, and studied later at Nisapur, the great university town of his country. That was all. How conflicting in the 4th/10th century were views regarding the subject of travel is manifest from the *Bustan al-'Arifin* (p. 18 ff) of Samarqandi! And significant, too, is the fact that Naibakhti calls the well-known Abul Faraj al-Isfahanî (d. 356/967), author of the *Kitab al-Aghani*, from whom even the renowned Daraqutni heard traditions, 'the greatest liar' because he used to frequent the market of the book-dealers, lively and stocked with books, purchase a heap of manuscripts there, bring them home and make extracts therefrom[5].

The traditionists, however, were considered the most prominent of learned men and were, in fact, most influential in the empire. Historians faithfully note their deaths and hand down strange stories of their feats of memory. Abdullah ibn Sulaiman (d. 316/928) went from Baghdad to Sijistan. At Baghdad he was so profoundly esteemed that he lectured at the residence of the wazir 'Ali Ibn Isa and the Government erected a pulpit for him. He did not take with him a single book to Sijistan. From memory he dictated 30,000 traditions. The Baghdadians thought that he was playing the fool with the people and sent a messenger there whom they engaged for six dinars. He took notes, returned home, and it transpired that only

(1) Suyuti, *Husnul Muhdhera*, 1, 164.
(2) Zarqani, 1,230; Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, II, 180.
(3) Subki, *Tabaqat*, II, 14.
(4) Subki, III, 114.
(5) *Tarikh Baghdad*, ed Krenkow, JRAS, 1912, p. 71.

six traditions of the lot could be at all taken exception to and of these six only three were found spurious[1].

Ibn Uqwah (d. 332/943) boasted of carrying 52,000 traditions with their respective authorities in his head[2]. The Qadi of Mosul who died in 355/966 is said to have known 20,000 traditions by heart[3]. And in 401/1010 died a savant in Egypt who possessed a long roll of 87 yards, on both sides of which were written the beginnings of Traditions known to him[4].

Theologians recall with pride a story of the poet Hamadani (d. 398/1007) who fancied himself because he could repeat a hundred verses on hearing them once. He used to speak slightingly of the respect shown by the people to the memorising of traditions. Someone sent him a chapter of tradition and gave him a week's time to commit it to memory. At the end of the week the poet returned the document with the observation : Who can retain this in memory ? Mohamed, son of X and Jafar, son of X, after X and then various names and expressions[5].

With what speed tradition was taught may be inferred from the fact that the Khatib heard the entire *Sahih* of Bukhari in five days and that from a lady[6]. The two greatest traditionists of this century are Abul Hasan 'Ali al-Daraqutni (d. 385/995) and Al-Hakim of Nisapur (d. 405/1014). In the following century their mantle fell upon the Khatib al-Baghadi (d. 403/1071).

Their work was cut out for them by the collection of traditions which had been finished in the 3rd/9th century with their divisions and contractions. And they fulfilled their task either by fresh collections as did Daraqutni by composing a *Book of Sunnah* and helping the Egyptian Wazir Jafar ibn el-Fadl, who had theological ambitions, to prepare a *Musnad* for a handsome sum[7]; or by composing *Istidrak* and *Mustadrak* (supplements) such as those of Daraqutni or of Hakim—both being of opinion that a great deal of good material had escaped the earlier writers[8]. Or yet again by collecting parallel reports, according to

(1) Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 36 a ; Subki, II, 230. (2) Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 726. (3) Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, II, 200. (4) *Sukkardan* margin of *Mikhlat*, 185. (5) Subki, III, 661. (6) Yaqut, *Irshad*, 1,247. He heard traditions from the famous Karunah of Merv whom also Ibn Baskuwah (1,133) has mentioned. (7) Yaqut, *Irshad*, II, 408. The pupils of Muslim have specially composed fresh *Sahihs ; e.g.* Abu Hamid (d. 325) and Abu Sa'id (d. 353). Subki, *Tabaqat*, II, 97, f. (8) Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, II, 241. Daraqutni's successors are mentioned in Nawawi 1, 17.

other authorities (*Mukhraj* or *Mustakhraj*) as was done by almost every reliable traditionist of the 4th/10th century.

In this century a special literature arose on doubtful readings (*Tashifat*) : both Daraqutni and the Khatib wrote on the subject [1].

From the very beginning criticism of traditions concerned itself with individual authorities (*Marifat-rejal el-hadith*), with the ascertaining of their names and the determination of their position as reliable (*thiqat*) or weak (*du'afa*) traditionists. Nor was the consideration of the qualities required in a perfect traditionist lost sight of. Yahya ibn al-Kattan (d. 198/914) is said to have composed the first book of this kind[2]. After the comparison of classical texts they proceeded to scrutinize the authorities therein and wrote books on the traditionists mentioned in the two *Sahihs*. The demand for an uninterrupted chain of traditionists[3] led on from the biography and critical estimate of the individual traditionist to a general history of these witnesses. Thus arose the chronicles of the 3rd/9th century, such as those of Bukhari (d. 256/870) ; the great *Tabaqat* of Ibn Sa'd (d. 230/845), arranged according to time and place ; and the so-called '*Histories of the Towns*' in the 3rd/9th and the 4th/10th centuries which reached their summit of excellence in the *History of Nisapur* by Al-Hakim (d. 406/1015)—he is said to be more exhaustive in biographical details than even the Khatib—, in the Tarikh of *Ispahan* by Abu Nu'aim (d. 430/1071).

The works of the Khatib '*On the cases of fathers who obtained traditions from their sons*' and '*The Companions of the Prophet who handed down traditions to the generation following them*', show the subtle critical technic which had then come into being[4]. This biographical knowledge, then, enjoyed the highest esteem. The Qadi Abu Hamid of Merv (d. 362/972)—renowned as a teacher of the great Abu Hayyan at-Tauhidi—considered biographical literature as ' an ocean of decisions and an equipment of Qadis '. He maintained that the acuteness of jurists depended upon the extent of their biographical studies[5].

Most admired in the Khatib was his keenness in detecting genuineness or otherwise of a document by the anachronism of the subscription[6].

(1) Goldziher,II, 241. (2) Marcais, *Taqrib* of Nawawi, JA, 1900, 16 p. 321. (3) This question is said to have been first raised by Shafi'i (d. 204). (Ibn Abd el-Barr (d. 468) ; see Marcais, *Taqrib*, JA 1900, 16,p. 321. (4) Yaqut, *Irshad*, 1,248. (5) Subki, II, 88. (6) *Irshad*, 1,249.

In the 4th/10th century Karabizi (d. 378/988) wrote the work on the names and surnames of traditionists which, by common consent, has been set down as the most authoritative for all times[1].

In earlier times historical studies were held in such bad odour among theologians that Ibn Ishaq (d. 151/767) is said to have made fun of a historical student by asking him "who was the actual standard-bearer of Goliath"[2]. But, now, at the beginning of the 4th/10th century Zingi mentions as lectures on 'traditions' only historical subjects such as the *History of the Mubayyidah*, the death of Hajar ibn Adi, the Shiite leader, *the Book of the Battle of Siffin* and the *Book of the Battle of the Camel*[3]. But later the wind veered once again. Nawawi reproaches Ibn Abd-el-Barr (d. 463/1071) for injuring his book by incorporating historical information therein[4].

The theory of the criticism of tradition also was elaborated in the 4th/10th century. Ibn Abi Hatim al-Razi (d. 327/939) has constructed a whole ladder of epithets for the transmitters: (*Thiqah*, trustworthy; *Mutqin*, exact; *Thabt*, Solid; *Hujjah*, Authority; *Adl-hafiz*, Good memory; *Dhabit*, Sure; *Sadiq*, veracious; *Mahallu-huess-idq*, inclining to veracity; *La ba's bihi*, harmless)[5].

Khattabi (d. 388/998) is said to have been the first to fix the three main classes of traditions: Perfect (*Sahih*), Good (*Hasan*) and Weak (*Da'if*). Daraqutni (d. 385/995) defined the '*taliq*' and Hakim (d. 405/1015) placed, once and for all, the science of tradition (*Usul el-hadith*) on an independent basis, on such a scale and thoroughness, that it retains its position even today. Here the later centuries did nothing more than add matters of secondary importance.

Even the external form of treatment—that is, the division into a number of *Anwa* (sections)—they accepted and retained as in the days of Al-Hakim[6]. From him too, dates the practice of the scribes to place a dot in the middle of the circle, indicating thereby the termination of a tradition after collation[7]. (This means that the scribes used to indicate the end of a tradition by putting a sign

(1) Marcais, *Taqrib* of Nawawi, JA (1901), 18, 135. (2) Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, II, 207. (3) Wuz, 202. (4) *Taqrib*, JA (1901), 18 p. 123. (5) Nawawi, *Taqrib*, JA (1901), 17 p. 146; Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, II, 142. (6) Nawawi, JA (1900), 16 p. 330 Sqq. Ibn Hibban (d. 354) had already divided these into *Anwa* p. 487 note (1). (7) Nawawi, JA (1901), 17, p. 528.

thus: O. After collation the circle was supplied with a point within :⊙).

The Quran-readers play the second rôle in the theological world. Mukaddasi never fails to mention the school of reading obtaining in every province, but for the ' readers' themselves he entertains no regard or affection. He notes greed, pederasty, and hypocrisy as their chief *traits*[1]. Even this branch of learning was divided up by Ibn Mujahid about the year 300/912[2].

On or about this time there were fierce disputes on the question of the true text of the Quran. Government even took to persecution; for Ibn Shanabud (d. 328/939) was scourged under orders of the wazir Ibn Muqlah and had to recant six different variants in the reading of the Quran in the following manner. " Mohamed ibn Ahmed ibn Ayyub says: I had read texts differing from the text going back to Othman and approved by the companions of the Prophet. I see clearly now that they were wrong. I atone for my mistake and renounce my opinion, for the text of Othman is the right text which no one should reject or call into question[3]."

And yet he left behind pupils, of whom, one Shanabudi is mentioned as a famous ' reader ', who died as late as 387/997[4]. His variants and those of the others have come down to us. They are perfectly harmless. But, here, they took every thing all—too seriously, for the doctrine of the word of God left them no option in the matter. The theologian Al-'Attar (d. 354/965) defended, in an exegetical work, some of the readings differing from the official redaction and stood firmly by the text without vowel-points urging that in classical Arabic any punctuation which yielded a sense was permissible. He was reported to Government and was asked to appear before Jurists and " readers " and make atonement. His recantation was put into writing and was countersigned by all. Despite all this—to the end of his days it is said he clung to his own private reading and passed it on to his pupils.[5]

In 398/1008 once again there emerged into light a Quran which differed from the official redaction and which

(1) Muk, 41. (2) Died 334/945. He had a thick beard and a large skull. He read the Quran, so the people believed, even in his grave. Jauzi, *Muntazam*, fol. 56 a. (3) Suli, *Auraq*. Paris, fol. 52; *Fihrist*, 31; *Irshad*, vi, 300 ff; Nöldeke, *Gesch.d.Korans*, 274. (4) Suyuti, *de interpretibus Corani*, 37; Misk, v, 447; Ibn al-Jauzi fol. 54 a. (5) Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 98 a; *Irshad*, vi, 499.

was stated to be the copy of the famous dissenter Ibn-Masud. It was burnt by the Qadi. About midnight a man appeared and cursed the man who had burned it. He was killed on the spot[1].

Not unlike the four schools of jurisprudence the seven canonical schools of reading supplanted in the 4th/10th century most of the differing readings[2] ; even the arbitrary selection of eight schools of readings is the work of this century. (Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Korans*, 299). An Egyptian theologian who died in 333 A.H. wrote on the differences in the *seven* schools of reading. (Suyuti, *Husnul Muhadhera*, 1,332,234). Another Egyptian who died 401 on the *eight*.

It was not at all a recognized practice in the 4th/10th century to explain the Quran. Tabari relates that in old days a pious man, passing by a place where the Quran was being explained, called out to the teacher : ' Better would it be for thee to have the tamburin played at thy back than to sit here'[3], and, according to Samarqandi, Omar, seeing a Quran with a man, where every verse was explained, asked for a pair of scissors and cut it into pieces[4]. Out of pious scruples the philologer Asma'i is said never to have explained anything in the Quran or the tradition ; not even such words and phrases, analogies and etymologies as were common to them both[5].

Tabari, however, manages to cite instances of the ' Companions of the Prophet '—and preeminently of Ibn Abbas[6]—who busied themselves with the exposition of the Quran ; but his ' *polemics* ' (p. 26 sqq) show that the party which absolutely repudiated it was very strong. At last a saying of the Prophet was cited to effect a compromise : " whoever interprets the Quran according to his own light will go to hell ". Every interpretation of the Quran had, therefore, to be ultimately traced back to the Prophet—no private judgment being permitted[7]. Only linguistic explanations were allowed (p. 27).

But, in spite of this limitation in the interpretation of the Quran much could be dexterously said which really had no place there. Tabari's own commentary, which

(1) Suyuti, *de interpretibus Corani*, 37 ; Misk. v, 447; Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 98 a ; *Irshad*, vi , 499. (2) Ibn al-Jauzi, 152 b, Subki, *Tabaqat*, III, 26. (3) Nöldeke, *Gesch. des Korans*. 278 ; *Fihrist*. 31 ; Samarqandi, 73. (4) Tafsir, 30. (5) *Bustan al-arifin*, 74 ff. (6) Suyuti, *Muzhir*, II, 207 ; Goldziher, SWA, vol. 72, p. 630. (7) *Tafsir*, 1, 26.

is praised for its felicitous union of tradition and judgment, shows this[1].

The otherwise extremely liberal Samarqandi has expressed a definite opinion disallowing, though a Hanafite, every scientific explanation. In the interpretation of the Quran, according to him, at most it is permissible to employ elucidatory traditions : *i.e.*, to adopt the form in which the Chapter headed " Interpretation of the Quran " in Bukhari and Muslim is composed, and which was practised by the second class of exegetes discussed by Suyuti, (*de. inter. Korani*, Text p. 2.).

The new element in the interpretation of the Quran in this and the preceding century was the very enthusiastic and independent co-operation of the Mutazilites. Of their leader Al-Jubbai, his son-in-law Ashari, at once his pupil and his opponent, complains that not once in his commentary has he referred to an older commentary but has solely relied upon the promptings of his heart and those of his demon[2]. But, again, the orthodox refused to follow the lead of this very Ashari because they persisted in literal interpretation of " doubtful " passages[3]. The Mutazilite philologer Ali Ibn Isa el-Rummani (d. 385/995) wrote a commentary on the Quran. Sahib ibn Abbad (d. 385/995) on being questioned, if he, too, had written one, replied : ' Ali ibn Isa had left nothing for him to do' [4].

The Mutazilite Nakkas[5] who died at Baghdad in 351/962 and who ' lied in tradition ' composed a commentary of 12,000 leaves. Abu Bakr of Edfu (d. 388/998)[6] wrote one in 120 volumes. In the following century, however, he was outstripped by the Mutazilite Abdus-Salam al-Qazwini (d. 483/1090) who commented upon the Quran in 300 volumes of which seven dealt only with the sura *Fateha*[7]. We obtain an idea of the method of this school from the fact that the Mutazilite Ubaidullah al-Azdi (d. 387/997) collected together 120 different views concerning the meaning of ' in the name of God the merciful and compassionate'[8]. Hitherto no Muslim sect had disregarded the Quran. For all it was the central armoury

(1) For instance, vol. I, 58 'on *Predestination*.' (2) Spitta, *el-Ashari*, 128. (3) Goldziher, ZDMG, 41, p. 59. According to Ibn Khaldun, *Hist. Berb.* 1,299. (4) Ahmed ibn Yahya, ed. Arnold, 65 ; Suyuti, *Mufasserin*, 30. (5) *Fihrist*, 33 ; Yaqut, vi. 496. (6) Suyuti, *Husnul Muhadherah*, 1,233. (7) Suyuti, *de interp. Corani*, 19 ; Subki (*Tabaqat* III, 230) speaks of 700 volumes. (8) Suyuti, *de interp. Corani*, 22. In Mutazalite exegesis its enemy Ibn Kutaibah can only cavil at trifles. (*Mukhtalif, el-hadith*, 80 ff.).

to draw weapons from for warfare and, thus, like all holy books, it had to suffer from a great deal of exegetic subtlety. The Sufis and Shiahs, notorious as *Ahl ta' wilat*, freely used the tried method of allegory[1]. Everywhere the Shiites detected personal allusions: By the "Cow" which God ordered the Jews to sacrifice, Ayesha was meant[2] and the Gods Jibt and Tagut[3] were none else than Muawiya and Amr ibn al-As.[4]

The scientifically-trained like Abu Zaid al-Balkhi (d. 322/934), who had studied philosophy, astronomy, medicine, natural sciences under Al-Kindi at Baghdad stood in the opposite camp. In his letters on the *Nazm el-Quran* (composition of the Quran) he takes the words in their literal sense[5]. In his enquiry into the allegories he arrived at such negative conclusions that a highly-placed Karmathian withdrew the pension he had hitherto paid him[6].

Even philology had become so exacting then as to set up a special ecclesiastical vocabulary different from the common usage[7]. And the entire school of the *Zahirites* emphasised the literal interpretation of Law and preeminently of the Quran, as their main principle. But for obvious reasons none of them embarked upon a commentary of the Quran. The literal interpretation of the Quran had as little attraction for Muslims then as it has today.

Arab, Jewish and Christian legends of the Quran and the tradition were indeed a notable field of fierce controversy[8]. There theology was confronted with miracles — *recognizing only the Pre-Islamic Prophets as real miracle-workers.* And so it is that the most conspicuous Quranic scholar of his time Ahmad eth-Tha'labi (d. 427/1036) composes as his most important work his '*Histories of the Prophets*[9]'.

To some miracles were the most cherished possessions of their faith. They would much rather have the history of the camel that flew than of the camel that walked or much sooner hear of a false vision than of an established fact[10].

(1) Goldziher, *Zahiriten*, 132. (2) Sura, 2,63. (3) Sura, 4,54. (4) Ibn Kutaiba, *Mukhtalif el-hadith*, 84. (5) *Irshad*, 1, 148. The book is not mentioned in the *Fihrist*. (6) *Fihrist*, 138. (7) Goldziher, *Zahiriten* 134. (8) Suyuti, *Mufassarin*. (9) Already Abu Rajah (d. 335/946) composed a poem of 30,000 verses on the '*History of the World and of the Prophets.*' Abul Mahasin, II, 319; Subki II, 108 (10) Sura, 34, V. 2.

Whereas others rejected them *a priori* and yet others transformed them into amazing allegories.

The famous physician Al-Razi about 300/912 wrote on the other hand a book on the " Impostures of Prophets ". Mutahhar does not even once dare to refer to its contents for it corrupts, says he, the heart, weans it from piety and fosters hatred towards the Prophets[1].

The conjunction of the Quran and reason yielded precisely the same amusing result as we find in the exegesis of the Protestant Rationalism.

We must, for God's sake, even deny that in the ' Flood ' innocent children were drowned. It was suggested that for 15 years before the ' Flood ' God had sealed the womb of every woman so that the evil fate might only overtake the guilty. Another looked upon the Ark of Noah merely as a symbol of his religion and the 950 years of life, which the Quran credits him with, as the duration of his preaching. Another contended that the wonderful She-Camel which came out of a mountain to the Prophet Saleh was merely a symbol of a specially compelling proof. A third shrewdly hinted that the Prophet had concealed the camel in the mountain and simply fetched her out. A fourth made a yet more lively suggestion ; namely, that the camel stood for a man and a woman[2]. Others maintained that Abraham who, according to the Quran, remained unscathed in a burning oven, had smeared himself with a fire-proof oil and referred to similar tricks among the Indians[3]. Of the birds Ababil, which drove the advancing Abyssinians back with stones from Mekka—a widespread explanation was that they perished by reason of the fruit, water and climate of Yaman[4]. The ' spring of melted metal ' which God caused to flow for Solomon[5] was explained away as Solomon's mining activity. The famous hoopoe which Solomon missed at the review[6] was put down as the name of a man, the talking ants[7] as timid, the demons as proud, powerful, crafty men who acknowledged his sway.

The only miracles, outside the Quran, which systematic theology took notice of, were miracles of the Prophet. Though disowned by the Quran—yet the traditions of the 3rd/9th century reckoned some two hundred of them[8]. The rationalists, however, interpreted them in the light of

(1) Mutahhar, IV, 113. (2) Mutahhar, III, 22 ; IV, 44. (3) Mutahhar, III, 56. (4) Mutahhar, III, 189. (5) Sura, 34 V. 2. (6) Sura, 27, V. 18. (7) Sura 27, V. 18. (8) Mutahhar, IV, 112 f.

reason. Thus the enemies, surrounding the house of the Prophet, were blinded not in point of fact but by rage and hate and so did not notice his escape. Nor yet did the devil himself personally oppose the Prophet in the council-house at Mekka but a man with devilish disposition[1].

Even good Muslims, in cultured circles, who professed to accept these miracles, did not do so in good faith.

In 355/966 Mutahhar el-Makdisi composed his '*Creation and History*' specially to defend Islam against the all-too-credulous story-tellers and the unbelieving doubters. He is never weary of re-iterating that only the Revelation and trustworthy traditions are binding upon him. Nevertheless we note his joy when he succeeds in justifying a miracle before the Bar of Reason, " mother of all sciences ". To those who consider the assumption of Enoch to heaven, related by tradition, impossible he thus replies : there are more wonderful things still, for instance, the cloud sailing in the sky and the Earth, standing firm, despite its weight[2].

To those who deny the possibility of Jona's history, namely, of a living person existing in the womb of an animal—he puts forward the case of an embryo, living and breathing in the mother's womb[3].

And again he shows his secret satisfaction in the rationalistic explanation of Prophetic miracles by giving enthusiastic assent to the view that the very same phenomenon may be a miracle at one time and not so at another. He specially refers to the Quran as one such instance of relative miracle, admitting thereby that, in other times, such a performance may be within human reach and accomplishment. And thus he strays into assertions which Muslims can only regard as the assertions of a crazed heretic[4].

The Prophet is reported to have promised : ' God will, at the beginning of every century, send a man from my house to make their religion clear to them.'

The later savants have drawn up a list of these ' revivalists ' (Mujaddidun), of whom each must have been born at the beginning of his century. (The text has ' died ' but the meaning is evidently 'born').

About the year 400/1010 the choice lay between three candidates of equal worthlessness. In 300/912 the only one whose claim could be seriously entertained was Ashari

(1) Mutahhar, IV, 163. (2) Mutahhar, III, 14. (3) Mutahhar, III, 116. (4) Mutahhar, IV, 164.

(d. 324/936)[1]. This indeed, indicates impoverishment in the domain of official theology; representing the most acute intellects of the day. The Mutazilites, then, raised all kinds of problems. As a sect they were as little opposed to the Sunnis *then* as were the Shiahs. This opposition does not come to light till the 5th/11th century[2]. Not unlike the Sufis, their difference with the majority of the faithful in the 4th/10th century was still a purely theological difference[3]. In religious rites they, for the most part, followed the orthodox school. And yet there were Shiite Mutazilites like the Zaidites and even Alids like Da'i Abu Abdullah— a pupil of Abu Abdullah el-Basri[4]. Other famous Shiite Mutazilites were Rawendi and the philologer Rummani (d. 384/994)[5]. Their masters were almost all Persians who had emigrated to Mesopotamia or had settled down in Isfahan. Jubbai (d. 303/915) has even written a commentary on the Quran in Persian. Their central theme was theology in a narrow sense; at its inception, the relation of God to the good and evil in the world[6] —in other words, the *doctrine of Predestination*, which had an intense fascination for the Zarathustrian cast of mind. The leading Mutazilite chief of the time, Ibn al-Hudail el-Allaf, is said to have celebrated his greatest dialectic triumph actually against the Magians[7]. At the end of the 3rd/9th century Mutazilism produced the most doughty champion of the dualistic view—Ibn al-Rawendi—who most violently opposed his own sect and was ultimately denounced to Government[8].

In the 4th/10th century, at least in Isfahan[9], neither the Mutazilites nor the Sufis could escape the fate of being attached to Ali as their founder[10]. Khawrezmi even expressly states that the Mutazilites (the Sufis also claimed him) were devoted to the Church-father Hasan of Basra with the same love and devotion as the Shiahs were to Ali, the Zaidites to Zaid, and the Imamites to the Mahdi[11]. There were also stray influences of Gnostic

(1) Goldziher *Zur Charakteristik es-Suyutis*, SWA, Vol. 69, 8 ff. People also held different views on the question whether there should be only one reformer in every century or one in every branch (of learning). Dhahabi held the latter opinion and placed, in the fourth century, Ibn-Suraij at the head of Jurisprudence, Ashari at the head of theology, and Nasa'i at the head of tradition. Subki, *Tabaqat*, II, 89. (2) Ibn Hazm, *Milal*, II, 111. (3) Mutahhar, 1, 13. (4) Ahmed Ibn Yahya, *Kit. el-milal*, ed. Arnold, 63. (5) Suyuti, *Mufassirin*, p. 74. (6) Spitta, *Ashari*, 87. (7) Ahmad ibn Yahya, 26 f. (8) Ahmed ibn Yahya ed. Arnold, 53 f. (9) Ibid, 61 f. (10) Arnold, 5 f. (11) Yatimah, IV, 120.

speculations such as the theories of the first creation and of the Logos Demiurgos[1].

In the 4th/10th century there were but few who[2] speculated on sin and predestination; the outstanding topic then was the unity and attributes of God.

The advancement, in the domain of speculation, must be ascribed to the influence of Greek philosophy which in the 3rd/9th century caused a lively ferment[3]. But it is to be noted that its definite influence manifests itself only upon the higher stratum of the *Mutakallimun* (theologians), upon such as An-Nazzam and Jahiz; nor is its influence absent from Christian theology which, throughout this period, busies itself with the purification of the conception of God[4]. In making this very question, namely, the question of the purification of the conception

(1) Ibn Hazm, *Milal*, IV, 197.

(2) Ibn Hazm, *Milal*, II, 112. Those few who gnawed still at the old bone 'free-will' were called 'Qadarites.' The significance of this word is not easy to explain. For ibn Kutaiba (*Mukhtalif*, p. 98) the 'Qadarites' are the supporters of the doctrine of free-will who "appropriate all power to themselves"—their opponents being 'Jabariyyah.' But that is *lucus a non lucendo*. In the earlier days, however, the defenders of 'Predestination' were so called (Qadarites) "who place all their sins to the credit of the Almighty." (Ahmed ibn Yahya, ed. Arnold, p. 12). In the 3rd/9th century strictly speaking they taught that God had created good and the devil evil (Ibn Kutaibah *Tawil Mukhtalif el-hadith*, Cairo, 1326, p. 5; Spitta, *el-Ashari*, p. 131). For this dualism people called them, 'the Zoroastrians of Islam' (Ibn Kutaibah, 96) and related of them the old story where a Qadarite recommended Islam to one of other faith. To that recommendation he replied that he would wait until God so wished it. Thereupon the Qadarite rejoined: God wished so long ago but the devil has stood in the way. Thereupon the Jew or the Christian—whoever he was—answered: I remain with the stronger of the two (Ibn Kutaibah, 99). On account of this dualism the orthodox then called *even* the advocates of free-will "Qadarites"; while these with more etymological correctness called the orthodox so. (Ibn Kutaibah, *Mukhtalif* 97; Ibn Hazm, 1, 54). In the 4th/10th century Mukaddasi mentions the Qadariyya sect as having been absorbed into that of al-Mutazilah (Eng. tr. p. 54. text p. 37). Even Ashari places the Mutazilah and the *ahl el-Qadr* side by side (Spitta, 131). But no one with discrimination can fail to see, says Mukaddasi, the difference between the two; adding at the same time the fact that the 'Qadriyya' have been absorbed in the larger whole of the 'Mutazilah.' And yet about 400/1010 the most celebrated Mutazilite then, Abdul Jabbar, the Qadhi of Rai, will not give the appellation of the 'Qadariyya' to his school and sought to establish—naturally with the help of the sayings of the Prophet—that by the 'Qadarites' the orthodox fatalists were meant (Schreiner, ZDMG, 52, p. 509 f.).

(3) Horowitz, *uber den Einfluss der griechischen Philosophie auf die Entwicklung des kalam*, Breslau, 1909.

(4) Becker, ZA, Vol. 26,176 ff.

of divinity, the central theme of their discussions the Mutazilites not only made it the main dogma even of modern Muslim theology but gave a peculiar turn to Arab philosophy, which, with its speculations on the essence and attributes of God, has, through Spinozism, affected, Western thought.

The Mutazilites, says Ibn Hazm, have invented the term *Sifat* (attributes)—the older term being *nu'ut*, (descriptions)[1]. Mukaddasi considers subtlety, knowledge, lewdness and scoffing as the chief features of the Mutazilites[2]. That they were regarded as particularly prone to contention and disputes is palpable from their very system itself which is wholly based upon dialectic[3].

The Mutazilites say : " When the learned dispute, they are both in the right'[4]. But despite their contentious spirit they were so firmly knitted together that in the 4th/10th century " clinging one to another like Mutazilites " became a proverb[5].

These scholastics drew everything into the meshes of their speculations and " craved for all knowledge[6]. " The so-called philosophers looked slightingly down upon them ; not unlike an empirical psychologist upon the metaphysician[7]. Besides being narrow-minded the philosophers suspected the scholastics of an irreligious trend of thought, nay of positive scepticism[8]. These scholastics rejected magic, astrology, even miracles of saints. "Of this band three stand out conspicuously in the world of Islam : Jahiz, Ali Ibn Ubaid-ullah al-Lutfi, and Abu Zaid al-Balkhi[9]. Of these, Jahiz and Balkhi, the second is not known to me, were men of rare liberality and breadth of vision. In Jahiz there is more eloquence than substance ; in Balkhi, a happy union of the two. Jahiz is the Voltaire ; Balkhi (d. 322/933),[10] the more sober and the more solid, is the Alexander Humboldt of this school. Besides philosophy Balkhi studied astronomy, medicine, geography, natural sciences. He wrote a work on the Quran in which he considered—without speculation or digression—

(1) Bukhari, *Kit. al-tauhid ;* according to Goldziher, *Zahiriten*, 145 note 1. (2) p. 41 ; Eng. tr. p. 69. (3) In their hey-day Ibn Raffal (d. 355 or 365) is said to have composed the first work on the art of controversy (Jadal) ; Abulmahasin, II, 321. (4) Samarqandi, *Bustan al-arifin*, p. 15. (5) Khwarezmi, *Rasa'il*, 63. (6) Jahiz, *Kit. al-haywan*, IV, 109. (7) Goldziher, *Kit.-Ma'ani en-nafs*, AGGW, N. F. 10. p. 13 ff. (8) Goldziher, ZDMG, vol. 62, p. 2 ff ; Ahmed b. Yahya, ed. Arnold, 51. (9) Yaqut, *Irshad*, 1, 148. (10) *Irshad* 1, 142.

only the actual meaning of the words. His book of allegory caused the forfeiture of a pension which he drew from a Karmathian magnate.

Ibn Kutaibah tells us what the opponents of Jahiz thought of him. " Of all the scholastics he is strongest in this : he makes trifles great and great things trifles".

He can defend opposite propositions with equal dexterity. Now he will vindicate the pre-eminence of the black over white. Now he will fight with the Shiahs on behalf of the party of Uthman and now against the Othmanites and the Sunnites for the Shiites. Now he will exalt Ali and yet again lay him low. He composed a book adducing the reasons urged by Christians against Muslims but instead of meeting their charges he withheld proof suggesting thereby that he wanted to drive the Muslims to a corner and to cause doubt in those of weak faith. His writings are full of jokes and fun to attract youths and wine-bibbers. He ridicules the tradition[1]—as all learned men know—when he speaks of the liver of the whale which supports the earth ; of the horn of the devil, and, equally so when he asserts that the black stone was originally white, only the heathens had made it black, and that the faithful would restore its original colour when they become truly so. And in the same scoffing tone he speaks of the scroll, on which was inscribed ' the Revelation concerning Suckling '; which lay under the bed of Ayesha and was eaten up by a sheep and of other Christian and Jewish traditions such as the traditions of " the cock and the raven drinking together " " the hoopoe burying, its mother, in its head, " the history of the hymn of the frog and ' the scarf-ring of the pigeon '. And yet others which gravely offended Muslims.

Once on a Friday Thumamah, their leader, saw the people rushing in emulation to a mosque to be in time of prayer. See ' the cattle ', ' the donkeys ', he cried out and told a friend : ' what has this Arab made of men '[2].

In the 3rd/9th century the ecclesiastical circles were riven with hatred and contempt for each other. In 300/912 the Mutazilites Ashari went over to the enemy and waged war with the Mutazilites with their own weapons. And thus in the 4th/10th century the official scientific dogmatics of Islam came into being. Like every official system it was a compromise and was called the *Madhhab*

(1) Ibn Kutaibah, *Mukhtalif el-hadith*, (Cairo, 1326), pp. 71 ff.
(2) Ibn Kutaibah, *Tawil mukhtalif el-hadith*, 60.

ausat (the middle course)[1]. Ashari flattered himself on being able to reconcile the most orthodox teaching with reason and declared himself a Hanbalite. In his articles of faith he wrote : " we teach what Ahmad ibn Hanbal has taught and refuse credence to those who differ from him. He is an excellent Imam and a perfect master and through him has God revealed the truth when error got the upper hand".[2]

This notwithstanding—the Hanbalites adopted an attitude of hostility towards him[3]. With justice, Ibn al-Jauzi says, that he really always remained a Mutazilite[4]. His system had the common fate of all compromise-theology. Its prominent disciples strongly leaned towards the left—notably so Al-Baqilani (d. 403/1012) who introduced the ideas of atom, of empty space, etc., into dogmatics[5].

Another who began as his disciple but went over to the Mutazilites and became its prominent leader was Qadi Abdul Jabbar of Rai[6]. He owed his success in life to Sahib ibn Abbad but, despite this, he refused ecclesiastical benediction to him, after death, because he had died without repentance[7]. Ibn al-Athir is quite indignant over it and regards him as a type of perfidy and faithlessness. From all this it is manifest that the Mutazilites as a whole deserve but little the title of the ' Free-minded '.

During the 4th/10th century the representatives of the old Sunnah opposed the arrogant Shiahs at Baghdad. In the Provinces they made the position of the Mutazilites difficult. But though they stirred the people up against them—they met with little success in this direction. We hear, indeed, of a very few persecutions[8].

The Asharite system was not yet strong enough to stand as a rival to the Sunnah. Not until 380/900 does it at all assume any importance in Mesopotamia[9] when it has to reap the consequences thereof. The Hanbalites forbade the Khatib al-Baghdadi admission into the chief mosque at Baghdad for his Asharite leanings[10]. Under Toghril Beg the leading Asharite teachers were persecuted

(1) Spitta, *ashari*, 46. Their nearest predecessors, among the dialecticians, were the Kallabites who were now merged in the Asharites and who were reproached for their rigid doctrine of predestination. Muk, 37 (Eng. tr. p. 55). (2) Spitta, 133. (3) Spitta, 111. (4) fol. 71 b. (5) Schreiner, p. 82 according to Ibn Khaldun. (6) Ahmed b. Yahya, ed. Arnold. (7) Ibn al-Athir, IX, 72. (8) Two specially characteristic ones in Goldziher, ZDMG, 62 p. 8. (9) Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 1, 358. (10) He was consistently unjust to the Hanbalites (Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 118 b).

and banished and towards the end of the century an influential Asharite, Al-Qushairi (d. 514/1120), was compelled to leave the capital (Baghdad) on account of a riot fomented by the Hanbalites[1].

From this event Ibn Asakir dates the real split between the two parties[2]. This new theology which was destined to be the theology of Islam slowly spread over the empire. In the extreme East it entered into competition with the system of Al-Maturidi— though the two systems had much in common. But apart from this it had to fight the Hanbalites whose leader is said to have solemnly anathematised Ashari in 400/1010[3], and the Karmathians who, just at this period, denounced the Asharites to Government as those who maintained that the Prophet was dead[4].

In the west, indeed, Ashariism made its way from one cultural seat to another—Sicily, Qairwan, and Spain where their cause, at the time of Ibn Hazm, 'Praise be to God', was not in a very flourishing condition[5]. In North Africa[6] it was entirely unknown and as not introduced until about 500/1107 by Ibn Tumart[7].

At the beginning of the 5th/11th century theological differences were in a measure officially settled. In 408/1017 Caliph Al-Qadir issued an edict against the Mutazilites. He commanded them to desist from teaching their doctrines and stopped them from discussing views at variance with the orthodox Islam on pain of punishment. Of the Amirs—the newly risen Star in the East, Muhamud of Ghazni, gave effect to the command of the Caliph.

He persecuted the schismatics, killed them, banished them and had them cursed from the puplit. "*Such Cursing became this year the practice in Islam*[8]". At Baghdad a similar edict was once more issued and promulgated. In 433/1041 the very same Caliph (Al-Qadir) issued a *Confession of Faith* which was solemnly read out at Baghdad and subscribed to by the theologians in order that "one may know who is an unbeliever". This was the first official announcement of its kind. It meant the end of theology. The intelligent mind perceives in

(1) Goldziher, 9 f. (2) Spitta, *Ashari*, 111. (3) Subki, III, 117. (4) Subki, III, 54. (5) *Milal*, IV, 204. (6) Qairwan is in N. Africa—Ed. "*Islamic Culture.*" (7) Goldziher, ZDMG, 41, 30 ff. (8) Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 16, 56.

every word here the germs of age-long disputes. " It is necessary for man to know that there is one God who has no Companion, who neither begets nor is begotten, who has no equal and has accepted none as His son or companion and who has no co-ruler of the universe with him. He is the first and, as such, He has always been. He is the last for He will never cease to exist. All powerful—He needs nothing. When He wishes a thing—He has only to say—' be ' and it is there. There is no God besides Him. Living—no sleep overtakes him, no, not even a casual slumber. He gives food but does not take it Himself. He is alone and yet never feels lonely. He is friendly with none. Years age him not ! And how can they affect Him for He is, indeed, the Author of the year and time, day and night, light and darkness, heaven and earth, and all the creatures that are therein, of land and water and all that is within them and, verily, of all things, living and dead. He is the only One of his kind—there is nothing near or about Him. No space encloses Him. By His sheer power He has created every thing. He has created the throne though He does not need it. He is on the throne because He so wills it and, not like human beings, to rest on it.

He is the Director of heaven and of earth and of all things there and of all things on land and water. There is no director save him and no protector either. He controls mankind. He makes them ill and well again, makes them die or keeps them alive. But weak are created beings, Angels, Prophets, Apostles, all creatures. He is knowing through his own knowledge. Eternal and incomprehensible is He. He is the Hearer who hears and the Seer who sees. Of His attributes men only apprehend these two and none of his creatures attains them both.

He speaks but not with organs like those of human beings. Only those attributes should be ascribed to Him which He has Himself ascribed or those which His Prophets have ascribed to Him and every one of the attributes which He has himself ascribed is an attribute of His being which man should not overlook.

Man should also know : the word of God is not created. He has spoken through Gabriel and has revealed it to his Prophet. After Gabriel had heard it from Him—he repeated it to Muhammad, Muhammad to his Companions, his Companions to the community. And, therefore, mere repetition by man does not make ' the word ' created for

it is the very word of God and the word of God is not created. And 'uncreated' it remains whether repeated or retained in memory, written or heard. He who asserts that it is in any way 'created' is an unbeliever whose blood it is permissible to shed—should he refuse to repent of his error when called upon to do so.

One should also know that Faith is speech, action, and thought: Speech with the tongue, action with the *arkan* (members) and the limbs (*jawarih*). Faith may become greater or smaller—greater by obedience, smaller by refractoriness. It has different stages and divisions. The highest is the confession: 'There is no God but Allah!' Self-control is part of faith and patience is to faith what the head is to the body. Man knoweth not what is recorded about it with God and what is sealed there with Him. And for this reason precisely we say: 'He is believing if God will: and I hope, I am believing.' There is no other resource save hope. Let him not, therefore, despair because he is striving for something which lies hidden in the future. He should honestly carry out all laws and directions and do acts of supererogation for all these are part of faith. Faith never reaches an end, since supererogatory works never attain a limit.

One must love all the Companions of the Prophet. They are the best of human beings after the Prophet. The best and noblest of them after the Prophet is Abu Bakr as-Siddiq, next to him Omar ibn al-Khattab, next to Omar Othman ibn Affan, and next to Othman Ali-Ibn Abi-Talib. May God bless them and associate with them in paradise and have compassion on the souls of the Companions of the Prophet. He who slanders Ayesha has no part or lot in Islam. Of Moawiyah we should only say good things and refuse to enter into any controversy about him. We should invoke God's mercy for all. God has said: 'And they who have come after them *into the faith* say, O, our Lord, forgive us and our brethren who have preceded us in the faith, put not into our hearts ill-will against them who believe. O, our Lord! Thou verily art kind and merciful[1]'. And He said of them: We will remove what is in their breasts of rancour as brethren face to face on couches[2]. We should declare no one an unbeliever for omitting to fulfil any of the legal ordinances except the prescribed prayer; for he who neglects to pray without due cause is an unbeliever even though he does not deny

(1) Sura, 59, 10. (2) Sura 15, 47.

the duty of praying, as the Prophet said : Neglect of prayer is of unbelief, whoso neglects it is an unbeliever, and remains so until he repents and prays. And were he to die before repentance he will awake on the day of judgment with Pharaoh, Haman, and Korah. The neglect of other injunctions does not make one an unbeliever even if one is so criminal as not to admit the duty. Such are the doctrines of the Sunnah and of the community ! He who stands by them stands in the clear light of truth, is under right guidance and on the true path. For such an one we may hope for immunity from hell-fire and admission into paradise, God willing ! Some one asked the Prophet : towards whom one should be of good will ? He replied : towards God and his word, towards His prophets, towards all the faithful, high and low. And he said : Should a warning come from God to man through religion—it is but an act of God's mercy. Should he pay heed to the warning—it will be profitable to him—Should he not—it will be a witness against him. But by refusal (to pay heed) he multiplies his sins and draws down upon him the wrath of God. May God make us thankful for His favours and mindful of His mercies ! Let Him make us defenders of pious practices and let Him forgive us and all the faithful[1]".

The friendly intercourse with Christians and Jews—a toleration unparalleled in the Middle Ages—gave to Muslim theology an absolutely unmediæval appendix. Thus the science of comparative religion took its rise from an altogether untheological quarter.

Naubakhti who wrote the first important book on the subject belonged to that group which translated Greek works into Arabic[2]. The very untheological Masudi wrote two books on 'Comparative religion'[3]. Then, again, the civil servant Musabbihi (d. 420/1029), who wrote, in his own long-winded way some 3,500 leaves [4] on 'Religions and cults', was a writer with distinct worldly interests. The explanation that we can offer for this work—the only work of his dealing with religion—is his Sabian interests ; for his family came from Harran, celebrated for Sabian associations[5].

Nor must we lose sight of the fact that theologians of inquisitive turn of mind also occupied themselves with this subject. And this is abundantly manifest from the

(1) Ibn al-Jauzi, 195 f. (2) Masudi,1, 156 ; *Fihrist*, 177. (3) Masudi, 1,200 ff. (4) *Fihrist*, 92, 24. (5) Tallquist, 102.

Kit. al-milal wan-nihal (Book of sects and religions) of Abu Mansur al-Baghdadi (d. 422/1064)—a title which now comes into fashion[1]. Like a pious Muslim, the Spanish Ibn Hazm (d. 456/1064), in his similarly named work, has discussed a number of religious systems; while, in the beginning of the 5th/11th century Biruni (d. 400/1048) wrote his 'History of India' which is essentially an account of the Hindu religion from a purely scientific point of view, "not, as he says, in a spirit of opposition but with a view to bring facts to light "[2].

It is noteworthy that the 'historians of religions' were mostly men whose faith was not altogether above doubt or suspicion. Even Shahrastani is reproached for his heretical tendencies. In his preachings he is never once said to have quoted from the Quran[3].

(1) Subki, III, 239. (2) Sachau (Eng. Tr) 117. (3) Yaqut, III, 343; Goldziher SWA 73, 552.

S. KHUDA BUKHSH.

(To be continued.)

SOME ASPECTS OF MUSLIM THOUGHT

Philosophically speaking, Muslims are broadly divided into Mu'tazelites (Rationalists) and Ash'arites (Scholastics). The former follow Wâsil bin 'Ata and the latter Abû'l Hasan al-Ash'ari. Both of these schools are Islamic in essence, having grown from and around the Qur'ân and Hadîth. Some Western Orientalists, on the contrary, assert that Muslims have had no philosophy of their own and that all schools of Muslim Thought are the products of Greek theology. The refutation of this view is the object of this article. I shall discuss both Mu'tazelism and Ash'arism at some length with a view to establishing that they owed their origin and development to the Holy Book and not to Greek influence.

It is generally held by European scholars that the frequent visits of Christians to the Omeyyad Court, free religious discussion between Muslims and Christians, and the influence of Greek theology on the Muslim intelligentia of the period were the real causes of the origination and development of Rationalism in Islâm; but all they have been able to show is that the former came into existence after the Greek philosophy had spread in some parts of the East. That does not prove anything. Unless we have strong historical evidence that Muslim rationalists borrowed their theories from the Greeks or were influenced by Neo-Platonism, we have no justification for asserting that Mu'tazelism was the product of Greek philosophy.

My firm conviction is that rationalism had begun to assert itself in Islâm long before the Christians had access to the Muslim Court or discussions between different religions were allowed or Muslim scholars took to the study of Greek philosophy. The movement originated in the views expressed by some Muslim divines very soon after the death of the Prophet (in 632 A.D.) These philosophically-minded believers could have received no inspiration from Greek theology, since they knew nothing of it.

The movement was first known as " Qadr " and afterwards as " Mu'tazelism ."

As every student of Islamic History knows some of the Muslim divines after the death of the Prophet were given up to serious thought and speculation. On the one hand, a large section were occupied in the development of religious culture, another smaller section was engaged in the cultivation of a rational spirit in the Faith. Some of the best intellects of the period were busy devising ways and means to philosophise the doctrines and injunctions of Islâm. They tested the dogmas of the Faith by the touch-stone of reason.

For example, 'Ayeshah " 'Aesha ", rejected the belief that Muhammad (peace be on him) made a physical ascension (Me'râj-i-Jismani) into the heavens, no the ground that it was contrary to human reason. She believed in his spiritual ascension only. Similarly some companions of the Prophet held that " the dead cannot hear as it is against common sense." Many believed that " the dead suffer on account of the loud lamentations of the survivors ", but 'Ayeshah maintained otherwise. These instances and others of the same sort show that a section of the Prophet's companions had rationalistic views long before Islam passed beyond the confines of Arabia, and intercommunal relations among the subjects of various nationalities of the Muslim Empire were not then even conceived of. Really the seed of Rationalism was sown at the very inception of the religion of Islam, in the Qur'ân itself.

The three early sects of Islam were the " Kharijites ," the " Murjites " and the " Shî'ites ", but their differences were rather political than religious. The first school of a speculative and theological character was " Jabr " (*i.e.*, predestinarianism) which held that man's actions are forced and pre-arranged, and he has no freedom of will or action. As a counter-blast to this, a new school, " Qadr ", was founded, on the side of free will. This school developed, in the course of time, into one of the most philosophical schools of Islamic thought, Mu'tazelism. This is why Mu'tazelites were also known as " Qadris ."

The Mu'tazelites called themselves " Ahl-ul-Tauhîd-wa'l-'Adl " (partisans of Divine Unity and Justice) for reasons which I shall explain later on. In the beginning,

the school focussed its attention on the question of free will only, but later other principles were added; among them, this : " It is incumbent on every Muslim to try to enforce what is advisable and prevent what is undesirable." The further development of the school was indebted to two scholars of encyclopædic information : Wasil bin-'Ata and 'Amar bin 'Abîd. The former wrote a book in refutation of atheism, in which he advanced convincing arguments in support of the existence of God. He was perhaps the first person to declare that Muslim jurisprudence had four sources—The Qur'ân, Hadîth, Union (Ijmâ'-ul-Ummat), and Analogy.

Towards the close of the Omayyad rule, the School gained strong ground, counting many nobles of the Court including Prince Yazîd son of Al-Walîd among its members. When the Caliph Al-Walîd (125-126 A.H.) transgressed all bounds in his debauchery and drunkenness, his son Yazîd raised the banner of revolt against him. He took his stand on the Mu'tazelite principle of the enforcement of good and eradication of evil, and with a large army composed mostly of the Mu'tazelites marched against his father. The Caliph Al-Walîd was taken prisoner and killed, and Yazîd was set on the throne. With Yazîd's accession Mu'tazelism rose to power and flourished greatly. 'Amar bin 'Abîd (already mentioned) took a leading part in Yazîd's revolt.

With the advent of the 'Abbasids to power, the entire machinery of the Government underwent a change. A strong Persian element was infused into the Muslim customs and institutions as opposed to the predominance of Arab customs under the Omayyads. The second 'Abbasid Caliph, Al-Mansûr (136-158 A.H.), was very liberal in his views and encouraged freedom of thought and belief in free will, though he himself belonged to no particular school.

Al-Mansûr was the first Muslim ruler to encourage the study of foreign books on various topics. He had some philosophical and scientific works translated into Arabic. This royal patronage impaired the deep conservatism of the orthodox Muslim divines and inclined them to the study of the Mu'tazelite tenets. When they realised that their defence against foreign attacks lay in cultivation of the argumentative power on the lines of Mu'tazelism, they were constrained to follow the school in large numbers.

The school continued to thrive under the patronage of the Barmakids though Hârûn al-Rashîd himself was opposed to it. It found strong supporters in the two learned doctors, Abû'l Huzail and Ibrâhîm bin Sayyâr Nazâm[1]. The former who was the author of many books (some of which are named in the Fihrist of Ibn-un-Nadîm) did a good deal to popularise the school among Muslim thinkers. His vast knowledge of religious and philosophical subjects, his power of expression, and his method of argument seldom failed to convince even the worst enemy. The latter (*i.e.*, Nazam), a student of Abûl Huzail completed the task of his great teacher. He was well versed not only in philosophical lore but also in the study of the Scriptures of other religions.

To Mâ'mûn-al-Rashîd belongs the credit of making the Mu'tazelite school general throughout the Muslim Empire. He himself accepted its principles and doctrines and tried to enforce them. I have no desire or inclination to approve the severity with which he sought to impose Mu'tazelism ; it is indeed a blot on his reign ; nevertheless, his aim was truth and enlightenment and he did more than anybody else to extend learning and culture. He formed a great debating society, to which flocked scholars of all creeds and shades of opinion, and himself presided at the discussions. Non-Muslim scholars attacked the tenets of Islam on philosophical grounds, and Muslim divines had to study the Mu'tazelite school in order to protect the Islamic doctrines against foreign criticism. From all records of the period it appears that the Muslim rationalists invariably won the day in controversies with non-Muslim scholars.

When Caliph Hârun closed the doors of philosophical discussion, the opponents began to cast aspersion on Islam, saying that its principles did not tally with reason. The great rationalist, Mâ'mûn, put a stop to this misunderstanding by holding a debate, to which were invited leaders of all schools of thought, including Yazadan Bakht, head of the Mani Sect. Every one was free to discuss in any way he liked. Abû'l Huzail overcame all opponents, Yazdan Bakht in particular being badly defeated.

After Mâ'mûn two more Caliphs of Baghdad, Al-Mu'tasim and Al-Wâthiq, patronised the rationalistic school. Qâzi Ahmad bin Duwâd, who was a learned Mu'tazelite and who served as Chief Justice for the whole Muslim

(1) 'Ilm-ul-Kalam by Shibli.

Empire during the reign of the said two Caliphs, propagated the Mu'tazelite principles throughout his jurisdiction. In this way the school went on advancing and in the fourth century A.H. a number of Commentaries on the Qur'ân were compiled by learned Mu'tazelites, justifying the Quranic injunctions on the basis of reason.

After the death of Caliph Wâthiq, almost all the Caliphs were opposed to Mu'tazelism, and some of them persecuted the Mu'tazelites for no other fault than that they were rationalists. The repressive measures of the Government, the moderate method of scholasticism preached by Abû'l Hasan Asha'ri and the esoteric form of reasoning applied later by the Sûfîs gave such a blow to Mu'tazelism that in the course of a century and a half the school was well-nigh extinguished.

In the light of the above brief survey is there any justification for the assertion that Mu'tazelism owed its origin to Greek philosophy ? From the facts mentioned above it is clear that Muslim rationalism was born of the Holy Qur'ân, which always appeals to reason, and fostered in the Muslim atmosphere, independently of foreign influence.

Steiner holds that Mu'tazelism in its primary form arose in Islam independently of all external influences, but at a later stage was deeply influenced by Greek theology. Von-Kremer, on the other hand, maintains that Mu'tazelism was influenced even in its inception by the Christian theology. The latter view is decidedly wrong being based on questionable evidence. As for Steiner's view, my contention is that if there was any influence of Greek philosophy on Muslim rationalism it began after the latter had almost completed its development and even that influence was felt rather in the Mu'tazelite method of the treatment of the subject than in the subject itself. The Mu'tazelite school was substantially developed during the Omayyad period, when Greek philosophy was quite unknown to the Muslims. I doubt if any Muslim doctor studied Greek philosophy seriously before the 'Abbasids. Caliph Mansûr was the first who had some Greek books translated into Arabic, and it must be added that these translations were as much " Greek " to most Muslims as the originals. Nearly half a century later, during the reign of Caliph Mâ'mûn, a large number of philosophical and scientific books were rendered into Arabic. These translations were marked improvements on the previous ones, but still they were hardly comprehensible to the general Muslim intellect. They were only transformations

consisting in the mere substitution of an Arabic word for the Greek one, with little care for the sense. A few exceptional Muslim rationalists may have understood them. This state of affairs continued down to the time of Fârâbi (died 950 A.D.) who systematised the various translations of Greek philosophical works and presented them to the public in a simplified form.

All that can truly be said is that Mu'tazelism was influenced towards the very end of its time of development by Greek thought but in form only and not in spirit. The meaning was Islamic, though the form was somewhat Greek. It is clear that such influence constitutes no ground for asserting that Muslim rationalism was fostered or developed in the cradle of Hellenism, as some Orientalists would have us believe.

So much for the historical aspect ; now for the religious side.

Any one who knows anything of Islâm will admit that the great common factor of agreement among various sections of the Muslim community has always been their unshaken and unshakable belief in the integrity and sanctity of the Qur'ân. At no period of history do we come across a sect or sects who washed their hands of the Holy Book or banished it from their hearts. Doubtless, Muslims have, in all times, differed as to the interpretation of some of the verses of the Qur'ân, but there have never been two opinions among them about the Qur'ân as the sanctioning authority. Revelation has been and will ever continue to be the chief inspiration of all genuine Islâmic movements. There is no reason to suppose that Mu'tazelism was an exception to this rule. The Mu'tazelites also took their stand on the Quranic teachings. They went further. They wrote commentaries of the Qur'ân to demonstrate the rational spirit of its teachings. Kashshâf Zamakhsharî is the best of all, in which the author demonstrates that the principles of the Mu'tazelite school are all, directly or indirectly, derived from verses of the Sacred Book. The interpretations of some verses may be wrong ; but this is only a matter of opinion. It does not affect the proposition that the Mu'tazelites, like other schools of Muslim thought, looked to the Qur'ân for support.

Muslims, one and all, believe that God is the One, Eternal Being. He has no shadow of dualism in and around Him. As a corrollary to this belief, the Mu'tazelites hold that God has no attributes beyond His Being.

His Essence is self-contained and requires no separate attributes. He is essentially Powerful, essentially Merciful, essentially Great, and so forth. The argument, when clearly put, is this :—

If God is supposed to have attributes apart from His Essence, these attributes will either be co-eternal with Him or non-eternal (*i.e.*, they came into existence after the Divine Being). In the former case, two things will be eternal—God and His attributes, which means that eternity is not the sole possession or distinguishing factor of the Supreme Being. And this is incompatible with those verses of the Qur'ân which, in unmistakable terms, declare that God is the only Eternal Being ; *e.g.*, " And ever-lasting is the Essence of your Lord, possessor of greatness and eminence[1]." In the latter case it will have to be admitted that there was a time when God had no attributes, and that He possessed them afterwards, which means that He was in the beginning less qualified (or imperfect) and became more qualified (or perfect) at a later stage : which is absurd, and against the verses of the Qur'ân which clearly signify that the Godhead with all its implications has ever been and will ever continue to be perfect and unchangeable, *e.g.*, " You will never find a change in the ways of God[2]." The perfection of God makes it impossible for Him to change.

The Mu'tazelites believed that man had free will and liberty of action. He can lead a virtuous or vicious life. He can, if he so wills, rise to the highest of the high ; and he can, if he so wills, sink to the lowest of the low. This belief has been derived from those verses of the Holy Book which ascribe the origination and responsibility of human actions to man himself ; such as " Whoever acts virtuously, does so for himself ; and whoever acts viciously, does so for himself[3]," " Nothing belongs to man save what he strives for[4], " " Every soul is a pledge for its own works[5]." These and other similar verses become meaningless, so argue the Mu'tazelites, if free will is denied to man. If man is powerless, with no liberty of volition, and if every action, good or bad, is forced on him by a pre-arranged divine decree, the idea of human responsibility is simply preposterous. Privilege and

(1) 26th verse, Chap. LV.
(2) 62nd verse, Chap. XXXIII.
(3 XLI. 46.
(4) LIII. 40.
(5) LXXIV. 41.

responsibility go side by side. One cannot exist without the other. If man is not privileged to do anything himself, he cannot be supposed to have any responsibility for his actions. The problem of reward and punishment is easy of solution if we admit that man has got some share in self-determination.

Reason is the true criterion of good and evil. This question has agitated the minds of thinkers in all ages. As among others, so among the Muslims, opinions differed as to the criterion of good and evil. Let us first adjust the meaning of the terms. The Muslim scholars have interpreted them in the following three senses :—

(1) Good and evil are synonymous with " Merit and Defect ; " *i.e.*, when we say that a certain action is good or bad, we mean that it is a meritorious or defective action.

(2) Good and evil correspond to " Profit and loss " ; *i.e.*, when we refer to an action as good or bad, we mean that it leads to profit or loss.

(3) Good and evil are identical with " Rewardable and Punishable ; " *i.e.*, by a good action we mean one that merits praise and reward, and by a bad action we mean one which deserves condemnation and punishment.

The terms " Good and evil " in the first two senses are unanimously admitted to come within the purview of Reason. Difference of opinion among the Muslims is confined to the third meaning only. The Ash'arites hold that it is Revelation which draws a line of demarcation between what commands admiration and reward and what invites disapproval and punishment. The arguments for this view will be explained when I come to Ash'arism.

The Mu'tazelites, on the other hand, maintain that it is only Reason which leads us to differentiate between those actions which are commendable and rewardable and those which are condemnable and punishable. Revelation only confirms what Reason dictates. The argument may be summed up as follows :—When it is agreed that the terms " good and evil " in the first two senses are to be understood in the light of reason, there is no reason to make a difference in the third interpretation. Every act that is profitable or merited must be praised and rewarded, and every act that is harmful or defective must be despised and punished. In the second place, it is

through reason that we understand the worth of Revelation and believe in the sanctity of religion. God has, by an appeal to our reason, urged on us the necessity and propriety of believing in His Existence and following His commands. The verses of the Qur'ân emphatically prove that our reason itself is the safe guide and sole arbitrator in respect of what is good and what is bad. It is by the aid of reason that we recognise the inimitable and divine character of the Qur'ân. The Holy Book very often appeals to reason, reflection and understanding, as when it says: There are signs in this for a people who understand[1], who reflect[2], who listen[3], who ponder[4], who are righteous[5], and so on. The Qur'ân directs us to give up blind adherence to ancestral beliefs and practices and adopt the right course dictated by reason. Now, if reason does not help us in shaping our judgment, the Qur'ânic appeal to human intellect becomes meaningless.

The Mu'tazelites, therefore, maintain that every human act has some inherent merit or demerit, which entitles its doer to admiration and reward or indignation and punishment, as the case may be. Truth is good and rewardable, not because religion commends it, but because the merit inherent therein exalts it. Falsehood is bad and punishable, not because it has been condemned by revelation, but because it is censured by common sense. The Mu'tazelites believe that the Qur'ân only confirms the dictates of reason, dispersing thereby any doubts or misgivings that might linger in wavering minds.

All Muslim scholars believe that God does not saddle His creatures with impossible tasks ; but they differ with regard to its possibility, *i.e.*, whether He *can* or *cannot* issue such commands. The Mu'tazelites hold that God cannot entrust man with such tasks as are beyond man's power, nor can He impose on him an obligation which man, by his nature, is unable to fulfil. Doubtless, God is to command and man is to obey ; but, then, there is a limit on either side. As man cannot aspire to a thing which is beyond his reach, so the Supreme Being also cannot issue orders which man cannot carry out.

The reason for holding this view is quite clear. God would cease to be Wise and Beneficent, if He, knowing

(1) XXX. 24.
(2) XXI. 24.
(3) XVI. 65.
(4) XVI. 67.
(5) X. 6.

the limitations of human capacity, should desire to tax it too heavily. Such over-taxation is unreasonable, and incompatible with the All-Wisdom of the Deity. The Qur'ân again and again says that the Lord of the Universe is Just, Wise and Merciful. Needless to say that one who is the essence of justice, wisdom, mercy and all that is noblest, cannot be supposed to issue impossible commands. The Qur'ân says "Verily, God does not impose any task on the soul but to the extent of its capacity[1]"; "We do not impose any task on the soul, but to the extent of its capacity and our book speaks the truth; and they will not be oppressed[2]." The spirit of such verses clearly shows that He cannot over-tax His creations. Such orders would be acts of cruelty, and God says, "Verily God does not oppress even to the weight of an atom[3]."

The Mu'tazelites maintain that it is impossible for God to act irrationally or undesirably. Godhead with all that it stands for makes it ridiculous to suppose that He can ever act in a way which does not tally with reason. When we all agree that He is the very incarnation of purity and wisdom, the very essence of all that is holy and great, we cannot imagine for a single moment that He can ever act in a wrong way. Verses from the Qur'ân can be cited in great number, signifying that He is free from all defects.

The Ash'arites hold that God will never act against reason, but that He can if He will. The Mu'tazelites deny even the possibility of the Divine Being acting irrationally or undesirably on the ground that such sort of possibility tends to attribute lack of sense or responsibility to the Godhead, the Essence of Perfection. The Qur'ân says "He is Wise and Omniscient,[4]" "Verily, your Lord is Omniscient, Wise[5]."

No act of the Deity can be supposed to be aimless. He cannot do anything which does not serve some useful purpose. The Mu'tazelites have received their inspiration on the question from those verses of the Scripture which invite the attention of human beings to the variety of creatures and the purposes they serve. One quotation will be enough. The Qur'ân says, "In the Creation of the heaven and earth, in the alternation of day and night, in

(1) 285th verse, Chap. II.
(2) 60th verse, Chap. XXIII.
(3) 39th verse, Chap. IV.
(4) XV. 10.
(5) XII. 6.

the ships which sail in the sea to benefit the people, in the rain-water which God sendeth quickening again the dead earth, and in the change of winds and clouds, balanced between heaven and earth, are signs for the people of understanding[1]. "

Moreover, when God is Omniscient, it does not stand to reason to suppose that He can act without an aim or object. The Lord is Supreme Intelligence, All-comprehensive Wisdom, and we cannot imagine that He can ever do a thing which is not calculated to produce a desirable effect.

Every action must take its natural course. God must reward the virtuous and punish the wicked. He cannot do otherwise. He cannot reverse the order of nature. It is impossible for Him to reward the evil-doers or punish the righteous. The reason is evident. God has stated in His Book that He will favour the virtuous with rewards and blessings and punish the wicked, and it is unthinkable that He can violate His own predictions. Even a possible breach of promise on the part of the Supreme Being is preposterous and against the admitted tenets of Islâm. The Qur'ân says, " Never think that God will violate the promises He made to His prophets. Verily God is powerful and able to requite[2] "; " Verily God does not break His promise[3]. "

Besides, Divine reward and punishment form the basis of the Islâmic teaching. To suppose that He can reverse the laws of nature or the usual course of action, is practically to pull down the pillars on which the external structure of Islâmic life rests. I leave it to the judgment of the reader to decide whether Mu'tazelism was a product of Greek philosophy or was an expansion of the rationalistic elements inherent in the Qur'ân and Hadîth.

Ash'arism has rightly been characterised as a reactionary movement against Mu'tazelism. From the first rise of the rationalistic school in Islâm, a section of the community, chiefly composed of divines, had viewed it with suspicions and disfavour. They contended that the Mu'tazelite doctrines were too high for the general Muslim public, and apprehended that the masses with uncultured brains might be led to the conclusion that religion was no longer binding and that they might rid themselves of its control at their sweet will. The apprehension may have

(1) II. 164.
(2) XIV. 48.
(3) XIII. 31.

been ill-founded, but it was genuine enough. They, therefore, sought to start a movement suited to the generality as against one which was suited only to the cultured and refined.

To this reaction impetus was given by the persecution to which non-rationalist scholars were subjected by the authorities during the reigns of Mâ'mûn and his immediate successors. Mâ'mûn, a most cultured ruler was a zealous persecutor. It is a great blot on his character that he did not allow his co-religionists of other schools that freedom of thought and action which he advocated intellectually. Not only was he intolerant of those who held views contrary to his own, but he took vigorous steps to stamp them out. Scarcely was there any measure which he left untried for the elimination of other schools than Mu'tazelism from Islam. Mâm'ûn may have been inspired by good motives; but as a free-thinker himself he ought to have allowed free thinking. The result of all this coercion and repression was what might have been expected in the circumstances. Repression has never suppressed human thought. Mâ'mûn's strong measures, far from producing the desired effect, ended only in defeating his object.

To these two factors should be added a third *viz.*, a group of scholars with wide knowledge and sympathetic hearts came forward with a mission of compromise. To put a stop to the dissensions in the Muslim ranks, they started a society of brotherhood with the object of harmonising various schools of Islam. They worked out their scheme privately to avoid the displeasure of one section or another. These Brethren of Purity (or Ikhwân-us-Safâ, as they were called) were peace-makers and exerted their energies in reconciling Reason with Revelation. With that object in view, they composed a large number of treatises (estimated at 51) on burning topics of the day, and circulated them among Muslims of all shades of opinion. These pamphlets did a good deal to produce an atmosphere of friendship and good will. The chief merit of these treatises consisted in levelling up the conservatism of the theologists and levelling down the high thinking of the Mu'tazelites to a point where they could meet[1]. These books have been translated into German by Dicterici.

(1) The second treatise mentions the chief object of the Compilers thus:—The early Philosophers composed many works on various sciences, such as, Medicine, Mathematics, Astrology, Physics, etc. These works produced different results. A body (of Muslims) opposed them

While these three factors were operating for a reactionary movement, one Abû'l Hasan al-Ash'ari (descended from Abû Mûsa Al-Ash'ari who had been appointed an arbitrator on behalf of the Khalîfah 'Ali in the battle of Siffin) a disciple of the last great Mu'tazelite teacher Al-Jabbâ'i, renounced Mu'tazelism in his fortieth year and offered himself as a champion of the Orthodox cause. He was born in 260 or 270 A.H. at Basra, and was trained in the Mu'tazelite camp. He grew a staunch supporter of his teacher's views, but being once dissatisfied with his (Al-Jabbâi's) answer to one of his questions, he deserted to the hostile camp. The question and answer may briefly be stated thus :—

" Ash'ari proposed to Jabbâ'i the case of three brothers, one of whom was a true believer, virtuous and pious ; the second an infidel, a debauchee and a reprobate ; and the third an infant : they all died, and Ash'ari wished to know what had become of them. To this Jabbâ'i answered : " The virtuous brother holds a high station in Paradise ; the infidel is in the depths of Hell, and the child is among those who have obtained salvation. " "Suppose now," said Ash'ari, " that the child should wish to ascend to the place occupied by his virtuous brother, would he be allowed to do so ? " " No, " replied Jabbâ'i " it would be said to him : ' Thy brother arrived at this place through his numerous works of obedience towards God, and thou hast no such works to set forward.' " " Suppose then," said Ash'ari, " that the child says : ' That is not my fault ; you did not let me live long enough, neither did you give me the means of proving my obedience.' " " In that case ", answered Jabbâ'i, " the Almighty would say : ' I knew that if I had allowed thee to live, thou wouldst have been disobedient and incurred the severe punishment (of Hell) ; I therefore acted for thine advantage. ' " " Well ", said Ash'ari " and suppose the infidel brother were to say : ' O God of the universe : since you knew what awaited him, you must have known what awaited me ; why then did you act for his advantage

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owing to their ignorance or inability to understand the ideas discussed in them. Another body studied them, but on account of their incomplete education they began to disbelieve in the injunctions of religion and look upon religious questions with contempt. Our Brethren of Purity aim at making the two points meet, and have therefore composed these 51 treatises, in which the religion of Islam and philosophical learning have been elucidated.

and not for mine ?" Jabbâ'i had not a word to offer in reply[1]."

Abû'l Hasan Al-Ash'ari, after renouncing Mu'tazelism, started the scholastic school known after him as Ash'arism. He had this advantage that he had assimilated all the learning the Mu'tazelites could impart to him and mastered their logic, philosophy and science of reasoning. This vast learning he directed, after conversion, against those very persons who had furnished him therewith.

During the time under review two schools of Islam were prominent—Mu'tazelism (Rationalism) on the one hand and Sifâtism (Attributism) on the other. Al-Ash'ari began his scheme by attempting a compromise between the views of the two schools. He declared that the Attributes of the Deity are Co-eternal with Him, and that these Attributes are neither included in His Essence (as the Mu'tazelites believe) nor excluded from His Essence. Similarly on the question of free will, he took the intermediate course. The Sifâtis, like the predestinarians, held that all actions are predestined by God and man has no liberty of action. Man is only a tool in the hands of the Almighty who forces him to do whatever He has predestined him to do. The Mu'tazelites maintained that human actions are free and man is wholly responsible for all that he does. Ash'ari, as a midway between the two views, taught that human actions are no doubt predestined by the Supreme Being, but man has got some subordinate power which enables him to finish his actions in the way assigned by God. Every action is pre-arranged by the Deity to be performed by a particular person who with some power of appropriation or acquisition (Kasb) of his own does it. Thus we see that the origination of an action has nothing to do with man, but its completion is partially due to his ability.

In this way Al-Ash'ari founded his school on the basis of compromise between Rationalism and Attributism or between Heterodoxy and Orthodoxy. In the beginning he and his followers were opposed both by the Mu'tazelites and the Orthodox Muslims. The followers of the four theological sects were also suspicious of the religious character of the new movement. Sultân Taghril, founder of the great Seljuk dynasty, who was a follower of Imâm Abû Hanîfa, banished all the Ash'arites from his empire ;

(1) Prof. R. A. Nicholson's Literary History of the Arabs (page 377)—for the original refer to Ibn Khalekân.

and his minister Abû Nasr Mansûr, a Mu'tazelite, persecuted a good many scholars of Ash'arite tendency. This dual persecution of Ash'arism was, however, short-lived.

Al-Ash'ari began his creed with the following declaration :—

That the Qur'ân, and every part of it, is uncreated and eternal ; that every thing in earth and heaven, good or bad, comes into existence by the Will of the Supreme Intelligence ; that man is unable to originate or create anything without the initiative of God ; that God will revive the dead on the Day of Judgment ; and that God will appear to human sight on the Day of Resurrection.

As the above views of Ash'ari conformed to those generally held by the followers of the four schools of theology, a large number of divines and theologians rallied to him. They saw in him an instrument for overthrowing Rationalism and regaining their hold over the masses of the people. The acceptance of Ash'arism by the divines *en masse* and its subsequent patronage by Sultân Alp Arslan and his celebrated minister Nizâm-ul-Mulk, greatly facilitated its expansion and progress all over the Muslim world. It has never since lost its hold over the Muslim conscience, and the majority of Sunnis even now adhere to the Ash'arite doctrines.

The task of tracing the Ash'arite teachings to the Qur'ân and Hadîth is comparatively easy. Ash'arism, as stated above, was a reactionary movement against Mu'tazelism—a reaction of Revelation against Reason. Nevertheless, it must clearly be understood that Ash'arism did not seek to suppress reason, it only tried to reconcile it with revelation. Far from discouraging the progress of reasoning, Al-Ash'ari invented the " Science of Reason " (*'Ilm-ul-Kalam*), which should, however, be distinguished from that Science of Reason which was started by the Mu'tazelites to meet the arguments of the non-Muslim Philosophers. The *'Ilm-ul-Kalam* established by the Ash'arites aimed at compromising between Reason and Revelation by necessary adjustments and Reconciling the dictates of reason with the dogmas of religion.

The real difference between Mu'tazelism and Ash'arism does not consist, as often supposed, in the fact that the former stands for reason and the latter is against it. As a matter of fact, both the creeds seek to utilise reason for what it is worth in their own way ; but Mu'tazelism gives prominence to Reason, while Ash'arism attaches

first importance to Revelation. The Ash'arites do not believe in the absolutism of reason as the Mu'tazelites do.

I now proceed to enumerate some of the important doctrines of Ash'arism and to show that, like all genuine Islamic movements, its doctrines are all derived directly or indirectly from the Qur'ân, and not from any foreign source.

The attributes of God are eternal. They are not merely His Essence, as the Mu'tazelites hold, but in one sense included in, and in the other excluded from, His Essence. God is Wise, not as to His Being and God is merciful, not as to His Being (as the Mu'tazelites maintain); but be cause He has got the qualities of wisdom and mercy distinct from His Being or Essence. Essence and Attributes are two different things, and they cannot be one and the same in the case of the Supreme Being.

The Ash'arite theory on the question is " La'aîna wa la ghaira " (*i.e.*, neither wholly included nor wholly excluded). The theory may mean that attributes are both included in, and excluded from, His Essence. So far as the Conception of attributes is concerned, they are external to Godhead ; and so far as their application is concerned they are inherent in the Divine Essence. Hence there is no self-contradiction in the theory.

The Ash'arite argument may briefly be stated thus. In the first place our common sense draws a line of demarcation between an essence and its attributes, and we cannot conceive that this difference will ever disappear. The denotations and connotations of an essence are not the same as those of an attribute, nor *vice versa*. Hence we cannot suppose that essence and attributes are so blended in the Divine Being that we cannot say which is which. Besides, it passes our understanding that His Being itself performs the functions of attributes, or that He is Omniscient, not because He has the quality of omniscience, but by virtue of His Being itself.

In the second place, if we believe that all attributes of God are inherent in His Essence, the Divine Essence must be a homogeneous combination of contradictory qualities. For example, the Qur'ân says that God is Merciful and also Revengeful. The Divine Essence, when merciful, is clearly distinct from His Essence, when revengeful ; and this involves an affirmation of a multiplicity of eternal entities ; while the Qur'ân in the strongest terms

possible disperses all shadow of pluralism regarding the Supreme Being. Even remote possibility of plurality or duality in the Godhead is incompatible with the Islamic conception of God.

Again, if Attributes of God are not distinct from His Essence, the sense of His knowledge and the sense of His mercy, for example, will be exactly the same, for the Divine Essence is a simple and unchangeable Entity. This is obviously against common sense. It is clear to the meanest understanding that the idea conveyed by knowledge is different from that conveyed by mercy. Hence, so argue the Ash'arites, the safe course is to believe that God's Essence is one entity, free from all possibilities of duality or plurality, but that His Attributes which are many and varied are not included in His Essence. Essence is one, Attributes are many ; but one is distinct from the other, and so the question of possible multiplicity does not arise.

God's power is supreme over the affairs of earth and heaven. He speaks by an eternal Word and wills by an eternal Will. He, being the Supreme Sovereign, commands and prohibits as He deems fit. Man has got no free-will, no liberty of action ; but he has been given some subordinate power of appropriation or acquisitiveness. Every action is pre-arranged by the Divine Being to be performed by a particular person, who, with the intention to finish it, does it. It is this intention on the part of man which makes him responsible for his deeds. Man cannot take initiative in any matter, he cannot originate any action. But the completion of a business is partially due to his merit.

The Ash'arite theory may better be understood in comparison with the Mu'tazelite theory on the subject. The Mu'tazelites maintain that human actions are free and man is wholly responsible for what he does. The main argument is that if man is not granted freedom of volition and if every action is forced on him by a predestined Divine Decree, it would be a simple act of injustice on the part of the Disposer to reward some and punish others. The argument is quite sound and stands to reason. But if we go deeply into the matter, we find that this argument is, more or less, liable to the same objection which is advanced against the Ash'arites who deny liberty of action to man. If the Ash'arites, by denying the freedom of human actions, are charged with the affirmation of the injustice of God, the Mu'tazelites also cannot be acquitted

of the charge altogether. The Mu'tazelites, like other Islamic sects, believe that God knows in advance every thing that happens in the world. He knows full well that some persons will apply their inherent powers on the wrong side, and then knowingly He endows them with those powers. Why does He confer powers and privileges on those persons who, He knows for certain, will abuse them and ruin themselves ?

Thus we see that the charge of the affirmation of injustice of God, which is so conveniently laid at the doors of the Ash'arites, can also apply, though in a lesser degree, in the case of the Mu'tazelites.

The fact is that freedom of human action has been a vexed question from the beginning of creation to the present day. It has agitated human minds in all ages and in all countries but, despite the various solutions advanced from time to time, it remains a vexed question.

Some verses of the Qur'ân assert the absolutism of the Divine will and pre-arrangement of human actions, *e.g.*, " And God's ordering is in accordance with a fixed decree[1]," " God is sovereign Disposer of all things[2]," " God creates what He will[3]," " Verily, God accomplishes what He ordains—He hath established for every thing a fixed decree[4]," " You do not wish unless God wishes[5]."

These verses, and their number, can easily be multiplied, clearly prove that man has got no freedom of will or liberty of action. The Ash'arites interpret in a different way those verses which signify that human actions are free. They say that the Qur'ân ascribes some actions to human energy, not in the sense that they really originate from it, but in the sense that their completion is partially due to human efforts. It is owing to the power of appropriation which man exercises to complete his work that the Qur'ân rhetorically ascribes some actions to human ability.

The Mu'tazelites hold that Reason is the sole criterion of " good and evil " in all the three senses *i.e.*, (1) merit and defect, (2) profit and loss (3) commanding praise and reward and inviting disapprobation and punishment. The Ash'arites agree with them to the question of the Criterion so far as the first two senses are concerned. It is the

(1) 36th Verse, Chap. XXXVIII.
(2) 17th Verse, Chap. XXIX.
(3) 24th Verse, Chap. XLV.
(4) 65th Verse, Chap. III.
(5) 20th Verse, Chap. LXXVI.

third interpretation of the terms only which is the bone of contention between the two schools.

The Ash'arites assert that reason doubtless leads us to distinguish between what action is sound and what is defective, and between what is profitable and what is harmful; but it does not always help us to know what actions will surely entitle us to praise and reward in the next world and what deeds will involve us in condemnation and punishment. It is only the religion we profess that can say how and by what means we can win the pleasure of the Deity, and how we incur His displeasure; and rewards and punishments are only consequences of the Divine pleasure and wrath.

The reason for holding this view is that there are some commandments and prohibitions which apparently do not tally with common reason, though their integrity is unquestionable in the eyes of the Believers. For example, prayer to the Deity is universally admitted to be a commendable thing, but it is forbidden at certain times. Fasting is decidedly a means of spiritual perfection, but it is prohibited on certain days of the year. How can our reason alone, unaided by revelation, enable us to differentiate between one prayer and another or between one time of fasting and another. Thus Reason is not the sole standard of our judgment on the question.

Moreover, if reason is a sufficient guide for our activities, where is the need of a Divine Messenger? When we can know for certain, without reference to revelation, what leads us on to the pleasure or wrath of God, and to reward or punishment at His hands in the future, there can be no justification for the prophetic missions, which all admit to be an absolute necessity.

Tradition makes a distinction between theological and temporal affairs, leaving the former to the judgment of God and the Prophet and the latter to human discretion. The Prophet says, " You know your affairs of the world best." Doubtless, " truth " is good in the sense that it is a means of accomplishment or it is a beautiful act, and for this no reference to revelation is necessary. But revelation must be referred to if we take the term in the sense that it will ensure us reward in the future. Similarly " falsehood " is bad in the sense that it is an ignoble or harmful act, for which no assistance of revelation is needed. But we cannot be certain without the aid of religion that it will surely bring about our ruin and punishment in the next world.

The Mu'tazelites hold that God cannot impose on man a task which it is beyond his power to perform. The Ash'arites, on the other hand, maintain that God does not impose such a task on man, but that it is not impossible for Him to do so, if He likes. There is no power limiting His actions. The difference between the two views is, however, only speculative and theoretical.

The Ash'arites receive their inspiration on the question from those verses of the Qur'ân which attribute absolutism of will and power to the Almighty. God says, "Verily, God accomplishes what He ordains[1]", "And all things are at His bidding[2]", "God is sovereign Disposer of all things[3]." Such verses distinctly signify that He is an All-powerful Being doing as He pleases without let or hindrance. If we impose a limit on the powers of God by holding that He cannot order impossible things even when He so wills, we really repudiate the clear statements of the Qur'ân. All Muslims agree that the powers of the Deity are unlimited and unqualified, and this is quite inconceivable if we at the same time believe that He cannot issue certain commands even should He wish to do so.

The Ash'arites, therefore, assert that God is able to do all things but that, as a merciful Creator, He will not saddle His creatures with an impossible task. We cannot curtail His powers by believing that He is unable to do something, but we reasonably hope that He will never tax His creatures too heavily. The verse *viz.*, "God does not tax any soul but within its limits[4]" is interpreted by the Ash'arites in the sense that in practice God does not impose any task on man but to the extent of his capacity. But the question of possibility is not referred to in the verse.

God can act in any way He likes. He can do even those things which do not tally with man's reason. But in practice towards man He always acts reasonably. The Mu'tazelites deny even the possibility of God acting against reason. The Ash'arite argument here is almost the same as in the previous case, which is briefly this : All Muslims believe that God's powers are immense and unlimited. Hs is far above conditions and restrictions. Some verses of the Qur'ân emphatically describe His

(1) 65th Verse, Chap. III.
(2) 30th Verse, Chap. L.
(3) 48th Verse, Chap. XXI.
(4) 285th Verse, Chap. II.

unqualified powers. The Qur'ân says, "He creates whatever He wishes[1]" and "He is the doer of what He intends[2]." Such verses leave no room for doubt as to the vast and unconditional powers of the Almighty. Of course, He, being Omniscient, will never act against reason; but no power on earth or heaven can stand in His way if He ever chooses so to act.

The Mu'tazelites hold that all actions of God must necessarily be bound by aims and objects; whereas the Ash'arites believe that no such compulsion can be imposed on the Deity. In practice, all actions of God are based on some object and purpose; but in theory, He can act aimlessly if He ever so desires. There is no power to check Him even should He choose to act without a purpose. The Ash'arite view is deduced from those verses (as quoted above) which assert that God is an Absolute Monarch and does whatever He wishes without any restriction. Now, if we believe that God's actions must be bound by considerations or conditioned by circumstances, we tend to encroach on His divine powers. He ceases to be Absolute or Independent, if compulsion is imposed on Him, forcing Him to act in a particular way. We must, therefore, maintain, that the Supreme Being is Independent of all considerations or limitations, but that He always acts in a way calculated to further the interests of the universe.

The Mu'tazelites believe that it is obligatory on God to reward the virtuous and punish the vicious and that He cannot do otherwise. Contrary to this, the Ash'arites hold that reward and punishment are entirely in His gift. He can reward whom He will and punish whom He will.

Of course, it is certain that He will favour the righteous and condemn the wicked because He has promised to do so; but no consideration can bind His discretion or compel Him to do this or that. To imagine a compulsion is really to reduce Him to a dependency or even a machinery which must move and act without any initiative of its own. What will be the difference between God, if He is compelled to reward the virtuous and punish the guilty, and a magistrate or a judge whose decisions are guided by the Penal Code. To place the Creator above the Creation we must place His Judgment above our own.

(1) 24th Verse, Chap. LXV.
(2) 6th Verse, Chap. LXXXV.

The verses of the Qur'ân are clear on the point, *e.g.*, "He forgiveth whom He will and punisheth whom He will[1]."

Undoubtedly a good act entitles the doer to favour, blessing and reward, while a bad action involves the doer in censure and punishment; but all these consequences are subject to the veto of the almighty Lord of the Universe.

In the last four controversial doctrines above discussed the central point of the Ash'arite argument is this: We have two alternatives: either we must believe that God's powers are limited to the region of reason, so that He cannot act aimlessly, unreasonably or undesirably; or we must believe that His powers are wide enough to cover the domains of reason and un-reason alike, but that He never steps into the realm of unreason. Between these two alternatives, it is safer and more convenient to adopt the second, in as far as God's powers remain unlimited and His actions reasonable. In the first alternative we unjustifiably encroach on His powers.

(1) 284th Verse, Chap. II.

SYED MOZAFFARUDDIN.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

The So-called "Covenant of 'Umar"[1]

Mr. A. S. Tritton has gathered a large number of quotations from Muslim and Christian sources bearing upon the position of Christians, Jews and Magians under the Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphs and the treatment they received in different countries and at different times. He describes his work as "a critical study of the Covenant of 'Umar." His contention is that the various versions of the pact or covenant which 'Umar is said to have made with the conquered peoples who retained their former faith are not to be ascribed to 'Umar the Great nor, in all probability, to 'Umar ibn 'Abdul 'Azîz the Umayyad, though the latter, he considers, did assume the attitude which they reflect; but that they embody the occasional enactments of the first two centuries. The folk-lore of the Syrian and Egyptian Christians, in which the early days of Islâm are pictured as a golden age, the great 'Umar as a benevolent patriarch and the Umayyads as genial despots, as well as history, supports his view. The nearer we approach the Prophet, the greater evidence we find of Muslim tolerance, which in the early days surprised the conquered peoples and won them over at the time of conquest. And afterwards, no doubt, remembrance of the terror of the Muslim arms kept them humbly grateful for a while in their acceptance of such gracious terms. But when new generations grew up and that remembrance faded, the more prosperous were apt to forget their real position and forsake the reverential posture. Mr. Tritton seems to us to have mistaken the significance of 'Umar II's order: "Leave to those on the Euphrates who pay tribute enough to let them have gold seals, to wear the *tailasan* and to ride hackneys. Take

(1) The Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects; A Critical Study of the Covenant of 'Umar. By A. S. Tritton, Muslim University, Aligarh.

what is left over ", when he quotes it as evidence of that caliph's harshness toward the *dhimmis*. If instead of " Take what is left over " we put " Take what is superfluous " (after the state of wealth indicated by gold seals, the *tailasan* and saddle-horses has been provided for) it will be nearer the meaning. In the same way his remark (p. 331) that " 'Umar II is the typical pious persecutor, scrupulously just in his dealings with individuals while he tries to suppress the *dhimmis* " seems to us unjust. At later periods objections were raised against the use by *dhimmis* of the very things which 'Umar II specifically allowed them, on the ground that they were illegal and against the Covenant. When Ibrâhîm Pasha, the Egyptian general, had conquered Syria in the nineteenth century, the Muslims of Damascus complained to him that Christians of the city were riding horses, thus forgetting their position, while many respectable Muslims rode mules and asses. Ibrâhîm asked for a night in which to think the matter out, and next day solemnly announced that Muslims were at liberty to ride on camels! The *dhimmis* had been grossly overtaxed and 'Umar II wished to give them ease. That is the real meaning of the saying above quoted, not that the tax-collector was to take from them everything that they possessed except gold seals, tailasâns and saddlehorses. He objected to *dhimmis* holding certain public positions, but he was not their persecutor; and the *dhimmis* as a whole had little to complain of in his time.

So long as the Muslim population lived entirely or chiefly on the taxes paid by the *dhimmis* they could afford to be indulgent. But when, as happened later, the Muslims were taxed as heavily as the *dhimmis*, sometimes more heavily, and saw some rich and favoured *dhimmis* giving themselves airs, there was popular resentment which from time to time alarmed the Caliph, causing him to make restrictive regulations and enforce them for a time. These occasional restrictive regulations are embodied in the so-called Covenant of 'Umar. The great 'Umar had in fact made the first settlement with the *dhimmis*, but the only law he recognised, and the only real Islamic law concerning them, was the Quranic injunction not to molest them when they pay the tribute readily. It is probable that intelligent Muslims recognised this throughout the period which Mr. Tritton covers, which would account for the indulgence shown to the *dhimmis* always when there was no popular outcry. As most of the references to the *dhimmis* in Muslim histories are occasioned by some

trouble between them and their Muslim neighbours, and as the Christian writers are accustomed to expatiate upon their wrongs (often untruthfully if one may judge from similar complaints in modern times), Mr. Tritton's collection reads like a record of oppression and persecution with some brighter intervals. This is not at all the author's fault for he has endeavoured to be scrupulously fair; it is the fault of his material, which relates to exceptional occurrences. The normal condition cannot have been like that, for we know that the occasional outbursts of anti-*dhimmi* feeling were caused by jealousy of the prosperity of Christians or resentment of their arrogance. The *dhimmis* were never crushed: the Muslims never wished to crush them. They had their recognised position and their privileges, among the latter a large measure of self-government. Relations between them and the Muslims, normally, were cordial until after the Crusades. In order to get the right perspective the reader of this very interesting book must scatter the incidents over a vast empire and over a period of centuries, and also must imagine the treatment which persons professing other than the dominant religion would have met with in contemporary Christendom. Even at a later time, when they had been made rigid, the disabilities of the *dhimmis* were not nearly so harsh and galling as those imposed on Roman Catholics in Ireland.

Mr. Tritton mentions that death was the penalty for any Muslim who might embrace the religion of one of the protected communities, but does not mention that death was equally the penalty for any Muslim convicted of forcibly, or by undue influence, attempting to convert a member of those communities. Yet that was certainly the case in recent times (before Sultân Mahmûd's reforms in Turkey) and as contempt for the *dhimmis* increased greatly after the Crusades, it seems probable that it was an old provision. The author says rightly that the persecutions of Al-Hâkim bi amri 'llâh in Egypt and Syria must not be taken as typical, being the work of a madman; but when mentioning the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem at another period does not say that it was the work of armed invaders from whose rage the Muslims of the city also suffered heavily. He points out that the Prophet's saying: "Two religions shall not remain in the land of the Arabs" did not, when translated into law by 'Umar, result in the expulsion and exclusion of all *dhimmis* from Arabia. Some Jews re-

mained in the Yaman, and *dhimmis* were allowed to travel in the country. This he seems to think inconsistent. The purpose of the command being strategical and not fanatical, to secure a solid centre for Islâm, there seems to be no inconsistency in letting a few Jews, who had no power to menace the Muslims and no love for their enemies, continue in a corner of the land. The exclusion of *dhimmis* travelling as traders, except from the holy places, was never even contemplated.

On p. 189 we read: "The Prophet is reported to have had two Jews stoned for adultery, presumably with two Jewesses." "Two Jews" here must mean a Jew and a Jewess, as only one such occasion is mentioned in Ibn Hîshâm. It was in the Prophet's first year at Al-Madînah, when the Jews had brought a couple taken in adultery to him for judgment according to their law, in order to test his prophethood. They considered that he could not without inspiration know the true legal punishment for adultery which had long been in disuse among them.

This scholarly and at the same time eminently readable work will be welcomed by all students of Islamic history. It is handy in form, clearly printed and has been very carefully 'read', a rarity among Indian publications. We have found only one oversight. On p. 130 "Marwân, the last Abbasid Khalîfah" should be "Marwân, the last Umayyad Khalîfah". The book is provided with full bibliography and an index.

M. P.

Mr. Khuda Bukhsh's "Islamic Civilisation" Vol. II*

The second volume of Mr. Khuda Bukhsh's useful work is as interesting and thought-stimulating as the first. It consists, like the first, of translations from the German savants together with some original essays. It opens with two articles by Professor Carl H. Becker—at present German Minister of Education—full of curious information and amazingly clever, but exhaling an aroma of high journalism which makes us suspect that they are products of the days when readers of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* used to be enlightened on the subject of Islâm, the faith of Germany's Ally, by a distinguished Orientalist. He espouses and enlarges on the theories, which have

* *Contributions to the History of Islamic Civilisation.* By S. Khuda Bukhsh, Vol. II First Edition. University of Calcutta.

captivated modern Arabists, that religion had in reality little to do with the spread of Islâm which was chiefly due to economic and ethnic conditions, and that Muslim civilisation is mainly a Hellenic product. Some of his statements will surprise and even shock the Muslim reader, but the shock is needed to arouse our interest in matters which Muslims are too apt to take for granted. Much of this German criticism can be answered, but Muslims cannot answer it without some previous thought upon its subjects. Prof. Becker is no partisan. He writes "To Westerners time is money—to the Eastern haste comes from the devil. Herein lies the fundamental problem—the inner attitude toward work. Contemplative and active outlook compete with one another. Not indeed that our inner orientation deserves unconditional precedence. We, Westerners, lack the contemplative mood—that patient waiting which, in so high a degree, belongs to Islâm. It is the subtle shades of emotions and tastes, problems of physical equilibrium and inner judgment—that is to say, volitional moments"— moment in German means momentum *e.g.*, the psychological *moment*—" it is these which divide the East and the West. Of intelligence and rationalism Islâm has as much as we. Here our common master—the ancient Greek—reveals himself, but in those other spheres the Orient has retained its individuality. We shall do her an injustice if we judge her by our standard. *Islamic civilisation is naught but a fusion of Greek intellectuality with Oriental contemplativeness*....Important, nay, decisive for the future of the Orient will it be if Islâm protects the fertile swamp of its irrationalism from the spring-tide of European rationalism."

Except for the sentence italicised by the author, which is spoilt by the emphatic " naught but ", that is as profound as a generalisation can be.

In " The Arab Academies and their Professors " a chapter translated from the famous work of Wüstenfeld, we find the name Nizâm ul-Mulk spelt Nidhâm ul-Mulk. *Dh* in English transliteration is reserved for the sound of *th* in " the ". The Arabic letter here is of a sound unknown in English, more like a z pronounced with tongue against the teeth. It has more than once in history served as a shibboleth to distinguish between Arabs and non-Arabs. The article describes the Nizamiyah and Mustansariyah *madrasahs* at Baghdad and gives an account of their famous professors. Dr. Rudolf Ernst Brunnow's

" The Kharijites under the first Omayyads " contains in the beginning highly controversial statements, but develops as a plain objective history of the Kharijites from their first appearance to their re-absorption under the Abbasids. Mr. Khuda Bukhsh, in an essay on Hârûn ar-Rashîd, gives the folk-lore account of the reasons for the fall of the Barmakids which Ibn Khaldûn, in the *Prolegomena*, has quoted as a glaring instance of false history. This would not surprise us in another author, but is surprising in a student of Ibn Khaldûn. From another essay by Mr. Khuda Bukhsh—a review of a book by a Christian missionary (of which the name, by the way, is omitted)—we quote the following, as revealing Mr. Khuda Bukhsh in person. Like a good showman, he sinks his personality when presenting the opinions of his German *savants*:

" To what do we ascribe the great Muslim civilisation of the Middle Ages ? Surely not to Christian influences—not to Western influences ! For was not the West, in those days, steeped (or shall we say—shrouded) in ignorance and barbarism ? We ascribe it to the illuminating, light-seeking impulses, which Islâm itself created.... There is nothing in Islâm to hamper or hinder the advancement of man. The Qur'ân gives naught but counsels of perfection, and the Qur'ân is our Light and Guide.... True, Western aggrandisement—growing more and more serious day by day—has awakened the Islâmic World to a sense of peril, has brought home to it the necessity for girding up its loins for a possible life-and-death struggle, has made clear beyond a doubt the futility of methods outworn and the folly of indolent acquiescence in things as they are, has sounded the call of duty and the necessity for self-sacrifice if the Islâmic World is to stem the rising tide and survive the deluge....It may sound strange but it is none the less true that Western influence and Western experiences, instead of weaning us away, draw us closer and yet closer to Islâm."

Because the " life-and-death struggle " must take place in the intellectual field, the service which Mr. Khuda Bukhsh himself is rendering by placing the work of the most scholarly and candid Western critics of Islâm within the reach of thousands of Muslim readers can hardly be overestimated.

M. P.

NEW CAIRO.

Is the contemptuous attitude towards the Arabic literature of today affected by some learned Orientalists at all justified? It seems to the present reviewer that it is not, except in the case of journalistic writing, many Arabic newspapers being written in a preposterous style. But even in journalism there are writers who shine forth like the veteran Dr. Fâris Nimr of *Al-Muqattam*, and there are literary men of note who have for a time been journalists, like Ahmed Lutfi Bey As-Sayyid who for years gave a literary cachet to *Al-Garidah*. And occasionally a newspaper has gained renown for fine Arabic as was the case with *al-Liwa* in the days when the late-lamented Sheykh 'Abdul 'Azîz Shawîsh enriched its columns. Still, as a general rule, the journalistic style in Arabic is as shocking as the journalistic style in other languages. The point is that a modern literature in good Arabic exists, and differs from the old Arabic literature only in its greater flexibility, range of thought and power of expression. This literature is already vast, comprising work in every field cultivated by the old literature as well as work in almost every field of modern thought and enterprise. It flows in two main streams, the Egyptian and the Syrian, of which the latter is the more profuse and eloquent, the former the more terse and deep. As in the modern dialects of the two countries so in this literature, the difference consists not, as in the case of French and Spanish, in the use of differently evolved forms of the same words, but in the choice of different words from a common classical vocabulary. There are words of constant recurrence in Syrian composition which are seldom if ever found in Egyptian writings, and *vice versa*. But the styles tend more and more towards resemblance in approximation to the classical, the standard being the same for all Arabic countries. The movement toward unity of expression is noteworthy at a time when the Arabic world is divided, as never before, by artificial and undesired frontiers.

During a sojourn of some months in Egypt, in intervals of an engrossing work, this reviewer has read works by modern writers which have greatly pleased him. He made no selection, but read books put in his way, which may therefore be taken as typical. A very fine translation of Aristotle's Ethics from the French by Ahmad Lutfi Bey

As-Sayyid*, a former Minister of Education, must be first mentioned. The beauty, delicacy and accuracy of Arabic as an instrument for expressing the most subtle and illusive shades of modern philosophic thought is here well demonstrated. If the word "modern" is surprising in connection with Aristotle, it is justified by the fact that Lutfi Bey's rendering is not of the Greek, but of the standard French version, including its notes and commentary. But Aristotle is Aristotle; and Ahmed Lutfi Bey is a writer of established reputation. More interesting, for the study of new currents in this literature, are books by younger and less famous authors dealing with Egypt and the present day.

A work of high merit in its way is *An-Naqadat-Tahlili** (The Analytical Test), but the interest is so local and the subject so exclusively Arabic that it is rather hard to explain. It is by Muhammad Ahmad Al-Ghamrawi, professor of Chemistry at the Cairo School of Medicine; it is written to refute an idiotic theory or rather several idiotic theories with regard to the ancient literature of the Arabs espoused and championed by the present head of the faculty of Arabic letters in the University; and it contains an introduction from the pen of the Amîr Shakîb Arslân, the Syrian poet-patriot, which is well-worth reading. Thus much can be stated easily. But how mere adverse criticism of another book can make a volume, and why all Egypt finds that volume of absorbing interest are points to be explained.

There is a certain scholar with a mania for the latest Paris models in the way of thought. The disease is common, but most of its victims make no claim to erudition, whereas this gentleman holds a hlgh academic post, and his taste for foreign ideas includes half-baked or wholly unbaked theories concerning the Arabic language, history and Islâm—subjects of which one might really suppose the Arabs the best judges. Having outraged public opinion already on one occasion, he was forced to withdraw a book which he had published, and to re-issue it in much expurgated form. But there are men who are perverse

* علم الاخلاق الى نيقوماخوس تاليف ارسطوطاليس ترجمة من اليونانية الى الفرنسية باقلمي سنتهلير ونقله الى العربية احمد لطفي السيد الجزء الأول مطبعة دار الكتب المصرية بالقاهرة

* النقد التحليلي لكتاب في الادب الجاهلي بقلم محمد احمد الغمراوي وله مقدمة بقلم العلامة الجليل الأمير شكيب ارسلان القاهرة ١٣٤٧-١٩٢٩

in their admirations or unlucky. Of all the utterances of European Orientalists, many of them perfectly sound and reasonable, this gleaner must needs pounce with rapture on the random shot of a facetious English professor renowned for his delight in throwing crackers at the Muslim world. And this particular squib is made the inspiration of the work withdrawn and now reissued after expurgation.

The Amîr Shakîb Arslân is reminded of the story of Al-Khanfashâr, a made-up word which centuries ago his friends presented to a certain know-all just to see what he would make of it. He did not hesitate. He said, " It is a plant which grows in remote parts of the Yaman, and its property is to attract fresh milk. As the poet says :

لقدجذبت محبتكم فؤادى كماجذب الحليب الخنفشار

Surely the love of you hath attracted my heart even as the Khanfashâr doth attract fresh milk." Then he said: Dawud of Antioch says so and so concerning it and other authorities mention this and that about the Khanfashâr. Having told them what it meant, quoted ancient dictionaries and several couplets from old poems bringing in the word, he was going to produce a saying of the Prophet which should contain it when they stopped him, saying : Thou hast lied in the name of the poet and in the name of Dawud of Antioch and in the name of Fulân and Fulân, but thou shalt not lie in the name of God's messenger. And they told him how they had joined together to invent a word, each bringing a consonant, on purpose to try him and see to what lengths he would go.

Like the wise-acre who swallowed Al-Khanfashâr of old, a Cairo professor has taken an English professor's little joke too seriously and has built on it a big mendacious theoretic structure, of which the chief idea is —and what there is in it to rouse so much enthusiasm in a professor of Arabic who is himself of Arab blood we do not know ! — that all the extant Arabian (so-called) pre-Islamic poetry is forged. Ghamrawi, professor of chemistry that he is, applies his analytical test to this structure and point by point reduces it to smoke and ashes. The process is interesting to watch. It is evident that the chemist has no expert knowledge of the other's subject, he only applies such tests as are of general use for distinguishing truth from falsehood and dispelling fallacies ; but by the time his task is finished he has not only made hay of the

other's theories, but has himself deduced the right theory held to-day by every serious student, which is that there were never two languages in the Arabian peninsula. The Himyaritic language is simply the ancient form of Arabic, bearing much the same relation to the present form as Anglo-Saxon bears to that part of modern English which is of Saxon origin. It had died out centuries before the coming of Al-Islâm. In the time of the Prophet the language of all Arabia was essentially the language which we know as Arabic, the Mudaritic. It was a main point of this Khanfashâr–Professor's argument that the existing works ascribed to pre-Islamic poets or to poets contemporary with the Prophet must be wholesale forgery because most of them are supposed to be the work of South Arabian poets and the language of South Arabia and of every tribe of South Arabian origin was, at the time of the Prophet, and for all time before, Himyaritic, whereas all this (so-called) pre-Islamic poetry is in the Mudaritic. Prof. Ghamrâwi has an orderly and scientific mind. He claims no knowledge he does not possess. He first analyses his opponent's statements, shows them to be absurd with quite Euclidean conclusiveness; and, having thus demolished them, proceeds to analyse the debris and find there particles of truth from which he builds his counter-statement. The reader of this book has an excellent opportunity for comparing the Syrian and Egyptian styles of writing. The Introduction of Shakîb Arslân is a masterpiece in its way and so, in quite a different way, is the work of Ghamrâwi.

The "novel" is a new form in Arabic literature, though the Arabic "story" may be said to be the parent of the novel. Novelists in Arabic are few, and do not strike one as being yet quite at home in the field they have chosen for work. The need for good historical novels for students is felt in Egypt, as elsewhere in the East—stories which would endear their country's history to the young generation, and make them take in it the same romantic interest which they now, thanks to the translated historical romances, take in the history of countries not their own. A good first attempt in this direction is *Ibnatu'l-Mamluk*[1] (The Mameluke's Daughter) by Muhammad Farîd Abû Hadîd, a teacher of history. It treats of the time when Muhammad Ali Pasha the Arnaut, founder of the present

(1) ابنة المملوك رواية مصرية تاريخية تاليف الاستاذ محمد فريد ابو حديد مطبعة الاعتماد بشارع حسن الاكبر بمصر

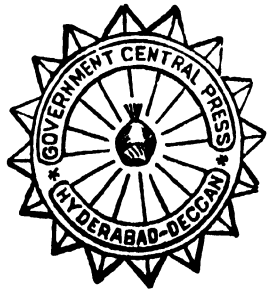
dynasty, was still sparring for position with the Mamlûk beys in Egypt. The hero is an Arab boy who is brought to shore after a shipwreck on the Nile near Banî Suweyf, is carried to the castle of the local Mamlûk bey and is restored to life by the wise prescriptions of the bey's little daughter, with whom he of course falls in love. The story opens in the best and most approved European manner with a description of the Nile by moonlight—the descriptions of scenery and customs are noteworthy throughout—and ends in the best Oriental manner with the death of the hero as the climax of a dreadful series of disappointments and catastrophes, in the presence of Muhammad Ali Pasha, the Mamlûk and the Mamlûk's daughter, and the whole army, everyone sobbing uncontrollably, at the foot of the Pyramids. Any European writer would have given this gallant and adventurous tale a happy ending; but though there may appear something exaggerated in the final scene, it is effective because the author has let himself go and produced something true to nature and proper to the country. The Arabic genius for story-telling runs naturally to extravagance, and the Egyptian Arabic genius is especially delightful in extravagance. Restraint is like a cloud obscuring it. If the author of *Ibnatu'l-Mamluk* (good book as it is) had but let himself go in other passages as he has done in that final scene, we should have had rollicking fun, poetic fancy and all kinds of pleasant things as memorable as the final tragedy—pleasant things that every story-teller of the old days could give his audience. But the novelist is hampered by a sense of dignity, by a foreign model and by the fact that he is treading unfamiliar ground. If he would discard the first hindrance and view the second irreverently with a bold Oriental eye, he would soon be on familiar ground. It is no good his aiming at approval from the literary judges in his country. They will always regard the telling of a made-up story for amusement as frivolity unworthy of a serious man of letters. So he may as well set his fancy free. By the same author I have read a really exquisite little work called *Madhkiratu'l Marhum Muhammad*[1], purporting to be the diary of an unlucky youth too proud of soul and delicate of conscience, who found the (so-called) "higher" education which he had received useless in the ruthless struggle for existence

(1) صحائف مزحمية اومذكرات المرحوم محمد لنا شرها محمد فريدا بوحديد المدرس بمدرسة فاروق الثانوية مطبعة الشعب بشارع محمد علي بمصر.

which is life in modern Egypt. It is beautifully written and abounds in subtle observation and the evidence of serious thought.

The reviewer's impression is that the new golden age of Arabic literature is near at hand, though it has not yet come.

M. P.


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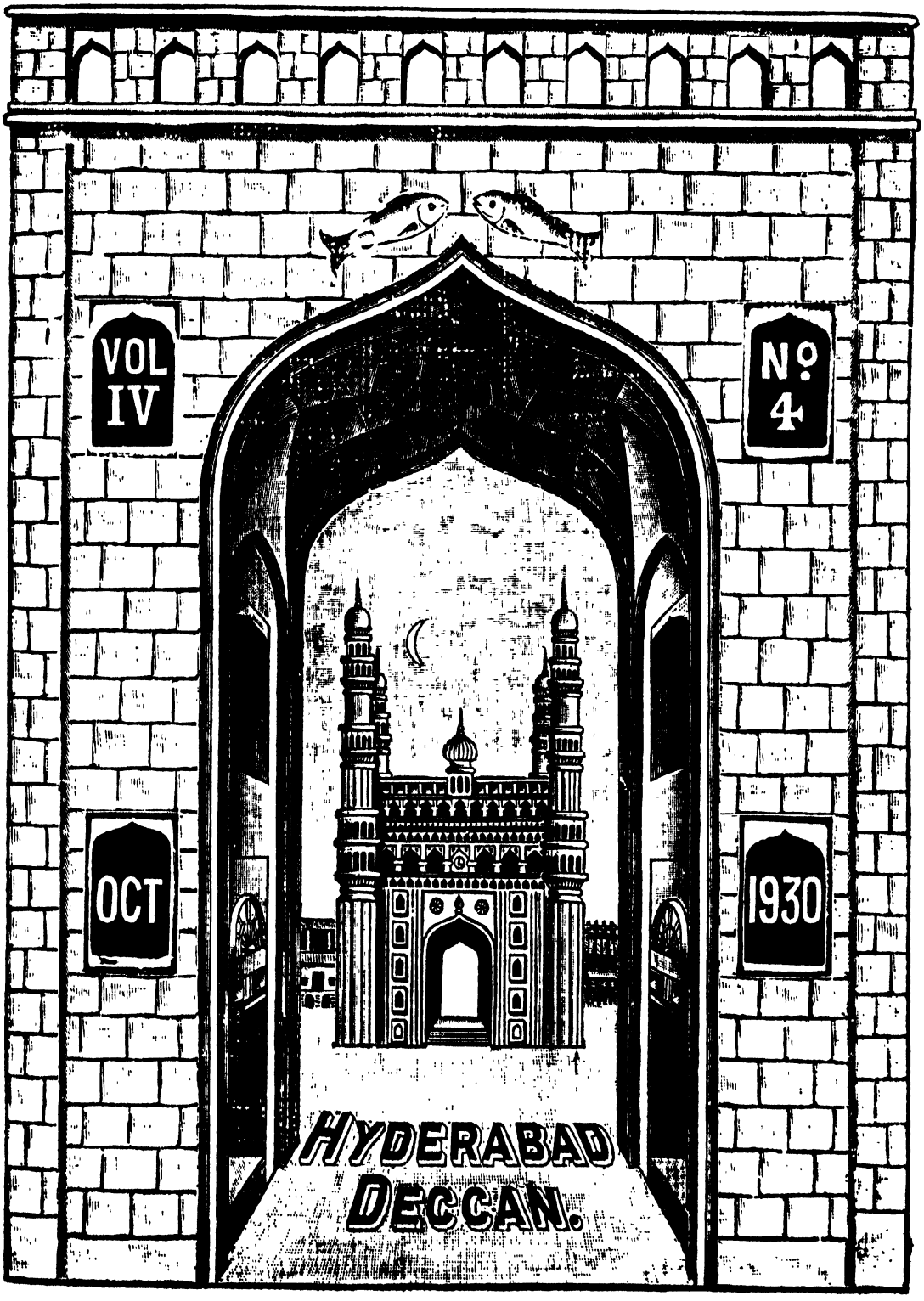
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ISLAMIC CULTURE

THE

HYDERABAD QUARTERLY REVIEW

Edited by

MARMADUKE PICKTHALL

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MSS. sent to the Editor will receive careful consideration. They must be typewritten clearly on one side of the paper only. Business communications should be addressed to the Manager, ISLAMIC CULTURE, Civil Service House, Hyderabad, Deccan.

IBN QUTEIBA'S 'UYUN AL-AKHBAR

(*Continued from our last issue*.)

III

On Scribes and Writing.

Ishâq ibn Râhûya told us from Wahb ibn Jarîr from his father from Yûnus ibn 'Ubeyd from Al-Hasan from 'Amr ibn Tha'lab from the Prophet, God bless him and give him peace, he said : " Of the conditions of the last hour is the overflowing of property, the prevailing of the pen and the spread of merchants." 'Amr said : " If we were to seek a scribe among the big collection of the houses of the tribe and a man were to sell merchandise to another, he would say: First of all I ask for a security from the merchant of the Banu N. N."

Ahmad ibn al Khalîl told us from Isma'îl ibn Abân from 'Aubasa ibn 'Abdu'r-Rahmân al-Qurashi from Muhammad ibn Zâdhân from Umm Sa'd from Zeyd ibn Thâbit, he said : I went to see the Prophet, God bless him and give him peace, whilst he was dictating something regarding some of his wants. He said (to the scribe) : Place the pen on your ear, because it will serve as a reminder of what is being dictated.

43 'Abdu'r-Rahmân ibn 'Abdu'l-Mun'im told me from his father from Wahb, he said : Idrîs the Prophet, peace be upon him, was the first to write with the reed, and the first to sew garments and to wear them ; for before him they used to wear skins.

Ishâq ibn Râhûya told us : he said, Jarîr told us from Yazîd ibn Abî Ziyâd from 'Iyâd ibn Abî Mûsâ : 'Umar ibn al-Khattâb said to Abû Mûsâ [1]: Call us your scribe in order that he may read to us writings that have arrived from Syria. Abû Mûsa said : He the (scribe) may not enter the mosque. 'Umar replied : Is there any ritual impurity

* The numbers on the margin indicate the pages in the Cairo edition.

(1) Abû Mûsâ al Ash'arî, who was governor of Kûfa and Basra under 'Umar.

in him ? He said : No, but he is a Christian. Thereupon 'Umar raised his hand, struck his thigh until he had almost broken it and said : What do you mean, may Allah fight you ! Have you not heard the saying of God, to whom belongs glory and power : (Surah V. 56) *O ye who believe ! take not the Jews and the Christians for your patrons !*—Why did you not take a man who belongs to the sincere Muslims ? Abû Mûsâ said : To him belongs his religion and to me his art of writing. But 'Umar said : I do not honour them, since Allah has despised them, I do not render them mighty, since Allah has abased them, and I do not bring them near, since Allah has removed them far away.

Ishâq ibn Râhûya told us, he said, 'Isâ ibn Yûnus told us, he said : Abû Heiyan at-Teymi told us from Abu Zinbâ' from Abû'l Dihqâna : Mention was made to 'Umar of a young man who was a writer, had a good memory and was a Christian of the people of Al-Hira. When he was asked, Why do you not take him on as a scribe ? he replied : I should then have taken on an intimate associate from those below the Muslims.

Abû Hâtim told me : Murâmir ibn Marwa belonged to the people of Al-Anbâr and he it was who laid down the Arabic script and from Al-Anbâr it spread amongst the people.[1]

(1) Al-Balâdhuri in his *Futuh* (ed. de Goeje, 471) says : Al 'Abbâs ibn Hishâm ibn Muhammad ibn al Sâ'ib al-Kalbî told me from his father, from his grandfather, from Ash-Sharqi ibn Al Qatâmi, he said : Three people of the tribe of Teyy collected at Baqqa (near Al-Hîra), Murâmir ibn Murra, Aslam ibn Sidra and Amir ibn Jadara and they laid down the script and modelled the Arabic alphabet on the Syriac. From them some of the people of Al-Anbâr learned it and the people of Al-Hîra learned it from the people of Al Anbâr. Now Bishr ibn 'Abdu'l-Malik, the brother of Ukeydir ibn 'Abdu'l-Malik ibn 'Abdu'l-jinn al-Kindî al Sakuni, the Lord of Dûmat-al-Jandal, used to come to Al-Hîra and to stay there for sometime, he being a Christian, and he learned the Arabic characters from the people of Al-Hîra. When, after that, he came to Mecca for some business, Sufyân ibn Umayya ibn 'Abd-Shams and Abû Qeys ibn 'Abd-Manâf saw him write and asked him to teach them the script, so he taught them the alphabet and showed them the script and they wrote. When Bishr and Sufyân and Abû Qeys came to Al Tâ'if for trade, Gheylân ibn Salâma ath-Thaqafi accompanied them and learned the script from them. Bishr then left them and went to the territory of the tribe of Mudar, where 'Amr ibn Zurâra ibn Udas who was called Amr the scribe, learned the script from him. Afterwards Bishr went to Syria and a number of people there learned the script from him. Further a man belonging to the Tâbikhat Kalb learned the script from the three Teyyites and he in his turn taught it to a man of Wâdî'l-Qurâ : he went frequently to the Wâdî and stayed

44 Abû Sahl told me from At-Tanâfisi from Al-Munkadir ibn Muhammad from his father Muhammad ibn Al-Munkadir, he said : Al-Zubeir ibn al 'Auwâm came to the Prophet and said : How are you this morning ? May Allah make me your ransom ! He replied : " You have not given up your Beduin way yet."

'Abdu'l-Malik ibn Marwân said to his brother 'Abdu'l-'Azîz when he sent him to Egypt [1]: Try to get to know your scribe, and your doorkeeper, and him who keeps you company ; for your scribe will inform about you those that are absent ; he who tries to find out by outward signs will get to know you through your doorkeeper ; and he who visits you will know you through the one who keeps you company.

Ibn Abî'l-Zinâd, from his father, said : I was a scribe of 'Umar ibn 'Abdu'l-'Azîz, who used to write to 'Abdu'l-Hamîd ibn 'Abdu'r-Rahmân ibn Zeyd ibn al-Khattâb[2] about wrongful exactions, whereupon 'Abdu'l-Hamîd would consult him once more, so he wrote to him : It seems to me that if I had written to you ordering you to give a man a sheep you would have asked in return : A ewe or a goat ? And if I had named one of them in writing, you would have written in return : A male or a female ? And if I had named one of them in writing, you would again have written in turn : A small one or a big one ? So when this letter of mine reaches you, do not ask me in turn about any wrongful exaction.

And Abû Ja'far wrote to Salm ibn Quteyba [3] ordering him to pull down the mansions of those who had rebelled along with Ibrâhîm[4] and to uproot their date-palms. When he wrote back : With which should we begin, with the date-palms or the mansions ? Abû Ja'far wrote in reply : After compliments, had I ordered you to destroy their fruit, you would have written back to ask with which you should begin, with the Barani kind or the Shahriz ? So he discharged him and Muhammad ibn Suleymân[5] became

there and taught some of its people the script. *Cf.* also Ibn Quteyba *Ma'arif* 273. —The earliest inscription in Arabic so far known, the one found in Al-Namara and dated 328 A. D., is in that form of the Aramaic script that was current amongst the Nabateans whilst the two next oldest inscriptions of Zabad and of Harrûn dated 512 and 568 A.D. respectively show a later development of the same form.

(1) Governor of Egypt 65-84 A. H.
(2) Sub-governor of Kûfa 99-103 A. H.
(3) Governor of Basra 145-46 A. H.
(4) *i.e.*, Ibrahim ibn 'Abdullah ibn al Hasan s. Tabarî III 282 seq.
(5) Governor of Basra 146-47 A. H.

governor. He used to say : The scribe has three duties to fulfil towards the king : to raise the screen for him, to suspect those that accuse falsely to him, and to reveal secrets to him.

The Persians used to say : He who does not know the art of making the waters flow ; the digging of gaps in the banks of the rivers and their beds, and the blocking of the ravines and the daily increase and decrease of the water courses ; the perception of the new moon and the doings connected with it ; the weighing of the scales, the
45 measuring of the triangle and the quadrangle and the trapezoid, and the setting up of vaulted bridges and embankments and waterwheels and buckets for raising water ; and the state of the instruments of the workmen and the niceties of arithmetic ; is wanting in the state of his capacity as a writer.

Meymûn ibn Meymûn said : If you are in need of a scribe, your messenger to him should be greediness.

He further said : If you fraternize with the Wazîr, be not afraid of the Amîr.

And in one of the books of the Indians it is said [1]: If the Wazîr equals the king in property, dignity and obedience offered him by the people, the king should fell him : if he does not, he should know that it is he who will be felled.

Al Madâ'inî said : Ziyâd was one day exclusively applying himself to an affair into which he was looking and there was with him a scribe who wrote as well as his son 'Ubeydullah. When Ziyâd was about to doze he said to 'Ubeydullah : See to it, don't let him write anything ! After that he fell asleep. When 'Ubeydullah felt a need for passing urine he neither wanted to awaken his father nor to leave the scribe alone. So he tied his (the scribe's) two thumbs together with a thread, sealed it and went out for his natural want.

Abû 'Abbâd the scribe said : Nobody ever sat before me (under my obedience) without my imagining that I might be sitting before him.

And I read in the *Taj* that Abarwez said to his scribe : Conceal the secret, speak the truth in telling news, strive after sincerity and guard cautiously : and you have a right to expect me not to act hastily towards you without deliberation nor to accept words against you without

(1) *Kalila wa Dimna* ed. Cheikho $74_{18\text{-}20}$.

making sure, nor to make any one greedy against you so as to seize you unawares. And know that you are in the shelter of high rank, so do not lower it ; and in the shadow of rule, so do not wish it to pass away. Approach people through comely behaviour, but keep away from them out of caution against your enemy ; betake yourself to what is beautiful in order to be clad in a coat of mail for your tomorrow ; entrench yourself in chastity in order to preserve your manliness ; and adorn yourself in my presence with all the beauty you can attain. Do not let tongues point to you, do not render tales about you ugly, preserve your soul like a pure pearl, bring out the best of it as one extracts white silver ; remonstrate with it as one who is cautious and compassionate, and fortify it like an impregnable city. Do not omit to present before me the small, because it shows the way to the big ; do not conceal the
46 big from me for it does not turn me away from the small. Polish your affairs and then meet me with them, and render your tongue firm and then resort to me with it, do not assume boldness towards me, lest I be vexed, nor shrink from me lest I become suspicious ; and do not render ill nor defective that with which you meet me. If you reflect, be not hasty, if you write be not faulty ; ask not the help of redundance for it is a superaddition to sufficiency ; fall not short of verifying for it is a defect in an explanation, nor mix one sentence with another nor separate one meaning from another. Deem your writing too precious for three things : submissiveness that renders it light, expansion which makes it obscure, and conceits that deprive it of its aim. And gather the much you intend in the little you say and the hold of your writing over the subjects should be like that of the king of kings over the kings. Nor should that which you keep with you be big and that which you say small, rather should the word of the scribe be in the measure of the king, so make it lofty like his loftiness and surpassing like his preeminence. And know that there are four things which comprise the whole of speech ; your asking for a thing, your asking about a thing, your ordering a thing, your informing about a thing. And these things are the supports of explanations. If a fifth be sought, it will not be found and if one of the four be left out, they will not be complete. If you give an order, make it firm ; if you ask about a thing, make it plain ; if you pursue, be gentle ; if you give information, verify. For if you do this, you will seize the whole of speech entirely, that of it which descends

will not be dubious for you, and that of it which returns will not baffle you. Record in your registered accounts what you have brought in and account in them for what you have given out. Be vigilant with what you take and attentive to what you give away. Let not forgetfulness prevent you from accounting, nor delay from proceeding; spend not the weight of a qîrât for that which is not right, but think it much to spend a deal for what is right. And all this should be upon the basis of consulting with me.

A man said to his sons : O my sons, dress in the garb of the scribes for they have the culture of kings and the humility of subjects.

Al Kisâi[1] said : I met a Beduin and began asking him letter by letter and one thing after another, connecting it with it. He said : O Allah ! I never saw a man who had more power than you have over one word at the side of another, whether it be most similar to it or most remote from it.

Ibn al-A'râbi[2] said : A Beduin saw me write down one word after the other of his expressions, whereupon he
47 said : you are the very death for a runaway word !

A man of the people of Medîna said : I was sitting with people in Baghdad and I never saw anything more weighty than their forbearance nor anything more light-hearted than their reed-pens.

One of the scribes wrote to a friend of his : Your letter reached me and I never saw a letter easier in modes of speech, smoother in the main parts, nor more rich in aspects nor more beautiful in ends and beginnings, nor more strongly incised in every joint than yours ; you perfected through it the outfit of judgment and the glad tidings of insight ; conjecture has become certainty through you, and hope been reached through you.

And it is said : The intelligence of men is to be found in the points of their reed-pens.

And it is said : The reed-pen is one of the two tongues : and the lightness of the family is one of the two abundances; to speed off despair is one of the two victories ; and to

(1) The grammarian who studied the dialects of the Bedouin tribes ; he died about 189 A. H.

(2) Muhammad ibn Ziyâd al-A'râbi, born in Kûfa in 150 A. H. a pupil of al Mufaddal, he died in 223 A. H.

knead the dough well is one of the two causes of redundance ; the beauty of determination is one of the two gainers, and milk is one of the two meats. Others say : Gravy is one of the two meats.

It was said to one of them : N. N. does not write, whereupon he said : This is the hidden disease of long standing

And I read in one of the books of the Persians : The Môbadhân Môbadh, in describing the scribes, said : The scribes of kings are their receptacles that are being preserved with them ; they are their ears that pay attention and their tongues that give evidence [1] ; because there is nobody more happy than the wazîrs, when the kings are happy ; and nobody nearer perdition than the wazîrs of kings when the kings perish. And suspicion is removed from the wazîrs, if their advice to the kings is their advice to themselves ; and trust in them becomes strong if their struggle on behalf of the kings becomes their struggle for themselves for no spirit is being suspected with regard to its body, nor any body with regard to its spirit ; because the end of their connection is the end of their mutual benefits, whilst the coalescing of their connection is the soundness of their special qualities.

48 And one of the poets said :

" When I get to Al Hajjâj he will kill me,
" For I am the most foolish of those whom the caravans carry along briskly,
" Storing up sheets whose seals bleed
" And in the sheets there are snakes unheard of."

And one of the poets said concerning the reed-pen :

" I wonder at him of the two nibs whose growth is in the water
" Who leaves trace in every chief town and flourishing country."

And one of the moderns says with regard to the pen :

" Lean in aspect, great in competence
" Coming from the sea, growing in the green place of origin,
" Like a lover in his appearance
" And in his colour belonging to the Banû'l Asfar[2]
" He passes on like the passing on of the brave
" Through the sandy hillock in the winding of the reddish valley,

(1) *Cf. Luc. adornd.* 23
(2) The Byzantine Greeks.

" Once his head is right he will be roused
" And cut through the road without looking
" And if a knife has split his head
" He runs on like one who is not fearing nor failing
" He fulfils his aims advancing
" And he stops their flow like one who draws back
" His hand bestows freely with the hand of one bountiful
" Conveying wealth towards the destitute."

And Habîb al-Tâ'i said describing the pen :

" To you belongs the highest pen through the point of which
" The kidneys and the limbs of a thing are hit.
" The drivel of the killing vipers is its drivd
" And its is the honey of the gathered frut collected by hands that extract honey
" It produces saliva, only a little rain, but from its fall
" Is to be traced in east and west a downpour
" Eloquent if you question it while it is on horseback,
" But mute if you address it while it is afoot
" Whenever it has ridden the five graceful ones and have been emptied
" Upon it the water-courses of thought, will filled
" The ends of the lances will obey it and there will collapse
" The numerous armies, on account of its secrets, like the pulling downof tents,
" You see it as one whose state is great although it is slender.
"Lean, (yet) fat in importance, although its emaciated."

And Muhammad ibn 'Abdu'l-Malik bn Sâlih al-Hâshimi said, describing the pen :

" A brown one, lean in the flank, dumb, yet speaking
" Walking gently in the insides of the parchments
" Whenever the palm of the hand accelerates it, its clouds sendclown rain
" Without the voice of thundering or theight of flashing
" As if pearls or chrysolites were its oze
" And blooms of lavender in the recessesof the gardens."

And one of the moderns said in praise of a scribe :

" When in the assembly his speech flashes
" The well set, his tongue remains free from sharp words
" And when his pens cover everything and whisper,
" The lights of darkness flash in his writings.
" Through utterance his intelligence becomes near, whilst he is distant
" From us : and to attain him is remote whilst he is near·

" Wise sayings, that which flows of them upon the surface is between his fingers
" Pouring forth ; whereas the well thereof is within his heart ;
" Like a meadow in friendly union with the red colour of its blossom
" And the white of its flower and the green of its herbage."

And Sa'îd ibn Hamîd said describing the lute :

" Many a one who speaks with a tongue in which there is no secret
" As if it was a thigh attached to a foot,
" Manifesting the secret of another than him through speech just like
" The speech of the pen manifests the secret of another than him."

Al-Tâ'i had an inkstand of ebony sent to Al Hasan ibn Wahb, and wrote to him :

" We send on to you the mother of fates
" And of gifts, one of Negro descent
" In her bowels there are spear-heads not of war
" Yet more piercing than the slenderest of spear-blades."

And Ibn Abî Karîma said, describing inkstand and pen ;

" One with black sides through the water of which I waded
" And from the bottom of which I supplied moisture not drawn out by labour,
" One who is empty-bellied, well watered from every drinking place
" Loyal to the secret of the ruler, who has been given power."

50 And one of the people of culture has said : The place of the scribes and of the accountants is called *diwan* only for the reason that in Persian the scribes are called *dewan* (*i.e.* devils) on account of their skill and dexterity in affairs ; so their place was called by their name.

Another said : The manager of affairs by order of the king is called *wazir* merely on account of the load (*al-wizr*) by which is meant that he takes off the king's shoulders things that are like loads. God, to whom belongs Glory and Power has said (*Surah* XX, 90) *But we were made to carry loads of the ornaments of the people.* And for this reason sin is called *wizr*, it being likened to a load carried on the back. God, who is Great and Exalted has said (*Surah* XCIV, 2. 3.) *And we have eased thee of thy load which galled thy back.*

And people used to find the following verses of Abu Nuwâs pleasing :

" O scribe, who wrote in the morning slandering me !
" Who is capable of the perfection of the scribes !
" Thou wast not satisfied with incorrect Arabic when thou slanderedest me
" And so dotted it with the signs of correct speech.
" Thou intendst to make me understand and thou didst make me understand
" And thou spakest the truth in what thou saidest without showing favour."

And another said :

" O scribe whose pen scatters
" From the palm of his hand pearls on the lines."

'Abî ibn Ar-Riqâ said :

" May God bless a man to whom I have bidden farewell
" And may He complete His benefits to him and increase them."

And from this the scribes have taken the formula :
" And may He complete His benefits for you and increase them with you."

And Hâtim Tâ'i [1] said (in the sense of their formula : " May I die before you !") :

" When once a day comes that separates us
" Through death, may you be the one who remains behind !"

And Jarîr [2] said in this sense :

" Return, O woman, my heart and be for me in my place
" May death meet my soul before thy soul !"

51 One of the kings wrote to one of the scribes a letter in which he wished him good with the words " May Allah grant enjoyment through you ! " whereupon that scribe wrote to him : [3]

" Have you altered from what I remember of your culture
" Or have you gained a kingdom and thus become absentminded in your letter ?
" Or do you think that in humbling oneself to

(1) ed. Schulthess XXXI22.
(2) ed. Cairo II15 where the first *misra'* differs.
(3) According to *Kitab al Aghani* XII63 the verses are by 'Abdu'l-Samad and according to Al Iqd al-Farîd as pointed out by Brockelmann in his notes—were quoted by 'Abdullah ibn Tâhir when replying to Ibn al Ziyyât, the wazir of Al-Mu'tasim ; the idea being that the formula should not be used in addressing equals.

" Brothers there is a decrease for you in your nobility ?
" Or has what has come from you been out of anger ?
" And what is it that has brought you near your anger ?
" Verily there is coarseness in a letter by one who loves
" In the beginning of which is written : May Allah grant enjoyment through you !"

And Al-Asma'î said with regard to the Barmecides :

" Whenever polytheism is mentioned in an assembly
" The faces of the Banu Barmak are gleaming
" And whenever a verse from the Qur'ân is recited before them
" They quote sayings traced back to Mazdak."[1]

And another said :

" Leisure has induced me
" Towards the building of mosques
" But my opinion regarding them
" Is like that of Yahya ibn Khâlid."

Abdullâh ibn al Muqaffa' passed by a fire-temple and said :[2]

" O house of 'Atika, from which I withdraw
" Through fear from enemies, although the heart is entrusted with it."

And Di'bil[3] said with regard to Abû 'Abbâd :

" The nearest of things to perishing and deterioration
" Is a thing which Abû 'Abbâd manages.
" He was enraged against his companions using his ink-pot
" And therefore he was stained and annointed with ink
" As if he had escaped from the convent of Ezekiel[4]
" Angry, dragging along chains and fetters."

The Disloyalties of Governors.

52 Ishâq ibn Râhûya told me : We were told that a woman of Qureysh had a quarrel with a man who wanted to bring

(1) This is probably the correct reading for Marwak. On the " Book of Mazdak " translated into Arabic by Ibn al Muqaffa' and rendered into Arabic verse by Abân al Lâhiqi, see Browne's *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. I. p. 332.

(2) Quoting a verse by Al-Ahwas, see *Aghani* XVIII196. The 'Atika referred to was a daughter of Abdullah ibn Mu'âwiya, see Ibn Quteyba *Ma'arif* 178.

(3) Who lived from 148-246 A.H.

(4) Read Hizqil for Hiraql, Deyr Hizqil a convent situated between Basra and 'Askar Mukram (Yaqût II706,) where mad people were looked after, see Yaqûbi in *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* VII 321.

their quarrel before 'Umar. So the woman presented 'Umar with the thigh of a camel and when she had placed the quarrel before 'Umar and he delivered judgment against her, she said : O Prince of the Faithful, settle (ifsil) the decision between us just as the thigh of the camel is separated (yufsal). But 'Umar decided against her ; he said : Beware of presents: and told the story.

Ishâq said : Al-Hajjâj appointed Al-Mughîra ibn 'Ubeydullah ath Thaqafi lieutenant-governor of Kûfa, and he decided quarrels between people. When a man brought him a lamp of brass as a present and his adversary learned this, he sent him a she-mule. When they had come together before Al-Mughîra, he started attacking the man of the lamp whereupon he said : My cause is brighter than a lamp. But when he had said a good many things to him Al-Mughîra replied : Woe to you ! the she-mule has kicked the lamp and broken it.[1]

Ishâq told us, he said : Rauh ibn 'Ubâda told us, he said : Hammad ibn Salâma told us from Al-Jureyri from Abû Basra from Ar-Rabî' ibn Ziyâd al Hârithi, that he was sent on a deputation to 'Umar, and his appearance and his ways pleased him. When 'Umar complained of some coarse food that he was eating Ar-Rabî' said ; O Prince of

(1) We have here an instance of a gibe at the judge's venality that had been current in the East long before the Islamic period and which only later on was attributed to Al-Mughîra. The story as given in the Babylonian Talmud (*Shabbat* 116 a.b.) runs : Imma Shalom was the wife of Rabbi Eliezer and the sister of Rabban Gamaliel. In her neighbourhood there was a philosopher who had the reputation of not taking bribes, but they wanted to ridicule him. So she presented him with a golden candle-stick and they went to him and she said, I wish to get my share of my parents' estate. He said to them, divide it, but Rabban Gamaliel said : For us it is written (*Numbers* XXVII, 8): Where there is a son, a daughter shall not inherit. The philosopher replied : Since you have been banished from your country, the law of Moses has been repealed and a new book has been given in which is written : The son and the daughter shall inherit equally. On the following day Rabban Gamaliel presented him with a Libyan ass and the philosopher said to him : I have been looking over the concluding sentence of the book in which it is said (*Matthew* V, 17): " I am not come to take away from the law of Moses, but to add to it." And it is written in it : " When there is a son, a daughter shall not inherit. " Imma Shalom said to him : May your light shine like a candle-stick, but Rabban Gamaliel said : " The ass came and overthrew the candlestick."—In this version we have a piece of Judæo-Christian polemics into which a story, possibly much older, was woven. There are other passages in the Talmudic and Midrashic literatures in which the same story is repeated in a shorter form or in which merely the sentence of the ass having overthrown the candlestick is quoted as a proverb *e.g.*, *Yerushalmi Yoma* 38 c : *Sifre Numeri* § 131 : *Pesiqta* ed. Buber 128 a.

the Faithful, verily he who is most entitled to good food and soft cloth and an easy mount is you. But 'Umar slapped his head with a palm branch and said : By Allah, by this you merely intend to cozen me, although I thought there was some good in you ; I'll tell you my likeness with regard to these people : Our likeness is that of a people who travel and hand over their money to one man and say, Spend it for us. Can he appropriate a thing exclusively for himself ? Ar-Rabî' said : No.

Muhammad ibn 'Ubeyd told me, he said : Sufyân ibn 'Uyeyna told me from Abû Najîh, he said : When the crown of Kisra and its columns [1] were brought to 'Umar, he started turning them round with a rod in his hand and
53 said : By Allâh verily he who has restored this to us, is loyal. A man said : O prince of the Faithful, you are the trusted of God, they restore to you what you restored to God, but if you enjoy a luxurious life, they will enjoy it too. He said : You are right.

Abu Hâtim told me ; he said : Al Asma'î told us ; he said : When 'Alî, peace be on him, was handed over property, he made the weighers and the assayers of money sit in front of him and he heaped up a heap of gold and a heap of silver and said : O red, O white, be red and be white and allure another than me ! And he recited the verse ;

" This is what I gathered and its choice is in it
" Whilst every one else who gathers has his hand to his mouth."

Muhammad ibn 'Ubeyd told me from Mu'âwiya ibn 'Amr from Abû Ishâq from Isma'îl ibn Abî Khâlid from 'Asim, he said : Whenever 'Umar ibn al-Khattâb sent out a governor, he imposed upon him four conditions : that he should not ride a hackney, and not put on fine cloths and not eat the marrow of the bone and not appoint a doorkeeper. Once when he passed by a bûilding built of stones and gypsum, he said : To whom does this belong ? When they named one of his governors of Al-Bahreyn, he said, "The dirhams refused but to bring out their necks." and he halved his property . And he used to say : Against any one who is disloyal, I have two loyal trustees, water and mud.

Ishâq ibn Ibrâhîm ibn Habîb ibn ash-Shahîd told me : he said : Qureysh ibn Anas told us from Sa' îd, from Qatâda;

(1) *Cf.* Tabari I 244 تاج كسرى كان لا يحمله الا اسطوانتان

he said : There arrived a letter from 'Umar ibn 'Abdu'l 'Azîz to his governor to this effect ; Leave to the people of the Euphrates valley who have to pay land-tax what they put on as signet-rings of gold, and what they put on as scarves, and what they ride as hackneys, but take what is superfluous."

Muhammad ibn 'Ubeyd told us from Haudha, from 'Auf, from Ibn Sîrîn ; and Ishâq told us from An-Nadr ibn Shumeyl from Ibn 'Aûn from Ibn Sîrîn in this same sense ; He said : When Abû Hureyra proceeded from Al-Bahreyn,[1] 'Umar said to him : O enemy of God and of His book, have you stolen God's property ? Abû Hureyra said : I am
54 not an enemy of God nor an enemy of His book, but I am an enemy of those who treat both as enemies ; nor have I stolen God's property. 'Umar replied : Whence then have come together unto you 10,000 dirhams ? He said : My horses have multiplied by generation ; my pay has mounted up, my instalments have arrived successively and thus I have grasped them. Abû Hureyra continues : After having performed the morning-prayer, I begged God's pardon for the Prince of the Faithful and after that 'Umar said to me : " Would you not like to act as governor ? " " No. " " One has acted as governor, who was better than you : Yûsuf. " " Yûsuf was a prophet, the son of a prophet, whilst I am the son of Umeyma[2] and I am afraid of three and of two. [3]" " Why do you not say five ?" " I am afraid of speaking without knowledge, of giving judgment without forbearance, I'm afraid lest my back be beaten, my honour reviled, my property pulled away."

Muhammad Ibn Daûd told us from Nasr ibn Qudeyd from Ibrâhîm ibn Al-Mubârak from Mâlik ibn Dinâr, that he had visited Bilâl ibn Abî Burda when he was governor of Basra[4] and said : O amîr, I read in one of the books : Who is more stupid than the ruler and who is more ignorant than he who disobeys me, and who is more powerful than he who glorifies me ? O wretched shepherd, I delivered to you fat sheep that were flowing with grease, but you have eaten the meat, drunken the milk, made use

(1) Abû Hureyra had been appointed governor of Al-Bahreyn in 20 H., s. Tabari 2594 and Cactani, *Annali dell' Islam* 21 § 249.

(2) Abu Hureyra's mother.

(3) For this way of counting see Goldziher in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandishen Gesellschaft.* Vol. 49 p. 210.

(4) from 110-120 H.

of the fat for seasoning your bread, put on their wool and left them as clashing bones.[1]

Muhammad ibn Shabâba told me from Al-Qâsim ibn Al-Hakam al 'Urani the judge, he said : Isma'îl ibn 'Eiyâsh told me from Abû Muhammad al-Qurashi from Rajâ ibn Heywa from Ibn Makhrama ; he said : I was standing beneath the pulpit of 'Umar ibn al-Khattâb, may God be pleased with him, in Al-Jâbiya,[2] when he rose up among the people, praised God and said : O people, read the Qur'ân so that you may be known for it and act according to it, so that you may belong to its people. He who has a right will not through his right reach that stage, that he will be obeyed when disobeying God. Verily for a man to speak the truth and to remind of what is great will not remove the gift of God nor bring near the end. I did not find the well-being of that which Allah has entrusted me
55 with, except in three : the discharge of a trust, seizing with strength, deciding according to Allah's revelation. And I did not find the well-being of this property except in three : that it be taken through right, be given away for right, be denied to that which is useless. With regard to this your property I am like the trustee of the orphan : if I am not in want, I abstain, if I am in need I eat suitably, just like the lamb beginning to eat dry things.

I have been told on the authority of Muhammad ibn Sâlih from Bakr ibn Khuneys from 'Abdullah ibn 'Ubeyd ibn 'Umeyr from his father ; he said : Whenever Ziyâd appointed a man, he said to him : take your covenant and proceed towards your work and know that you will be sent here at the beginning of your year and that you will attain one of four things, so choose one for yourself : if we find you loyal but weak, we shall appoint another in your place on account of your weakness, but your loyalty will save you from our reviling you ; if we find you disloyal but strong we shall make light of your strength, but shall count your culture as something good in spite of your disloyalty and we shall pain your back and make your fine heavy ; and if you collect against us two crimes, we shall collect against you two damages. If we find you trustworthy and strong, we shall increase your work, raise your fame, multiply your property and we shall make your heel to be trodden upon (by many followers).

(1) The quotation as given by Malik corresponds roughly to Ezechiel 342-3.

(2) South west of Damascus : 'Umar was there in 17 H. in order to organise the administration of the newly conquered territories.

Al-'Utbî said : Sets of the vestment called *hulla* were sent to 'Umar, whereupon he distributed them and every man got one. After that he ascended the pulpit clad in a *hulla* which consists of two parts (izâr and rida) and said : O people, do not you listen ? Suleymân said, " We do not listen. " " Why, O Abû 'Abdullah ? " " Because you distributed to every one of us one garment, while you put on a *hulla.* " " Be not hasty, O Abû 'Abdullah. " Then he called out " O 'Abdullah, " but nobody replied. So he said, "O 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar,"[1] whereupon he replied : " At your service, O Prince of the Faithful." 'Umar said : " I adjure you by Allah, is the garment that I wear as an izâr yours ?" He said : By Allah, yes. Thereupon Suleymân, may God be pleased with him, said : " Now speak and we shall listen."

I was told on the authority of Hafs ibn 'Imrân ar Râzi from Al-Hasan ibn 'Umâra from Al Minhâl ibn 'Amr he said : Mu'âwiya said to Shaddâd ibn 'Amr ibn Aûs : get up and speak of 'Alî and speak ill of him. So
56 Shaddâd got up and said : Praise be to God who has imposed His obedience as a duty on his servants and has made his approval preferable among the pious people to that of anybody else : this has been the way of the first of them and it will be that of the last. O people, the world to come is a true promise, in it a Powerful King will give judgment ; but this world is a frail good that is present, of which both the pious and the wicked eat. He who listens and obeys has no proof against him, he who listens and disobeys has no proof in his favour. For Allah, to whom belongs glory and power, whenever He desires prosperity for the people, appoints their virtuous ones as their governors, and makes judges between them their learned in the law, and places property in the hands of their generous ones : and whenever He wishes ill to his servants He appoints their foolish ones as governors and their ignorant ones as judges, and places property in the hands of their miserly ones, for it belongs to the thriving state of their governors, that their companions thrive. O Mu'âwiya, *he* gave you sincere advice who angered you with truth, and he deceived you who made you pleased with vanity. " Thereupon Mu'âwiya said to him, sit down, and he ordered money to be given to him and said : Am I not of the generous ? He replied : If your property is apart from that of the Muslims : if you purposed collecting it, bewaring of claims for wrong-doings ; and if you

(1) The Caliph's own son.

gained it lawfully and spent it in bestowing favours, yes. But if it was of that in which the Muslims were your partners and which you drew out for yourself exclusively; which you gained through committing a crime and which you spent in squandering, with regard to that Allah, to whom belongs Glory and Power, has said (Sûrah XX 29) "For the squanderers were ever brothers of the devils, and the devil was ever an ingrate to his Lord."

'Amr ibn 'Ubeyd passed by a company of people that were cleaving to a place and said, : What is this ? When he was told, "A thief whose hand is being cut off," he said, "There is no God but Allah ! One who thieves secretly is having his hand cut off by one who thieves publicly !"

Târiq, the head of the police of Khâlid al-Qasri, passed by Ibn Shubruma[1] when Târiq was with his train of attendants. Whereupon Ibn Shubruma said :

"I see it, although it once was loved, as if it were

"A cloud in summer which will soon be cleared away. O God I have my religion and they have their worldly possessions." When after this Ibn Shubruma had been appointed to his judgeship, his son said to him : Do you remember the day on which Târiq passed by you with his train of attendants and when you spoke those words ? He replied : "My son, they will find one like your father, but your father will not find their like ; your father has eaten of their sweetmeats and inclined their way."

'Abdur-Rahmân ibn al Dahhâk ibn Qeys was governor in Medîna[2] for two years and behaved well and abstained from the property of the people. When he had been discharged, people collected round him and he recited the verses by Darrâj al Dabâbi :

57 "Not prison has made me weep, nor fetters emaciated me
"Nor am I grieved for fear of death
"But there are people of whom I am afraid
"Lest after my death they should grant what I used to refuse."

After that he said : By Allah, I am not sorry for this governorship, but I fear lest one might govern these parts, who will not be mindful of their rights.

And I found in a book the following words, addressed by 'Alî ibn Abî Tâlib—may Allah show regard to his face—to Ibn 'Abbâs, when he had taken away something of the

(1) 'Abdullah ibn Shubruma, poet and faqîh, died in 144 A.H.
(2) 101-103 A. H.

property of Al Basra : " I made you my partner in my trust and there was not one man more trustworthy in my sight than you. But when you saw the time becoming enraged against your cousin and the enemy being vehemently angry, you turned the back of the shield towards your cousin, by forsaking him along with those who forsook and by deserting him along with those who deserted ; and you snatched away what you could get hold of of the property of the community, just as the lean wolf snatches away the bleeding goat. " And in the letter it was said : " Go slowly, for it is as if you had reached the limit and as if your doings were exposed to your view in the place in which the deceived shouts with a sigh, and the one who wasted wishes that he had repented and the wicked that he could return."

And in a letter of 'Umar ibn 'Abdul 'Azîz to Alî ibn Artât[1] it was said : What deceived me about you was your keeping company with the reciters of the Qur'ân and your black turban. But after having tried you, we have found you different from what we had hoped. May God fight you, walk you not among the tombs ?

Ibn Ahmar says with regard to the administrators of the poor-tax :

" Verily the leather bags which they conceal closed up
" In them is the explanation, while the information is kept hid from you.
" Send to them and settle an account with them
" Lest an eye be concealed over ocular view or vestige.
" Is there in the eight of the seventy a wrong ?
" Whilst their master takes patience in the book of God."

And 'Abdullah ibn Hammam as-Salûli said :

" Make little your blame against me, O mother of Mâlik,
58 " And blame the age in which the misers rule
" Many a one who calumniates with the ruler, is not sincere
" And from such a one as he, one guards oneself, although he is a Guardian."

One of the governors of the ruler came from an employment and he invited people and fed them and began to tell them lies. So one of them said : We are, as Allah, to whom belongs glory and power has said : (Surah V, 46) " *Listeners to a lie, eaters of unlawful things.*"

(1) Appointed Governor of Al-Basra in 99 A. H. s. Tabari II1346

One of the poets said :

" What do you think of people, the best of whose earnings
" Is an obvious unlawful profit, which they call a successful hit."

And Abû Nuwâs said of Isma'îl ibn Sabîh[1] :

" You built, with that of which you cheated the Imâm, a tank
" And may they not drink anything but what is more bitter than myrrh
" You are naught else but as one who sells her podex
" Visiting the sick with it in order to gain a reward."

With this he is alluding to the story of the woman amongst the Banû Israîl who fornicated with a pomegranate grain and gave it as an alms to the sick.

And he further said about him, addressing Muhammad al-Amîn :[2]

" Is it not you, O Amînullah, whose sword is vengeance
" Whenever a fool is foolishly disobeying you,
" And how will Isma'îl, one such as he keep safe
" With you, when no hypocrite remains safe with you ?[3]
" I induce you to have recourse to the Beneficent against the evil of a scribe
" Who has one pen that commits fornication, and another that steals."

And he further said of him :

" Speak to Isma'îl, you drink
" In the cup of the Banû Mâhân like one inseparable.
" Do you fatten the children of the expelled and his party
" By emaciating the people of God of the descendants of Hâshim ?
" And do you tell those you meet that you are fasting
" Whereas you turn up in the morning with a breakfasting pudendum, not a fasting one ?
" And when Isma'îl is passing the night with his sins,
" The Prince of the Faithful cannot sleep."

Hâritha ibn Badr was governor of Surraq and Abû'l Aswad ad-Duali[4] wrote to him :

" O Hâri ibn Badr, you are in charge of a district

(1) The confidential secretary of the Caliph Al-Amîn : s. *Diwan Abi Nuwas* (ed. Cairo 1322) p. 140.

(2) *Ibidem* 140.

(3) Read : Yâslamu mithluhu 'aleyka wa lam Yaslam, aleyka munafiqu, cf. Tabari, *Glossarium* s. *v. Salima.*

(4) s. *Reschor in Wiener Zeitschrift* XXVII395.

" Be in it a field rat, deceiving and stealing !
59 " And vie with Tamîm in wealth ; verily wealth
" Has the tongue with which a man full of fear speaks
" And all men are either considered liars,
" Talking what they like, or considered truthful.
" They say things without knowing them,
" And if it is said to them : " Produce, prove, " they cannot prove.
" And despise not, O Hâri, a thing you have gained
" For your share of the kingdom of the two 'Irâqs is Surraq."

When this reached Hâritha he said : Following the right way will not remain dubious to you.

Abû Hâtim told me from Al-Asma'î from Juweyriya ibn Asmâ ; he said : " N. N. said : a man may be trustworthy, but when he sees the estates, he will be disloyal."

I read in the letter of Abarwez to his son Sheroya : Make your punishment for a little of disloyalty as your punishment for much thereof, for if there is no covetousness against you in the little, there will be no boldness against you in the big. Send off the courier for the dirham that is wanting in the tax, and do not punish for anything so much as for its abating, nor grant as much pay for anything as for collecting it. And make the biggest pay for it and the best reward for it the sparing of the blood of the collector and the increase of his property : without his knowing that you found his work praiseworthy whilst he abstained and protected himself from death.

And I read in the *Taj* that Abarwez said to the administrator of the public treasury : I am not going to forgive your unfaithfulness with regard to one dirham, nor to praise you for preserving a million dirhams ; because, thereby, you only prevent your own blood from being shed and cultivate thereby your own security ; for if you are unfaithful in a little, you will be unfaithful in much. And guard against two things : decrease in what you take and increase in what you spend, and know that I did not entrust anybody with the treasures of the empire nor the prosperity of the kingdom nor the preparations against the enemy, except that you are more trustworthy with me than his post that he holds and his seals that are used for it. So justify my opinion in selecting you, so that I may justify your opinions with regard to what you hope from me. Take not bad in exchange for good, nor overbearing

for humility, nor repentance for behaving well nor disloyalty for loyalty.

And it used to be said : A man shows enough disloyalty who is loyal to the disloyal.

60 Mu'adh came from the Yaman after the death of the Messenger of God, God bless him and give him peace, to Abû Bakr, God be pleased with him. When he said to him : " Submit your reckoning ", he replied, " Are there two reckonings, one from Allah and one from you ? No, by Allah, I shall never take charge from you of any office."

A Beduin, in speaking of a disloyal man, said : People eat their trusts in morsels, but this one gulps it in one gulp.

One of the rulers said to a governor of his : Eat little, so that you may govern long, adhere to abstemiousness, so that the office may adhere to you ; beware of bribes, so that your back may be strong in a quarrel.

On Judgeship.

Ishâq ibn Râhûya told us ; he said : Bishr ibn al Mufaddal ibn Lâhiq informed us ; he said : Al Mughîra ibn Muhammad told us from 'Umar ibn Abdul-'Azîz, he said : " A man should not be a judge, unless there are in him five qualities : he should be learned before he is appointed, consulting the learned, renouncing covetousness, impartial to the adversary, imitating[1] the Imams".

'Alî ibn Muhammad told me ; he said, Isma'îl ibn Ishâq al-Ansâri told us from 'Abdullah ibn Lahî'a from 'Abdullah ibn Hubeyra from 'Alî, upon whom be peace, that he had said : " My word is pledged and I am responsible for it " (Sûrah XII, 72) towards him to whom the proofs become apparent, that the seeds of people be not destroyed in spite of fear of God, nor the place of growth of the roots be thirsty in spite of fear of God. Verily, the most hated of men with Allah is he who picks up ignorance, heedless with regard to the dark nights of disturbance, blind respecting the concluding of a truce ; those like him among men call him learned, though he has not any use in knowledge safely any day. He hastens and asks for
61 much, but what is little of him is better than what is much, until after having been well-watered from a tainted well and after having become compact without any profit, he sits down between the people as a judge in order to clear up what remained dubious to others than him. If

(1) Muqtadiyan s. the footnote in the Egyptian edition, p. 60.

any ambiguous matter alight with him, he prepares some worn-out stuffed garment of judgment, which means the cutting of doubts like the web of a spider. He does not know when he has made a mistake, because he does not know whether he has failed or hit the mark. He goes in the night without a light, continually entering upon unknown affairs, not apologizing for what he does not know, so as to escape free ; nor does he bite knowledge with a cutting tooth. He scatters tradition as the wind does dry grass, murders weep on account of him, and heritages cry for help against him, and through his judgment he makes lawful the forbidden pudendum. He is not, by Allah, to be trusted with to be sending back what has descended on him, nor worthy of the praises bestowed on him.

Ibn Shubruma said :

" There is not in the judgment intercession in favour of the litigant
" With the man of sound judgment nor the well-versed in the law who gives his decision.
" How easy it is for me, if I decide according to a *sunna*
" Or the Sacred Book, in spite of him who is reluctant ?
" And I decided in things for which I found no traditions
" According to well-known precedents and land-marks."

Al Heytham from Ibn 'Eiyâsh from ash-Sha'bî said : The first judge who acted as such for 'Umar in Al-'Irâq was Salmân ibn Rabî'a al-Bâhilî : afterwards he took part in the battle of al Qadisiya and acted as judge there ; after that he was judge in Al-Madâ'in. After that 'Umar discharged him and made Shurahbîl judge of al Madâ'in and after having discharged him he made Abû Qurra al Kinde judge—and that is his name (not his *Kunya*)—and when people traced the boundaries of Al-Kûfa, their judge was Abû Qurra. After that he appointed judge Shureyh ibn Al-Hârith al-Kindî who was judge for 75 years. Ziyâd once sent him away to Al-Basra and made judge in his place Masrûq ibn Al-Ajda' for one year until Shureyh returned, and he reinstated him, whereupon he remained judge until he reached the time of the civil war in the days of Ibn al-Zubeyr, when he resigned and did not act as judge during the civil war. 'Abdullah ibn al-Zubeyr appointed another man judge in his place for three years, but after the death of ibn al-Zubeyr, Shureyh was re-appointed to the judgeship. A man met Shureyh on the road and said : O Abu Umeyya, you decided, by Allah,

62 unjustly " How so ? woe to you !" " Your years have become many, you have become disordered in mind and your son has accepted bribes. " " Certainly, nobody is to say this after you ." Thereupon he went to Al Hajjâj and said : " By Allah, I am not going to decide between two people. " But Al Hajjâj replied : " By Allah, I shall not exempt you unless you seek out a man for me." Shureyh said : You will have to get hold of the chaste and noble Abû Burda ibn Abû Mûsâ. Al Hajjâj appointed him judge and placed at his side as secretary and helper Sa'îd ibn Jubeyr.

Al Taurî related from Alqama ibn Marthad that he met Muhârib ibn Dithâr, who was in charge of the judgeship, and who said to him : " O Muhârib, up to how often do you make the adversaries go and come ?" Thereupon he said : I am, in regard to the adversaries, even as what al A'shâ[1] said :

" I am wakeful, and what is this sleeplessness that causes one to be awake
" Since there is not in me disease nor love ?
" But I see myself continually on account of an event
" Being visited in the morning by that which had not
" Spent the evening with me, and being visited at night."

Ishâq ibn Ibrâhîm ibn Habîb ibn Ash-Shahîd told me from Qureysh ibn Anas from Habîb ibn ash-Shahîd. He said : I was sitting with Iyâs ibn Mu'âwiya when a man came to him and asked him about something and he protracted it. Iyâs said : If you want a decision according to the law, you should go to Al-Hasan, my teacher and the teacher of my father ; if you want the decision of a judge, you should go to 'Abdul-Malik ibn Ya'lâ—who was then judge at Al Basrah —and if you want reconciliation, you should go to Humeyd at-Tawîl ; and do you know what he will say to you ? He will say to you : " Abate a little. " and he will say to your partner " Increase to him a little, so that we may make peace between you. " But if you want to excite mischief, you should go to Sâlih al Sadûsi and do you know what he will say to you ? He will say "Deny what you owe ", and he will say to your partner " Claim what does not belong to you and claim as your witnesses such as are absent. "

I read in the Aîn : It behoves him who gives judgment to know the true, just decision and the just decision which is not true, and the true decision which is not just ; and he

(1 *Diwan* ed. Geyer XXXIII1-2.

should deduce by analogy through seeking for information and examination and he should caution himself against doubt. And the true and just judgment according to them, is to kill a soul for a soul, the just not true judgment is to kill a free man for a slave, the true not just judgment is the bloodwit to be paid by the male relations.

63 'Abdur-Rahmân ibn 'Abdullâh, the nephew of Al-Asma'î said : My uncle Al-Asma'î told me : A Beduin said to people who were litigating : Do you want right or what is better than right ? When it was said, What is better than right ? he replied : Mutual remission and concession for to take the whole of right is bitter.

Abû Hâtim told me from Al-Asma'î : he said : Two men disagreed about something, and they chose a man as judge who had an inclination for the one who was wrong. So he said to the one who was wrong : Those who are of your opinion, are the majority.

Al Heytham ibn 'Adî said : Kulthum, the daughter of Sarî', the Maulâ of 'Amr ibn Hureyth proceeded, along with her brother Al-Walîd, to Abdul-Malik ibn 'Umeyr, who was judge in Al-Kûfa. His son, 'Amr ibn Abdul-Malik was suspected of intercourse with her, and so he decided in her favour. Thereupon Al-Hudhiyl al-Ashja'î said :

" A companion came to him with witnesses, urging them on
" Against what she claimed of mute property and slaves and cattles
" But a boy urged his due then and a boy was a man of altercation and dispute
" So she allured the Copt[1] until he decided in her favour,
" Not according to the decision of Allah in the long sûrahs.
" Had he who is in the castle known his knowledge,
" The Copt would not have been appointed among us to an office.
" There is in him a blinking toward the women when giving judgment
" Whereas there was a time when there was no blink nor squint in him
" When a coquettish woman spoke to him for some requirement

(1) Abdulmalik ibn Umeyr was known by the surname al Qibti, s. Ibn Hajar Tahdhib II 411 ; he died in 136 H.

" And he was intending to give his decision, he would
hum in his throat or cough
" And open his eyes wide and chew his tongue
" Thinking everything except her person to be small."

And Abdul Malik ibn 'Umeyr used to say : By Allah, many a time coughing or humming in the throat affects me, while I am in the place of ablution, so I refrain from this.

And Ibn Munâdhir said of Khâlid ibn Talîq who was in charge of the judgeship in Al Basra :

" Say to the Prince of the Faithful who is
64 " Of Hâshim, their pink and their essence :
" If you punished us on account of displeasure,
" Through Khâlid, it is the harshest of punishments.
" The judges of people were in the past
" Of Allah's mercy, but this one is a chastisement.
" O wonder about Khâlid ! How is it he does not
" Once even make a mistake in a decision by doing the
right ?"

And he said concerning him :

" The judge was taken, O
people, from the family of Talîq,
" A laughing-stock gives judgment amongst the people
" According to the views of the Catholicos[1].
" What kind of a judge are you
" In want of judgment and neglecting the rights ?
" O Abû'l-Heytham, you are not
" For this suitable
" No, nor are you, for that
" Wherewith you have been loaded, capable."

'Adî ibn Artât wanted Bakr ibn 'Abdullah al-Muzanî for the judgeship. Bakr said to him : " By Allah, how beautiful is the office of the judge ! But whether I speak a lie or the truth, it is not lawful for you to appoint me."

And Abdur-Razzâq related from Ma'mar ; he said : When Ibn Shubruma was discharged from his judgeship, the governor of Al Yaman said to him ; " Select for us a man whom we may entrust with the office of judge." But Ibn Shubruma said, " I do not know one." When, after that, a man from San'a was mentioned to him and when he came, Ibn Shubruma said to him : " Do you know what you have been called for ?" " No." " You have been called for a big thing, the office of the judge." " How easy is the work of the judge ! " " Then we shall ask you

(1) *Yathaliq* (Catholicos), the head of the Nestorian church.

about an easy thing of it. " " Ask." " What say you of a man who has struck the belly of a pregnant sheep so that she threw forth what was in her belly ?" The man kept silent and Ibn Shubruma said : " " We tested you, but we find nothing with you." And when Ibn Shubruma was asked, What is the decision about it ?, he replied : She should be valued pregnant and she should be valued not pregnant and the man should pay the difference between the two.

65 ' Abdullah ibn Muhammad al-Khalanjî told me, Yahya ibn Aktham used to examine those he wanted for the judgeship. So he said to a man : What say you of two men, each of whom married his mother to the other, after which each had a child from his wife ; what is the relationship between the two children ? When he did not know it, Yahya said to him : Each of the two children is the paternal uncle of the other from his mother.

One of the people of Syria called on 'Abdul Malik ibn Marwân and said : I got married to a woman and married my son to her mother and we cannot do without your help. 'Abdul Malik said : If you can tell me what is the relationship between your children once you have begotten them, I shall help you. He replied : O Prince of the Faithful, this Hamîd ibn Bahdal whom you girded with your sword and charged with what happens behind your door ask him about it. If he hits on the right answer, privation should adhere to me, if he fails in his answer, excuse should be extended for me. When he had called Al-Bahdali and asked him, he said : O Prince of the Faithful, you did not promote me for my knowledge of genealogy, but for my piercing with the spear : the one is the paternal uncle of the other, who is his maternal uncle.

Ibn Sîrîn said : We were with Abû 'Ubeyda ibn Abî Hudheyfa in a pavilion of his, and before him there was a fire-pot with fire in it, when a man came to him, sat down with him on his carpet and spoke secretly to him, without our knowing what it was. When Abû 'Ubeyda said to him : Put for me your finger in this fire, the man replied: God is far from such imperfection ! You order me to place my finger in this fire ! But Abû 'Ubeyda replied : You are niggardly to me with regard to one of your fingers for the fire of this world, yet you ask me to put for your sake the whole of my body into the fire of hell ! Ibn Sîrîn continued : So we were of opinion that he had invited him to the office of the judge.

It used to be said : If three things are to be found in a judge, he is not perfect : if he dislikes reproaches, if he likes praises, if he dislikes being discharged. And if three things are not to be found in him, he is not perfect : consulting, although he be learned ; not listening to a complaint from any one unless his adversary is with him ; and deciding when he knows.

66 They said : The judge is in need of justice in his glance and in his word and whilst the adversaries are sitting in front of him. He should not decide whilst he is angry and not raise his voice against one of the two adversaries so long as he does not raise it against the other.

Ash-Sha'bî said : I was present with Shureyh one day when a woman came to him who had quarrelled with her husband, and lowered her eyes and wept. When I said : O Abu Umeyya, I think she must have been wronged, he replied, O Sha'bî, the brothers of Yûsuf came to their father in the evening and wept.

I was told from Kathîr ibn Hishâm from Ja'far ibn Burqân ; he said : 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, may God be pleased with him, wrote to Abû Mûsâ al-Ash'arî a letter as follows : In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate ! From the slave of God, 'Umar, the Prince of the Faithful to 'Abdullah ibn Qeys, peace be upon you, now after this : the judicial decision is a duty established and a religious law to be followed. Now understand, if an application is made to you for the decision of a cause it is no use talking about a right that cannot pass through. Make people share equally in your sitting room and in your consideration, so that no one exalted in rank should desire you to act wrongfully nor any one weak despair of your justice. The proof rests upon him who claims, and the oath upon him who denies ; agreement is lawful between the people except an agreement that allows what is forbidden or forbids what is allowed. Let not any decision you decided yesterday prevent you, after your soul has repudiated it and you have been led to the right direction, from returning to the right for nothing can annul right ; and know that to return to truth is better than to persevere in falsehood. Try to understand those things that fluctuate in your bosom and about which there is neither Qur'ân nor Sunna ! And get to know of matters that are similar and alike and thus compare things and stick to that one of them which is most beloved by God and most conformable to right as far as you understand. Make for

him who claims a right that is not present, a goal that he can reach ; if he produces proof, he will take his right, if not you will make the decision lawful against him. Muslims are trustworthy witnesses, except those that have been flogged as a penalty, or have been proved to have rendered false witness, or who are suspected on account of the tie of kindred or relationship. Verily Allah has taken the secrets from you on himself and defended you through proofs. And beware of restlessness and annoyance and showing yourself to be hurt by the adversaries in the abodes of right, through which Allah makes reward binding and stores beautiful. He whose secret between himself and God is in a proper state, Allah will put right what is between him and men ; but he who adorns himself toward the world with things other than those Allah knows of him, Allah will disgrace him. And peace !

67 Salâma ibn Al-Khurshub said to Subey al Taghlibî with regard to the pledges left with him for those killed of Abs and Dhubyân[1] :

" Let Subey know, and you are our Lord
" From of old, and he of our men who sticks most faithfully to obligations ;
" That Baghîd and that their brothers
" Dhubyân stirred up the fire that blazed
" I was told that they appointed you judge between them
" And may they not say : verily evil has been the decision.
" If you are a man of knowledge with regard to their affairs
" Knowing him who is right among them, and him who has done wrong,
" And if you place the matter in its places
" Through judgment and knowledge and applying intelligence,
" Then decide ; since you are the wise among them
" So certainly they will not be deprived of the right, cold and strong
" And split the skin of equal breadth and length between them
" To the approval of him who is pleased and who is reluctant

(1) s . *Aghani* XII 30 : Al Asba' ibn 'Abdullah. . . . ibn 'Abs went in for reconciliation and left with the Banû Dhubyân as pledges three sons and four nephews of his so that they concluded peace and he placed them with Subey ibn 'Amr ; see also *Naqaid* ed. Bevan 93.

" If it is property, then according to the number
" Property for property, and if blood, then blood !
" This much. But if you are not capable of passing judgment
" Throw up the matter to them peaceably ! "

'Umar ibn Al-Khattâb recited the poems of Zuheyr ibn Abî Sulma, and when he came to the words :

" And verily right, its decisions are three
" An oath or contending or becoming clear,"[1]

'Umar was astonished at his knowledge of rights and at his distinguishing between them and he said : The right does not go away from one of the three ; either oath, or trial or proof.

And Ibn Abî Leylâ the Faqîh said of 'Abdullah ibn Shubruma :

" And how can one hope for the decision of the judgment
" Since you did not hit on the right decision about yourself
" For you pretend that you belong to Ibn al Julâh,
" But how remote is your claim from your origin ! "

'Abdullah ibn Sâlih al-'Ijlî said : Sharîk, when he was in charge of the judgeship, came out in order to meet Al-Kheyzuran,[2] who had set out for the Hajj. He went to Shâhî[3] and stayed there for three days without encountering her, and since his stores were light and the bread he had with him dry, he started moistening it with water and eating it with salt. And Al-'Alâ ibn al Minhâl al Ghanawi said :

68 " And if what you said is true
" That they compelled you to the judgeship,
" Why then are you walking every day
" In order to meet the woman that goes on pilgrimage
" Stopping in the villages of Shâhî for three days
" Without stores except pieces of bread and water.
" People increase in good every day.
" But you, O Sharîk, slip backward."

And he further said about him :

" Oh, that the father of Sharîk were alive
" So that Sharîk, when he saw him, would desist

(1) ed. Ahlwordt I 40.

(2) The slave-girl of the Caliph al Mahdi whom he married in 159; She was the mother of Al Hâdi and Hârûn and went on pilgrimage to Mekka in 171. s. Tabari III 606.

(3) Near al Qâdisiya ; Sharîk went there from Kûfa where he was judge. s. Yâqût ed. Wûstenfeld III 246.

" And would leave off his domineering over us
" Whenever we would say to him ; this is your father ! "

And he recited a verse by one of the poets regarding one of the judges :

" I weep and bewail the beauty of Islam
" Since you came to take your seat on the bench of the judges
" Misfortunes, as I know, are many
" And I think you to be one of the misfortunes of the days."

Yazîd ibn 'Amr told me ; he said : Al-Qâsim ibn Al-Fadl told me, he said : One of the Banû Jarîr told me that one of them quarrelled with a man before Sauwâr ibn 'Abdullah whose decision went against the Jarîri, but when Sauwâr passed by the Banu Jarîr, the Jarîri stood up against him, felled him and strangled him. And he began to say :

" I dreamt dreams and interpreted them.
" And I was used to interpreting dreams :
" I saw myself strangling a lizard at
" A hole and the lizard was Sauwâr."

Concerning testimonies.

Abû Hâtim told me ; he said, Al Asma'i told us : Ayyûb said to me : Among my companions there is one for whose invitation I hope ; but whose evidence I do not consider allowable.

He said, Sauwâr[1] said : I do not know any one who is better than 'Atâ al Sulamî, but if he would give evidence with me about two copper coins, I should not think his evidence allowable, holding that he is weak in judgment, irresolute ; without wishing to reflect on his religion and his trustworthiness.

He said : And Abu 'Amr ibn al 'Alâ gave evidence before Sauwâr about some question of genealogy. When Sauwâr said, What makes you know that he is his son ? He replied : Just as I know, that you are Sauwâr ibn 'Abdullah ibn 'Anza ibn Naqb.

He said : A man gave evidence before Sauwâr regarding a house a man claimed, and he said : I bear witness that it belongs to him from the water to the sky.

(1) Judge of Al-Basra since 138 H.

Another also bore witness whereupon Sauwâr said to the scribe : Write down their evidence. He said, What should I write ? He replied : Write down everything that brings the house out of the hand of this one and includes it in the property of this one.

He said : A man gave evidence before Sauwâr and when he said to him : What is your work ? he replied : I am a tutor. " Then I shall not think your evidence allowable." " Why ? " " Because you take reward for teaching the Qur'ân. " " And you take reward for acting as a judge among the Muslims. " " I was compelled to accept the judgeship. " " Yes, you were compelled to accept the judgeship, but were you compelled to take the pay ? " " Come along then with your evidence ! " and he declared it to be allowable.

He said : Al Farazdaq gave evidence before one of the judges who said : We think the evidence of Abû Firâs[1] allowable, but add for us (other witnesses). So when he left, it was said to him, " Verily by God, he has not thought your evidence allowable." He said : " What prevents him from it, since I reviled a thousand virtuous women? "

And Abu Dulâma appeared in order to give evidence before Ibn Abî Leyla, and he said in his sitting-room :

" If people keep me concealed, I keep concealed from them
" But if they investigate about me, there is scope for investigating about them.
" If they dig up my well, I dig up theirs
" So that that may become known which these wells conceal."

Thereupon he admitted his testimony, imprisoned the one against whom evidence had been given and gave him the value of the thing.

A man came to Ibn Shubruma along with people who were to give evidence in his favour with regard to a piece of land with palm-trees on it. So they gave evidence and they were trustworthy. When Ibn Shubruma asked them: How many palm-trees are there on the land ? they said : We do not know ; whereupon he dismissed their evidence. But one of them said to him : You have been giving judgment in this mosque for thirty years, so tell us how many pillars there are in it ? Thereupon he admitted their testimony.

(1) The *Kunya* by which Al-Farazdaq was known.

And one of the poets said :

" For a litigant no escape can be hoped
" On a day, on which the judge is his adversary."

A man made an adversary of his appear before Ziyâd in a claim he had against him and he said : This man confides in a special thing, saying that it is due to him from you. He said : Yes, and I will tell you what this special thing of his will help him with me. If the right will be in his favour against you, I shall punish you harshly and if the right will be in your favour against him, I shall decide against him and afterwards pay for him.

Abû'l Yaqzân said : 'Ubeydullah ibn Abû Bakra was a judge and in his decision inclined towards his brothers. When this was pointed out to him, he said : " What is the good of a man who does not cut off something from his religion in favour of his brothers ? "

Al Madâ'inî said : between Talha ibn 'Ubeydullah and Al-Zubeyr there was some putting off in the matter of some claim regarding a wâdî in al-Madînah. So they said, let us appoint 'Amr ibn al As between us. When they came to him he said to both of them : With the excellence of both of you and the precedence you both have of old, and Allah's benefits bestowed on both of you, you are in disagreement ! You both have listened to the Messenger of God, may God bless him and give him peace, just as I have listened to him ; and you were present just as I was, when he said with regard to him who cuts off one span from the land of his brother without right, that he will have it put round his neck from seven lands. And the judge stands more in need of justice than the accused, because the judge if he acts wrongfully is deprived of his religion, whilst the accused if he has been treated wrongfully, is deprived of earthly goods. If you like, produce your arguments ; if you like be reconciled. Thereupon they became reconciled and each gave the other satisfaction.

And As-Sindî ibn Shâhak[1] did not give an oath to one who let asses on hire, nor a weaver nor a sailor, and he used to place the word of the claimant along with his oath. He used to say, O God, I ask Thee to choose the better of the two, the camel-driver or the teacher of children.

(1) As his name implies he originally came from Sind. He was head of the police under Hârûn and later on judge at Bagdad, where he died in 204 A.H. Apparently he held to some caste prejudices of his native country.

71 Abû'l Beydâ said : I heard a Sheykh of the Beduins say : We in the desert do not accept the testimony of a slave nor that of *qui semen emittit ante congressum* nor of him who interrupts his urine. Abû'l Beydâ said : Thereupon I laughed so much that I almost urined into my garment.

When 'Ubeydullah ibn Al-Hasan al-'Anbari was asked : Do you admit the testimony of one who is abstemious, pious, but foolish, he said : " No ; and I shall show you ; call Abû Maudûd, my door-keeper." When he came he said, Go out and see what the wind is. When he came back, he said : A north wind, mixed with a little of the south wind. So he said : Do you think I could admit the testimony of one like this ?

Al 'Amash said, Muhârib ibn Dithâr said to me I took charge of the judgeship and my people wept ; afterwards I was discharged and they wept ; I do not know how this came about. So I said to him : You took charge of the office of a judge, though you disliked it, and you showed grief at it, so your people wept ; afterwards you were discharged and you disliked your dismissal and showed grief at it, so your people wept. He said : verily it is as you said.

Iyâs ibn Mu'âwiya was going to Damascus, when he was a young man and he made an adversary of his appear before a judge of 'Abdul Malik ibn Marwân's. Since his adversary was an old man, the judge said : You make an old man appear here ? But Iyâs said : Justice is older than him. The judge said : Keep silent, but he replied : Who will speak out my proof ? He said : I do not think you will speak the truth, until you get up. He said : I swear that there is no God but Allah. Thereupon the judge got up and went to Abdul Malik and told him what had happened, whereupon he said : Decide his affair and turn him out of Damascus, lest he rouse the people against me.

A Beduwi said to an adversary of his : By Allah, if you walk gently towards falsehood, you will walk slowly away from truth.

Chapter on Decisions.

72 'Abda ibn 'Abdullâh told me ; he said Wahb ibn Jarîr told me ; he said : my father told me, I heard Al-Zubeyr ibn al Hârith tell from 'Ikrima, from Abû Hureyra.

He said : The messenger of God, may God bless him and give him peace, decided that if people disagreed about the roads they should be seven dhirâ'.

Yazîd ibn 'Amr told me from Muhammad ibn Mûsâ from Ibrahîm ibn Hantam from Ghazâl ibn Mâlik al Ghifâri from his father from his grandfather ; he said : The prophet, peace be on him, stood as guarantee for a man under suspicion.

He said : He further told me from Ibrâhîm ibn Hantam, from Ghazâl ibn Mâlik, from his father, from his grandfather, he said : Abû Hureyra said : The Prophet, may God bless him and give him peace, imprisoned on suspicion for a short time till he had investigated.

Yazîd told me ; he said, Al Walîd told me from Jarîr ibn Hâzim, from Al-Hasan : The Messenger of God, may God bless him and give him peace, had a man crucified on a hill called Rabâb. A man in Medina told me, It is Dhû Rabâb.

Ahmad ibn Al-Khalîl told me from Suleymân ibn Harb from Jarîr from Ya'lâ ibn Hakîm from his father from Ibn 'Abbâs ; he said : Mâ'iz ibn Mâlik came to the Prophet, God bless him and give him peace, and said : I committed fornication, O messenger of God. He said : Perhaps you touched or felt with the hand or squeezed. But he said, " No I committed fornication " and this he repeated to him three times. When he said it for the fourth time, he had him stoned.

Shabâba told me from Al-Qâsim ibn Al Hakam from Al-Thaurî from 'Alî ibn Al-Aqmar from Yazîd ibn Abî Kabsha that a woman who had stolen was taken to Abû'd-Darda. He said to her, " Did you steal ? Say no."

73 Sahl ibn Muhammad told me ; he said, Al Asma'î told me, he said : They brought a brigand to Ziyâd when there was a company with him amongst whom was Al Ahnaf. When they carped at him and said, Tell the amir the truth, Al-Ahnaf said, The truth is sometimes a miracle. This pleased Ziyâd and he said, May God grant you a good reward !

Shabâba told me from Al-Qâsim ibn al Hakam, from Isma'îl ibn 'Eyyâsh, from one who told him, from Ibn 'Abbâs ; he said : To cut off the hair or the beard is not suitable as a punishment because Allah, to whom belongs glory and power, made the shaving of the head an act of piety for his approval.

Shabâba told me from Al-Qâsim from Al Auzâ'î that 'Umar ibn 'Abdul 'Azîz said : Beware of punishing by cutting hair and beard.

Muhammad ibn Khâlid ibn Khidâsh told me ; he said, Salm ibn Quteyba told us, he said, Yûnus told us from Abû Bakr ibn Hafs ibn 'Umar, he said : When Marwân ibn Al-Hakam was amîr of Al-Madînah he sentenced a man to 40 dirhams for having frightened a man so that he broke wind.

Muhammad ibn 'Ubeyd told me from Mu'âwiya ibn 'Amr from Abû Ishâq from Juweybir from al Dahhâk from Ibn Mas'ûd, he said : In this nation there will not be lawful chaining with a collar of iron, nor fettering, nor stripping off a man's clothes nor stretching.

'Abdur-Rahmân told me from al Asma'î, he said : Amir ibn al Zarîb al-'Adwânî was the judge of the Arabs, and people travelled to him to ask his decision about an hermaphrodite. He had a slave girl called Khuseyla whom sometimes he blamed for being dilatory with pasturing and matters that he had against her. But when he said, O Khuseyla, I kept back these people and delayed them until you were quick with my sheep, she said : Whatever come against you from this, let him follow the part of the body from which he discharges urine.[1] Whereupon he said to her : Come in the evening after this, O Khuseyla or late in the afternoon.[2]

He said : To Ziyâd a man was brought who had a vagina and a penis, so that one did not know how he should be treated with regard to his inheritance. Ziyâd said, Who could deal with this one ? They said : Send for Jâbir ibn Zyed. So he sent for him and he came walking in his shackles.[3] When Ziyâd said, What do you say about this? he replied : Let him keep to the wall, if he discharges urine against it, he is a man : if he discharges urine sitting on his feet, he is a woman.

Muhammad ibn Khâlid ibn Khidâsh told me, he said Salm ibn Quteyba told me, he said, Qeys ibn al Rabî'

(1) Meydani II209 has فقالت الجارية اتبعه اطبال فبايتها بال فهو هو

(2) *i.e.*, come back from grazing whenever you like, after this reply to yours to my question I shall never again blame you. Meqdani II209 has..... مسي سنحيل بعد ها او صبحي

(3) s. Ibn Sa'd VII a 130 : Jabîr had been imprisoned and they sent asking for his decision about a hermaphrodite, how to treat him with regard to his inheritance. He said : You imprison me and then you ask for my decision.

told me from Abû Huseyn, that a man broke a mandolin belonging to another man, who brought the case before Shureyh. But Shureyh said : I do not decree anything about the mandoline.

Abû Hâtim told me from Al-Asma'î from his father, he said : Abû'l-'Ajjâj said to me : O son of Asma', by Allah, if you acknowledge, I shall compell you to pay ; that is to say, do not acknowledge.

Abû Hâtim from Al-Asma'î from his father from Mamar ; he said : A man returned a slave girl to the man from whom he had bought her. When he went to law with him before Iyâs ibn Mu'âwiya he said : Why do you return her ? He replied : On account of her foolishness. Iyâs said to her : Which of your two feet is longer ? She replied : " This one". He said : " Do you remember the night in which you were born ? " She replied : " Yes. " So Iyâs said : Give her back, give her back.

Abû'l Khattâb said : Abû Daûd told me from Qeys from Abû Huseyn, he said : I saw Ash-Sha'bî give a decision whilst sitting on the skin of a lion.[1]

On oppression.

'Abdur-Rahmân ibn 'Abdullâh ibn Qureyb told me, Al-Asma'î told me, he said : One of the Sheykhs of Al-Basra said : A man and his wife litigated before one of the governors of 'Irâq. The woman was beautifully veiled, though ugly when the face could be seen, and she had a tongue with which the governor felt sympathy. When he said : One of you people aims at a noble woman, marries her and afterwards does evil to her. But when her husband stretched forth his hand towards her veil and
75 threw it back from her face, the governor said : Curse upon you, the language is that of one who has been wronged, but the face is that of one who does wrong.

And Ar-Riyâshî recited with regard to such-like :

" I saw Abû'l-Hajnâ doing wrong among the people.
" And the colour of Abû'l Hajnâ is that of the quadrupeds
" You see him with what altered him in his figure
" And even if he has been wronged,
" He has the face of a wrongdoer."

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(1) s. Ibn Sa'd VI176 : رايت الشعبي جالساً على جلد اسد

Abû Hâtim from Al-Asma'î from Abû 'Amr ibn al 'Alâ, he said : In the time of ignorance an Arab when he saw a man doing wrong and transgressing used to say : N. N. will not die smoothly. They believed this until a man died about whom he had said this. But when it was said to him : " N. N. died smoothly," he did not accept it until the reports followed one another. After that he said : If you speak the truth, there is for you a dwelling-place beside this, in which you will be requited.

One of the scribes wrote to a ruler : I ask you to seek Allah's protection from being careless of thanks, being debarred through boons ; spending the redundance of the rule granted you for that whereof the benefit is little, whereas what follows it of oppression and wrong-doing is great ; and from Sheytân making you slip through his deceiving and alluring and his deluding, so as to remove the transitory happiness and make you forget the blameful end. For resolute is he, who remembers today what is feared of the end of his tomorrow, and whom the length of expectation does not deceive nor the delaying of the term ; who does not hasten towards an abyss of falsehood without knowing what its end will manifest. This, along with what follows the wrong-doer of ill-reward and ill-fame, which neither the return of the two new ones (day and night), nor the change of the two times (parts of the day) will destroy.

Yazîd ibn 'Amr told me, Mu'âwiya ibn 'Amr told us, he said, Abû Ibrâhîm As-Saqqâ told us from Leyth from Mujâhid ; he said : The teacher of boys will be brought forth on the day of judgment ; if he has treated the boys with justice, so much the better, if not, he will be made to stand with the wrong-doers.

76 And Mu'âwiya used to say : I feel ashamed to wrong him who does not find against me any helper but Allah.

And Bilâl said : I shrink from wronging and I feel disquieted lest I be wrong.

And it used to be said : If Allah wishes to present one of his slaves with a precious gift, he appoints for him one who will wrong him.

A man wrote to a ruler : He among men who is best fitted to benefit, is he whom Allah has benefited ; and he among them is most apt to act justly whose arms have been stretched by power.

Once oppression was mentioned in the company of Ibn 'Abbâs, when Ka'b said : I do not find in God's revealed book that oppression destroys houses.[1] But Ibn 'Abbâs said, I shall make you find it in the Qur'ân ; God, to whom belongs glory and power, says (*Surah* XXVII 53) " Thus are their houses overturned, for that they were unjust. "

Sahl ibn Muhammad told me from Al-Asma'î, he said : Fur'ân who was one of the Banû Tamîm used continually to make raids on people's camels and capture them and then fight against them for their sake. So when one day he had made a raid against a man and obtained a camel of his, the man seized him by his hair and pulled him and he stayed. When people said : You are big, by Allah, O Fur'ân, he replied : No, by Allah, he pulled me like a man with a just claim.

Sudeyf ibn Meymûn, the Maulâ of the Lihbites, used to say : O Allah ! our booty has become a favouritism after having been division ; and our power haughtiness, after having been counsel ; and our bond inheritance after having been election by the community ; and instruments of music have been bought with the share of the orphan and the widow ; and authority has been given to the protected people over the skins of the Muslims ; and the sinner of every quarter has taken over the management of their affairs. O Allah ! and the seed of falsehood has matured and reached its term and that produced from it has gathered. O Allah ! ordain for it a hand of right, a reaping hand, to squander its hoard and scatter its plans ; so as to render truth victorious in its most beautiful shape and its most perfect light.

A Bedawi, when Governor of a district, collected the Jews of it and asked them about the Messiah. When they said : We killed him and crucified him, he said : " Did you pay his bloodwit ?" " No." " By Allah, you will not go out before paying it. " And they did not leave before they had paid it.

77 One of the Christians was taken to Abû'l-'Aj who was in charge of the non-Muslims[2] of Al-Basrah. When he

(1) Kâb who was a convert from Judaism was perhaps thinking of Biblical passages such as Proverbs 141 when looking out for something corresponding in the Quran.

(2) Jawâli, emigrants, originally those Non-Muslims who had been turned out of al Hijaz by order of Umar.

asked him, What is your name ? he replied : *Bundadh-shahr i Bundadh*,[1] whereupon Abû'l 'Aj said : The name of three and the poll-tax of one ! No, by Allah the great ! And he took from him the poll-tax for three.

A Bedawi who was in charge of Tabâla[2] ascended the pulpit, and without praising Allah, said : The Amîr—may Allah strengthen us and him ! - -has appointed me over these your countries. By Allah, I do not know of law as much as the place of my whip, but nobody, be it wrong-doer or oppressed, will be brought before me without my making him suffer through beating. So they dealt with each other in equity without repairing to him.

One of the poets said :[3]

" O son of our uncle, speak not of poetry after
" You buried the rhymes in the desert of Al-Ghumeyr ;
" We are not, like those whom you used to obtain through secret theft
" So as to accept injustice or to appoint a judge,
" But the judgment of the sword has been given power over you,
" And we are pleased, whenever the sword is pleased.
" And if you say that we acted wrongly, we did not
" Act wrongly, but we exacted payment badly."

And another said :

" You are pleased that you have overpowered me through oppression
" But he who overpowers is the oppressed, if you but knew!"

And people used to guard against the oppression of the ruler whenever they went to see him by uttering the following words : In the name of Allah, I take refuge in the Merciful against you, if you are fearing, " *Depart to it* (the fire of hell) *and speak not unto Me* " (Sûrah XXIII, 110). I assail your ear and your sight through the ear and sight of God, I assail your power through the power of God. Between me and you there is the veil of prophecy by which the Prophets used to conceal themselves from the assault of the Pharaohs. Jibrîl is to your right and Mikhaîl to your left and Muhammad before you, and Allah is

(1) Apparently he was a Nestorian Christian among whom Persian names were frequent. On Persian names composed with Bundadh s. *Justi Iranisches Namenbuch* 369.

(2) In Asir.

(3) According to Hamasa ed. Freytag 54 the poet is al Shamey dhar al Hârithi, s. Brockelmann's note.

looking on you and withholds you from me and protects me from you."

78 And one of the poets said :

" And we ask help of the governor when we are oppressed
" But who can aid when the governor oppresses ? "

And another said :

" When the governor is your adversary
" Say not much, for the governor has gained the victory."

A man wrote to a friend of his : I used to ask your aid against others, when I was oppressing, and you would decide in my favour. Now I, as one who has been oppressed, ask your aid against you, but your justice shrinks from me. And this reminds me of the word of him who said :

" Out of my grief I used to fly to them
" But now they are my grief, so whither can I fly ?

And similar to this :

" For an adversary no success can be hoped
" On a day when his adversary is the judge."

Sahl ibn Muhammad told me from Al-Asma'î ; he said : Nobody has ever been given justice and refused it, except he took something worse than it.

He said, and Al-Ahnaf said : Nobody was ever offered justice who accepted it without reverence for him penetrating me ; and nobody ever refused it, without my hiding it with regard to his intelligence.

Al Ba'îth said :

" I give justice to him who, had I wronged him,
" Would have confessed and whose soul would have conceded my oppression."

And Al-Tâ'i said :

" He looks at coloquinth seasoned with nobility as at honey
" Of Yaman, but at honey mixed with injustice he looks as at coloquinth.
" If they make his justice ample, his annoyance will fall asleep,
" But if they enjoy wronging him, he will wrong even more."

And Al 'Abbâs ibn 'Abdu'l-Muttalib said :

" Our people refuse to render us justice, therefore rendered justice
" Cutting swords in our right hand, dripping with blood

" We left them in such a state that after them they did not deem lawful
" For any blood-kindred any day of time anything forbidden."

79 We have been told from Damra, from Thaur ibn Yazîd he said : 'Umar ibn 'Abdul 'Azîz wrote to one of his governors : After compliments, whenever your power over people urges you on to oppress them, remember God's power over you and the passing away of what you bring to them, and the lasting of what they bring to you. And greetings.

Ibn Sîrîn heard a man cursing his oppressor, whereupon he said : Stop, lest he who oppressed you, profit by you.

Their saying about Imprisonment.

In a Hadîth traced back it is said : Yûsuf, peace on him, complained to God, to Whom belongs glory and power about the length of his imprisonment ; whereupon Allah said to him : Who imprisoned you ? You yourself did it by saying (*Surah* XII, 33) *My Lord ! prison is dearer to me than that to which they call me.* Had you said : Safety is dearer to me, verily you would have been granted safety.

'Abdur-Rahmân ibn 'Abdul Mun'im told me from his father from Wahb, he said : Yûsuf, on whom be peace, prayed for the inmates of the prison a prayer for which unto this day they are requited. He said : O God, incline towards them the hearts of the good and do not make obscure to them the tidings. And it is said, they are the best acquainted with every kind of tidings in every country.

On the door of a prison it was written : These are the dwelling-places of calamity and the tombs of the living and the trial of the true friend and the joy of the enemies at another's evil.

Ar-Riyâshî recited to me :

" No man enters the prison who when you ask him
" What is the matter with your being imprisoned ?" will not say : "I have been wronged. "

A Bedawi said :

" When I entered prison, the inmates extolled God
" And said : Abû Leylah will be sad tomorrow
" And at the door was written on its sides :
" You will leap, but after that you will be soft."

80 And it is said : the words " You will leap and be soft. " were seen to be written on the door of a prison, whereupon people used them proverbially.

And one of the imprisoned said :

" And I passed the night in the dwelling most difficult of access
" That weighs heavily on the neck of the traveller
" I am not a guest, nor living on hire
" Nor taking in loan, nor a proprietor
" Nor taken away forcibly, nor like a pledge
" Nor resembling a pious bequest, coming from one who is dying ;
" But I have two singers ; he of them who is nearest me
" Sings and makes himself heard in the intensely dark
" And he who is more remote of the two, looks into the sky
" On purpose and is more unclean than a menstruating woman."

The first singer being his fetter and the second the guard.

And like it is the saying of another :

" And I have two singers and a player upon a reed
And a lengthy shelter and a long stronghold."

The player upon the reed being the collar of iron.

Abû 'Ubeyda said : Khâlid ibn Safwân quarrelled with a man and they applied for a decision to Bilâl ibn Abi Burda, who decided in favour of the man against Khâlid. Thereupon Khâlid got up and said :

" A summer cloud shortly to be dispersed. "

But Bilâl said : " It will not be dispersed without a shower of hail overtaking you"; and he ordered him to be imprisoned. Khâlid said : Why do you put me in prison ? for by Allah I have committed no crime nor breach of trust. But Bîlâl replied : " Concerning this a solid door and heavy fetters will inform you, and a warder called Hafs."

Al Hajjâj said to Al-Ghadbân ibn Al-Qaba'tharî when he saw him to be fat : What made you fat ? He replied : Fetters and plenty ; for he who enjoys the amîr's hospitality grows fat.

Khâlid ibn 'Abdullâh imprisoned Al-Kumeyt the poet, but his wife visited him in the prison and he put on her clothing and went out without being known. Then he said :

" And when they made me fall on a distressing calamity

" In one of the hollows of one with two manes, the father
of a whelp,
" I went out as the arrow of Ibn Muqbil[1] comes out
" In spite of the noses of the barking ones and of
him who calls them
" Putting on the clothes of those pleased with their
beauty, but beneath them
" The firmness of a man resembling the drawing of a
sword."

81 And Khâlid ibn 'Abdullâh imprisoned Al-Farazdaq, whereupon he said[2] :

" I hope of Khâlid that he will release me
" And free me from the locked irons.
" If my fetters have restored my anxiety well, many a
time
" Have I reached the ends of the remotest anxieties
" And there is no misfortune that is not every evening
and every morning repairing to me, not as one visiting
(the sick).
" The prison-keeper says to me : do you get up ?
" But I am only like another, sitting."

And one of the poets said of Khâlid ibn 'Abdullâh al Qasrî,[3] when he was imprisoned :

" By my life, you made Khâlid inhabit the prison
" And made him tread with the footstep of him who
bears his weight heavily
" But if you detain the Qasrî, you do not detain his name
" Nor do you imprison his benefits that he bestowed
upon the tribes."

And one of the imprisoned said :

" Prison, and fetters, and being a stranger, and destitution,
" And missing a friend, verily all this is something serious
" And if the bonds of a man's promise last
" In spite of all that, then verily he is noble."

And another said similarly :

" To God I complain, He is the proper place for complaint
" And in His hands is the removing of calamity and trial

(1) Ibn Muqbil, whose full name was Tamîm ibn Ubey ibn Muqbil was famous for his description of an arrow and thus the arrow of *Ibn Muqbil* became proverbial s. Ibn Qutcyba, Shi'r 278.

(2) Cf. *Diwan al Farazdaq* ed. Boucher 221.

(3) Khâlid was imprisoned in 120 A. H. after having been dismissed and was kept imprisoned for 18 months.

" We went out of the world although we are of its inhabitants
" But we are neither of those who live in it nor of the dead,
82 " When the jailor comes to us on a day on account of some need,
" We are wondering and saying : This one has come from the world !
" And the dream makes us wonder and the main part of our talk
" When we get up in the morning is our conversation about the dream ;
" And if it is beautiful, it will not quickly come true but will be slow
" Whilst if it is ugly, it will not be restrained and comes true quickly."

And Yazîd ibn Al-Muhallab said when he was in prison : How I regret my demanding a hundred thousand and rejoicing at the (lunar mansion of the) forehead of the lion !

When Al-Farazdaq went to see Al-Muhallab while he was in prison, he said :

" In your fetters there has come generosity and
" Liberality and carrying overburdening loads."

Whereupon he replied : Do you praise me in this state ? he said : I obtained you cheaply and so I bought you.

When Ar-Rashîd had put Abû'l-Ataliya in prison he wrote to him from the prison verses among which were these :

" My soul may redeem you from everything disliked
" By your soul ; if I have sinned, forgive
" Would that my heart could be painted for you with
" Its contents, so that you might be sure of what I keep concealed."

When Ar-Rashîd had written on it " No fear ", he sent to him another letter in which it was said :

" It is as if people were composed of spirit
" To which there is a body and you are the head to it
" O trusted of God, prison is harm
" Although you wrote, ' There is no harm for you.' "

JOSEF HOROVITZ.

(*To be continued.*)

*

THE TABLE-TALK OF A MESOPOTAMIAN JUDGE

(*Continued from our last issue.*)

76. Abû'l-Hasan told us that his father had narrated to him as follows. I saw, he said, in India people called *Jubariyyah*[1] who eat carrion. All the Indians regard them as impure, and consider themselves defiled if they touch them. These people walk about with drums on their necks which they beat, so that those who hear the noise may keep out of their way. If one who hears the drum does not move away, the Jubari is guiltless ; but if the latter does not beat his drum, and in consequence his body touches that of another, the latter kills the Jubari, and there is no redress, since this is the condition on which they are allowed and their law. No one, he adds, will drink the water or eat the food of these Jubaris or have any intercourse with them ; they lodge outside the towns apart. They are, he added, expert archers and live by the chase.

There too, he said, there are people called *Baburwaniyyah*,[2] who act like the banditti here. They are chased by the ruler, and when they fall into his hands, and are in his power, he treats them as robbers and highwaymen are treated. They, he said, are hunters of men and have no other quarry. One of them will pursue the Muslim traders or traders of the protected cults who come into their country ; if he sees a trader on a lonely road he arrests him ; the arrested trader, knowing all about his captor, keeps quiet, for the Indian will kill him if he calls for aid or utters a word, and then kill himself without qualm, owing to their well-known doctrine about slaughter.[3] People who see these banditti when they have captured a man will not interfere to rescue him, lest the bandit kill

(1) This name, if Arabic, means " outlaws ", people who can be slain with impunity.

(2) Perhaps *Banuwaniyyah*. " This word, Malay *banuwa* properly means " land ", " country " : and the Malays use *orang-banuwa* in the sense of aborigines " (Hobson-Jobson).

(3) The author does not explain his meaning.

the captive, who indeed will implore them not to interfere. In such a case neither ruler nor any one else can rescue the captive, for fear that his captor will immediately slay him.

I was informed, he said, by an Indian that one of these Babuwaniyyah seized on a highroad a trader whom he met and who was alone. He bade the trader purchase his life. The trader said to him : You must know that I started with nothing on me ; my money is in the town. Come with me to my dwelling in the town, and I will pay you the sum.—The Babuwani agreed, took hold of his hand and walked with him till they passed by the village of the Jubariyyah through one of the streets of which their road went. Pursuing their road they got into the village and the trader thought he saw a mode of escape, being acquainted with the views of the Indians about the Jubariyyah. He walked on with the Babuwani till he saw an open door belonging to a Jubari dwelling, when he wrested his hand violently from that of the Babuwani, and rushed into the house of the Jubari, who asked him what he wanted. He said : I desire your protection from a Babuwani who has captured me, from whom I have got away.—The Jubari said : You are safe, sit down.—The Babuwani called out : Jubari, Jubari, come out to me !—They will not, he observed, enter the houses of the Jubaris, as they regard them as unclean.—The Jubari went out and stood separated from the Babuwani by the breadth of the road, for they may not come near each other.—The Babuwani said to him : Give me my man !—The Jubari said : He has appealed to me for protection, so make me a present of him.—The Babuwani replied : I will not, he is my livelihood. If you do not give him up to me, we shall not leave a Jubari alive. —There was a lengthy discussion between them, and ultimately the Jubari said : I will surrender him to you in the fields. Go out, and get before us to a certain spot (which he named).—So he started, and (said the trader) the Jubari came in to me and said : Come along, you will be quite safe.—So the trader went out with him, and the Jubari took his bow and fifty arrows ; the horns of their bows (he observed) are of reed. The Muslim trader held on to the Jubari's sleeve, knowing that the Babuwani would not come near the other. When they had reached the fields the Jubari asked the Babuwani to make him a present of the trader, and earnestly entreated him ; but the Babuwani refused.—The Jubari said : I will not surrender him so long as a weapon remains with me.—The Babuwani said : That is

your affair.—Now the Jubari archers never miss, and this man put an arrow on the string, but when he shot it, the Babuwani met it with something which he had, and this encountering the arrow cut it in two, so that the man escaped. The Jubari was amazed, but went on aiming arrow after arrow, which the Babuwani treated as before till the Jubari had only two arrows left. The trader's heart misgave him, and he believed himself lost; he implored the Jubari to spare his life.[1] The Babuwani said: Do not harbour the idea that you have a chance of escape. Then he took an arrow, but the Jubari said to him: You cannot do it, and I will show you some archery about which you will talk all your life. Look at that bird that is flying in the sky. I will shoot it so that it falls on your head, and then shoot you and not miss.—The Babuwani raised his head to look at the bird, and the Jubari shot him through the heart, so that he fell down writhing and died. The Jubari then said to the trader: Come back now, as you are safe. So he returned to the Jubari's house and remained with them until a caravan passed with which the trader travelled into security.

77. I was told the following by Abû'l-Hasan. I was told, he said, by a man belonging to the house of Zubair in Basrah who was a cornchandler, the following. A stranger, he said, brought me a bill payable after a certain date, and called on me repeatedly until it was mature. He then said, I will leave the money with you, and take it in instalments. He then came to me daily and took what he required for his expenditure till the sum was exhausted. Thus we became acquainted and accustomed to each other's society. He often saw me take my purse out of a strong-box which I had, in order to give him the sums which were due to him. One day he observed to me: A man's lock is his travelling companion, his confidant when he is at home, the steward in charge of his money, and banishes suspicions of his family from his mind. If it is insecure, the way is open for dishonesty. Now I notice that this lock of yours is secure, so tell me from whom you bought it that I may buy one like it for myself.—I said: From a locksmith (whom I named) in the Coppersmiths' quarters.

I noticed nothing till presently I came and asked for my strong-box, to take out a few dirhems, and when it was brought me, opened it, and found that there was not a

(1) *i.e.*, he now wanted to pay his ransom.

dirhem there. I said to my slave, who was beyond suspicion in my eyes, Have you noticed anything wrong with the shutters ? —He said No.—I then told him to look about and see whether there was any sign of house-breaking in the shop. He looked about and found none.—I said : Nor any means of getting in from the roof ?—He said. No.—I said, I must tell you that my money is gone.—The slave was alarmed, but said nothing. I stayed in my shop, not knowing what to do, and the man stayed away. This excited my suspicion, and I recollected how he had asked me about the lock. I asked the slave to tell me how he opened and closed the shop. He said : It is my practice when I close it to put up two shutters at a time. They are kept in the Mosque, and I carry them two or three at a time, going several times. I then put them up and lock up ; and I do the same when I open. I asked him whether he had done this yesterday and to-day. He said he had. Then I asked him : When you go to take back the shutters or to fetch them, with whom do you leave the shop ?—He said : Empty.—That, I said, is whence the trouble arose.

So I went to the manufacturer of whom I had bought the lock, and asked him whether any one had recently come to him and purchased a lock of the sort. He said there had, and proceeded to give a description of the man which tallied with that of my friend. So I knew that the man had lain in wait for the slave in the evening, so that when I had gone away, and the slave had gone out to fetch the shutters, he had entered the shop and concealed himself there, having the key of the lock which he had bought and which suited my lock. He had then taken the money and remained behind the shutters the whole night, and when the lad had come and opened two or three of the shutters to carry them away, he had got out, and immediately started for Baghdad.

So I left my shop in the charge of my slave, and said to him : If any one asks for me, tell him that I have gone off to my estate.—I then went out taking with me my lock and the key, thinking that I would commence my search for the man at Wâsit. When I had disembarked I asked for a *khan*[1] on the quay at which I could put up, and was directed to one. I mounted thither, and noticed a lock similar to my own on a chamber. I asked the proprietor of the *khan* who was in occupation of that chamber. He

(1) An enclosure and building used for the purposes of an inn.

said : A man who came from Basrah the day before yesterday.—I asked what he was like.—He gave me the description of my friend. So I had no doubt that it was he and that the money was in his chamber. So I hired one close to it, watched the chamber till the proprietor had gone away, when I rose, opened the lock with my key, and when I entered the room found my identical purse lying there. I took it, went out, locked the room, left the place and went down to the boat in which I had come, offered the boatman an additional fare, so that he let me embark and descended the river straightway. I stayed in Wasit no more than two hours of the day, and returned with my money to Basrah.

78. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain. I was told, he said by a man of Baghdad that he had been told it by a converted burglar. In a certain district, he said, there was a wealthy money-changer, whom the burglars wanted to plunder, but their schemes were unavailing. A number of them, among whom I was one, plotted together against him. How, they said, shall we manage about getting into his house ?—As for the entry, I said, I will do that for you ; only I cannot guarantee what will follow.—An entry, they said, is all that we want.—So I went with them one evening, and I said to one of them : Knock at the door and ask for alms, and when the servant girl comes out, with something, pretend to be blind and move away from her so that she may come out to you to give you the alms. Keep a few steps away from the door so that I may enter the house while she is engaged with you some distance from it, so that she may not see me till I have got inside and hidden myself. He did as I said, and I concealed myself in a privy in the vestibule. When the girl came back her master said to her : You have been a long time.—She said : It was while I was giving the beggar the alms.—He said : This would not have required all that time.—She said : He was not standing at the door, so I had to go out to him in the street to give him the alms.—He said : And how many steps did you walk from the door ?—She said : A good number.—He cursed her and said : You have made a mistake which will injure me. I have no doubt that a burglar has got into my house.

When I heard this, I was in a terrible state. He then told her to bring the key, which she did, and he proceeded to lock the door which separated the vestibule from the court of the house after locking the door of the house from the inside. He then said to her : Let the burglar

now do what he pleases.—At midnight my mates came and whistled at the front door; I opened it to them and they entered the vestibule. I then told them what had happened. They said: We will break open the threshold and come out into the court.—They did this, and when they had finished bade me enter with them. I said: I mislike this business and have a presentiment of evil. I will not come in.—They tried hard to make me, saying: We shall give you nothing.—I said: I am satisfied.—

They went in, and I remained in the vestibule listening. When they had got into the court they walked on, but the owner of the house had made a concealed trench all (or nearly all) round the court, which was known to him and his household so that they were careful not to step over it night or day, its purpose being to protect the house from such attempts as this. The trench was covered with matting laid on thin strips of wood. So when the burglars trod on the matting they fell into the trench, which was very deep so that they could not climb out. The master of the house heard the noise of their fall, and called out: These people have fallen in!—So he and his slave-girl rose up and began to clap their hands and dance, and took up stones which they had ready and battered the heads and the bodies of the burglars with them. They went on shricking, while I was praising God for my escape, till they were all dead. I fled from the vestibule, and never found out anything more about my mates, how they were buried or how they were removed.—This was the cause of my conversion from burglary.

79. (*This story is not suited for translation*).

80 Abû Tâhir known as Sîdûk al-Wâsiti recited to me the following verses by himself:

Come, give me a draught thereof, with its restive flashes: only mixed in order to circulate its siglaton amongst us.

When musicians stir it up, it surpasses the flowers of the narcissus with its brilliant blossom of pomegranate.

When it dances, sun-motes are revolving in fire, and it is known how water is shamed in fire.

He further recited to me the following verse of his own composition:

How plentiful are poets ever since generosity was slain: but poetry is rarer than a serpent's tears.

He also recited to me an ode wherein he eulogized

Abû'l-Hasan 'Imrân[1] b. Shahin, Governor of the Marshes, wherein he mentions the *midra* with which he and his followers fight, and which resembles the lance.

The souls are captured by lances wherewith thou dost circulate the cup of death only to rejoice at even-tide.

For a time they are of silver; but when they descend to the water, thou dost bring them up golden with the blood of heroes.

All of them sharp, with their sides beaten, strips either of sunshine or of flame.

The following verses were recited to me by Abû'l-Hasan Muhammad b. Ghassân b. 'Abd al-Jabbâr, which he said had been recited to him by Abu Ishâq Ibrâhîm b. Hilâl the Sabian[2] as his own:

My tears descend and assimilate with my wine; and my eyes pour out the like of what is in the cup.

By Allah I know not whether my eyelids have been raining wine or whether I have been drinking draughts of tears.

He also recited the following which had been recited to him by the same author:

I ceased not in my intoxication to pinch and prick her hand and arm, until her skin when I left it looked as if violets had been planted in the pith of palm.

Also:

My life be the ransom of her whose glance fell upon me, securing it from the fear of mankind;

When she beheld the moon shining proudly in the dark, this quality in the moon vexed her;

So she withdrew the veil from her face and reduced the moon to its true value.

He also recited me the following which he had read, he said, on the back of a note-book:

We used to visit you when our homes were near at all times; when they became distant,

We could measure the time taken by a visit to you, but there was no measure to the yearning in our bosoms.

81. I was told the following by Abû'l-Hasan Muhammad b. Ghassân the Physician. There was, he said, in our Hospital in Basrah a deranged person named al-Hasan b. 'Aun, of a secretarial family. He was confined in the Hospital for treatment in the year 342, and after

(1) See the references in the Index to the *Eclipse*. He had the title Mu'în al-daulah, and was made governor of the Marshes. The author, (Tanukhi) took refuge with him on one occasion, as he records, *Faraj* i, 42.

(2) In Yâqût's lengthy biography of this celebrated Secretary of State many verses by him are cited, including some of these.

some years' detention improved in health and was employed in the Hospital till he was perfectly cured. I used to visit the Hospital to study medicine, and frequently saw him. The first day I learned that he composed poetry I heard him reciting :

I ward off my anxiety by solacing myself and by endurance ; and by talking keep myself from thinking.

I keep hoping for the morrow, only when morrow comes my anxiety overpowers me and my patience abandons me.

Anxiety does not put an end to me, neither does life terminate ; and no deliverance comes, save tears that flow.

I complain to Allah of what I endure, for He knows that I am distraught.

I learned the extent of his erudition from the fact that every day he recited to me some verses which he composed in my presence. Seeing rose-jam being made in the Hospital, he composed the following lines which he recited to me :

Behold the rose in their hands ; sending forth its fragrance to those who pluck its leaves ;

Like the heart burned by the fire of love which loves while it burns.

I once brought him some food which he told me he would like, and he wrote on the side of a wall :

You have brought the daintiest things which were asked of you, and I say : My lord and master,

If a grateful person's limbs could utter his gratitude, my limbs would utter in your praise

All that they could offer to every noble man. And O my morning like my evening,

If one of my enemies had to bear what I have, I should weep over what I saw on my enemies.

82. *Not suitable for translation.*

83. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Tarîf known as Ahmad the Tall. At the time, he said, when I was in charge of Hisn Mahdî[1] the Wharves, and certain other offices, Abu Muhammad 'Abd al'Azîz al-Mâfarûkhî, who was in charge of Basrah, wrote to me, asking me to release a consignment of dates belonging to him which was passing my province. He hinted that he would not fail to compensate me for this. I released the dates without duty or other charge, but wrote to remonstrate with him about the expression "compensate." He wrote me an apologetic letter, of

(1) "Near the head of the Karun tidal estuary" (Le Strange).

which I recollect the following passage :

I have received your letter, wherein Allah has manifested your excellence, and facilitated your arrival before others to the paths of nobility. And I understood it after the style of a marvelling admirer. I was gratified by its commencement,[1] not because of its satisfying a need felt by either of us, but because of the insight which it furnished into your character and the knowledge of you which it confirmed. I find that you were distressed by a phrase which you say I inserted in my letter, holding out the prospect of " compensation " and a *quid pro quo*. God forbid that my tongue should utter or my hand indite such an expression. It could only proceed from one of a difficult disposition to one incapable of honourable deeds. And to this description neither of us corresponds. And where our minds are one, and our goods common, what advantage could there be in my bribing you with some of your own property or returning to you what is yours ? So if the case is as I suppose, then you (God sustain you) are deserving of blame rather than I (and, thank God, you are far removed from anything whereon blame could fall) : but if the case be otherwise, then you must let my apology atone for my slip : for I am a fallible mortal, and liable like others to error and forgetfulness.

84. Abû'l-Fadl Muhammad b. 'Abdallâh b. al-Marzubân, clerk of Shîrâz, recited to me the following, which (he said) " was recited to us by Abû Muhammad al-Muhallabi in his vizierate, having been composed by him in our presence. A reed-curtain had been put up in his house at Ahwâz, and this was swayed by the wind. Admiring this, he composed :

I saw it swayed by the wind, and beheld therein a stolen glance and fancied that there was a palpitating heart.[2]

85. The above-mentioned Abû'l-Fadl also told me the following. I was told, he said, by a prominent official in our town named 'Abbâd b. al-Harîsh, as follows. When your father's uncle 'Ali b. al-Marzubân[3] was secretary to 'Amr b. al-Laith[4] and rose in his favour so that the latter made him governor of Shiraz, he imposed fines on the officials, and I was one of those whose bond was taken for fines due for the offices they held, my bond being for 80,000 dirhems. I paid forty thousand, and this exhausted my means ; no possession was left me in the world except the house which I was inhabiting, of which the value was inconsiderable in relation to what I owed. I knew not what to do. So I reflected, and finding 'Ali b. al-Marzubân to be a simple-minded man, I invented a dream, and

(1) Doubtless his compliance with the request to let the dates pass free of duty.

(2) The passage is fragmentary and corrupt.

(3) Unless a member has been omitted from the list in § 84, " your uncle " would be more correct.

(4) Second of the Saffârids, 265-287 A.H.

decided to communicate it to him and make it a pretext for complaining of my case and finding a means of deliverance. So I sat down, invented the dream, committed it to memory, procured somehow fifty dirhems, and went the next day before dawn and knocked at his door. A servant of his who acted as door-keeper and was behind the door asked me who I was. I said: 'Abbâd b. al-Harîsh.—What, at this hour? he said.—I said: Yes.—He opened the door to me, I entered, complained of my case, and said: Here are fifty dirhems, all that I possess. Take them and introduce me to him before the crowd collects. If God delivers me, I will do much for you.—The man went and asked leave to admit me, and by coaxing obtained it. 'Alî b. al-Marzubân was using his tooth-pick. He asked me why I came at such an hour.—I invoked a blessing on him and said: Good tidings, which I saw yesterday in a dream. And what was the dream? he asked.—I said: I saw you coming to Shîrâz from the presence of the prince, mounted on a splendid grey charger, as fine as ever was seen, robed in black with the prince's *qalansuwah* on your head, with his seal in your hands, surrounded by a hundred thousand men, cavalry and infantry; you were met by the governor of the place, who dismounted before you, and the road on which you passed was all green, decorated and beflowered; and people were saying, The Prince has appointed him deputy over all his realm. This was the purport of the dream which I narrated.—He said: That was a good vision and if God will it will turn out well. What do you want?—I stated my sad case.—He said: I will let twenty thousand dirhems of your debt wait, and you shall pay twenty thousand.—I swore with the sanction of divorce that nothing remained to me except my house, shed tears, kissed his hand, and acted like a distraught man in his presence.—He took pity on me and wrote a letter for me to the bureau cancelling my debt. Then I went away, and only a few months had passed when 'Amr b. al-Laith wrote to 'Ali b. al-Marzubân summoning him and ordering him to bring all the money which he had amassed. This came to an amount the like of which had never before been collected at one time from the provinces of Fars; for he had amassed sixty million dirhems. These he brought to Sâbûr[1]; 'Amr b. al-Laith went out to meet him with all his generals and officers, and was amazed at the vastness of the sum. He appointed 'Ali b. al-Marzubân deputy over Fars and its dependencies, as

(1) Twenty-five parasangs from Shîrâz (Yaqut).

minister of war and taxation, and committed all matters to his charge. He gave him the right to "loose and bind"[1] without consulting himself, invested him with his own black robe, mounted him on a splendid grey charger which he prized himself and liked to ride, handed him his signet ring, and sent him back to Fars.[2] He arrived at spring-time, not a year having passed since my affairs with him; the governor of the city whom he had appointed came out to meet him as did the other inhabitants, and met him at a distance of thirty parasangs or more. I myself went out and met him in a pass at the turning on the Khorasan Road (of which he gave the name; it is half a parasang from the city). So he arrived in a scene such as I had described in my fictitious dream, the country being in reality green with the verdure and flowers of spring, there were around him more than a hundred thousand men, on his head was the *qulansuwah* of 'Amr b. al-Laith, 'Amr's signet was on his hand, he was clad in black, and mounted on the grey horse; met by the governor of the town who dismounted before him. When I saw him, I dismounted and invoked a blessing on him. When he saw me he smiled, took me by the hand and made earnest inquiries about me.[3] Presently the army dispersed in his presence, I followed him into the town, but was unable to get near him owing to the throng of horses. I went home, and next day called on him at about the same hour as I had done on the night of the dream. The door-keeper asked me who I was, and when I replied 'Abbâd, he bade me enter; he then asked leave to admit me to 'Alî's presence, I was admitted and found him picking his teeth. He laughed when he saw me and said, Thank God, 'Abbâd, your dream has come true. You must not leave the house until I have considered your case.—He was generous to his relations, and it was his custom when appointed to an office to look after their interests before he considered his own, and give employment to such of them as were fit for it or else to bestow bounties on them; when he had dealt with all of them he would consider his dependants in their order of intimacy, and when he had finished with them would attend to his own interests. So I sat down in the palace till near the afternoon, while he was looking after his relations, and signing deeds; assigning gifts and pensions and making out appointments till the chamberlain

(1) *i.e.*, to order and cancel orders.
(2) *i.e.*, Shîrâz.
(3) This is a tentative rendering.

called out : 'Abbâd b. al-Harish.—I rose and went to him, and he said : I have been dealing with the affairs of my own family exclusively, and having finished with them am starting with you before every one else. Choose what you would like.—I said : I should like to have the cash which I paid returned to me, and to be given again the office from which you dismissed me.—He thereupon ordered the money to be repaid and that the office should be conferred on me. You may go now, he said, the province has been committed to you, and you may take all the proceeds.—He used to summon me at short intervals and ask for my accounts, but would take nothing from me. He would merely write receipts for the revenue of the province, make corrections in accounts and receipt them, to be permanently recorded by the Bureau. After this I would return to my province. This went on till his time came to an end, when I returned to Shîrâz, having accumulated a vast fortune, a small part of which I had to refund as fine. I then sat at home, acquired an estate with the money and sought no further public employment up till now.

86. I was told the following by Abû'l-Fadl.[1] I was told, he said, by the physician of Harrân, Abû'l-Hasan Thâbit b. Sinân, that he had seen a paper handed down in the family in the writing of the physician Gabriel b. Bakhtîshu' containing a list of gifts bestowed on him by Yahya b. Khâlid the Barmecide, his wives, slave-girls, and children, consisting in estates, plots of land, money, and other things, amounting in value to seventy million dirhems, with enumeration of items. They retained that paper as a cause of pride and as a warning. I, he said, was astounded at this, and coming away narrated it to a magnate in Baghdad. Abû'l-Hasan 'Alî b. Hârûn the astrologer was present and said : What is it that you regard as so extraordinary in this ? I was told by my father from his father the following story. I was, he said, at the court of Mutawakkil on the day of Mihirjan (or Nairoz)[2] ; the Caliph was seated and costly, rare, and beautiful presents were being brought him. The drums of noon were beaten, and the Caliph was about to rise, when Bakhtîshu' the Physician, son of Gabriel, son of the elder Bakhtîshû', entered. When Mutawakkil saw him, he bade him approach quite close to the throne, and began to chaff him, asking where was the present for the day ?

(1) Muhammad b. 'Abdallâh b. al-Marzubân.
(2) The two Zoroastrian festivals observed by the 'Abbâsids.

Bakhtîshû' replied : Prince of Believers, I am a Christian man, and know nothing about this feast, or gifts to be presented on it.—The Caliph said : None of that ! The reason why you are so late in coming is, I am sure, that you mean your gift to be the most precious of all and that its superiority to the others should be manifest.—Bakhtîshû' said : I never thought about that, and have brought nothing.—The Caliph cried out : I adjure you, by my life !— He then stuck his hand into Bakhtîshû''s pocket and drew out an article that looked like an inkhorn made of Indian wood, the like of which had never been seen, black as ebony, ornamented with burnished gold. No more exquisite workmanship had ever been seen than that of the ornamentation of the inkhorn. Mutawakkil supposed that the inkhorn was the present and expressed his admiration of it. But Bakhtîshû' said : Do not hurry, sire, but see first what is inside.— The Caliph opened it and took out a ladle all ablaze of red ruby which dazzled our eyes. We were lost in wonder and the Caliph too was aghast. For a time he kept silence, thinking and wondering ; then he said : Bakhtîshû', by Allah I have never seen an object like this among my possessions nor in my treasury nor in the treasuries of my ancestors ; nor did I ever hear of either the Umayyad sovereigns or those of foreign nations possessing such a thing. Whence did you get it ?— Bakhtîshû' replied : That is not an inquiry which is usually made. I have presented to you an object which you admit is more exquisite than any which you have heard about or seen. You have no right to ask me anything more about it.—The Caliph adjured him by his life to tell him, but he declined until the Caliph had many times repeated the adjuration. When he continued to refuse, the Caliph said : What, when I have repeatedly adjured you by my life to tell me something, do you still refuse, after having given me something of unique value ?— Bakhtîshû' then said : Very well, your majesty. In my youth I used to accompany my father Gabriel b. Bakhtîshû' to the houses of the Barmecides, he being at that time their physician ; they called in and trusted no other. He might enter their women's apartments and most of them gave him free access. One day I accompanied him as he visited Yahya b. Khâlid. When he came away from him the eunuch brought him to the chamber of Yahya's slave-girl Danânîr[1]. I went with him and we got to the front of a vast apartment where a curtain was set

(1) Stories about her are collected by Nuwairi v. 90.

up and behind it the girl, who complained of something which she was suffering. My father advised bleeding; he used not to perform this operation himself, but used to bring with him a pupil to perform it. The fee for bleeding was five hundred dinars. My father on this occasion told me to do the bleeding. The girl put out her hand from behind the curtain, and I bled her; she immediately paid me five hundred gold dinars which I took. My father sat down and waited till some wine was brought for her to drink in his presence and a pomegranate which he advised her to eat. These things were brought on a large covered tray, from which she took what she wanted. The vessel was then taken out uncovered, and my father, seeing it, asked the eunuch to bring it to him, which he did. It contained among other things a bowl holding the pomegranate, and this ladle. When my father saw it, he exclaimed: By Allah, I have never seen anything like the ladle or the bowl.—Danânîr said to him: Take them, Gabriel, I adjure you by my life.—He did so, and started to go; but she said to him: You are going, and in what will you put this ladle?—He said: I do not know.—She said: I will give you its case.—He said: If you will be so good.—She said to the attendants: Give me that inkhorn.—They brought it, my father put the ladle inside, took it and the bowl in his pocket, and we came away.—Mutawakkil said: A bowl of which this is the ladle must indeed be precious. Tell me now, I adjure you by my life, what became of the bowl?—My father was embarrassed and stoutly refused to answer till the Caliph had repeatedly adjured him by his life. He said: I understand that when you ask me what became of it you are asking me for it. Let me go and fetch it, and have done with you once for all.—The Caliph bade him do so.—He went off and the Caliph kept fidgeting till Gabriel came and produced from his pocket a bowl of the same size as an ordinary cup of porcelain or a small glass, made of yellow ruby, which he set before the Caliph.

87. I was told the following by the same Abû'l-Fadl. I was, he said, residing in Siraf where I held an appointment. Yûsuf b. Wajîh[1] passed by the place on his way to Basrah to do battle with Barîdî. The revenue-farmer of Siraf at the time was Ibn Maktûm of Shîrâz, who managed both its military and its financial affairs for the Prince 'Alî b. Buwaihi[2]. Ibn Maktûm went out to meet

(1) Governor of Oman. See *Eclipse* V. 51; 331 A.H.
(2) 'Imâd al-daulah.

Yûsuf b. Wajîh and did him satisfactory service. Yûsuf encamped outside the city, and Ibn Maktûm brought him all sorts of comforts and presents. One day Yûsuf said to Ibn Maktûm : I assure you, when I came to this town it was my fixed intention to seize it and leave a garrison here, and then proceed to Basrah. All the leading men in the place have written to me advising this course ; but as you have begun by treating me so kindly, I am ashamed to act in such a way, and since I am on the confines of my own territory it is not much for me to give you this town.—Now we had been informed that the people of the town had written to him to that effect, only we had not believed it. When Yûsuf approached, the people of the town had advised Ibn Maktûm to retire and not present himself, warning him that he would be arrested. Their purpose therein was to secure the accomplishment of their plan for putting Yûsuf b. Wajîh in possession of the place. Ibn Maktûm did not venture to follow their advice, saying : I prefer that he should arrest me without my having committed any offence against him for which he could put me to death to incurring guilt in the eyes of 'Alî b. Buwaihi for which 'Alî would put me to death ; for he will suppose that I connived at his loss of the town in order to embezzle the guaranteed revenue. He will tell me that I ought to have held out till Yûsuf entered the town and arrested me, or else have come to him after a battle in which someone sustained some injury. So Ibn Maktûm stayed on and preferred to lay Yûsuf under great obligations, and this helped him to escape. Now when Yûsuf revealed to Ibn Maktûm what was in his mind, the latter invoked blessings on him, and thanked him humbly. Yûsuf said to him : I had decided not to drink until the city whither I am going had been taken. But I feel desire for drink, being anxious to drink with you, having seen so much of your refinement and gallantry. So this evening let us resume drinking and let there be with you your favourite companions.—So Ibn Maktûm went off and selected a number of the notables of the place and the chief officials, of whom I was one. In the afternoon Yûsuf's messenger came and we rode off with him till he brought us into Yûsuf's presence. We were seated in a tent of Bahnasa more splendid than any I had seen before, in the front part of which there was a bench of ebony plated and studded with gold, with a very magnificent satin cushion over it ; in front was a carpet of Jahram[1] with a quantity of broad matting from Tiberias

(1) Jahram was a place in Persia celebrated for its carpets.

above it and pillows and coverings of the same. Then Yûsuf came out and sat down and we sat with him, and there was brought in a silver table with rings[1], of sufficient size for twenty persons. We sat round it, and food daintier than I had ever seen was produced in vessels all of them porcelain. I noticed too that behind each one of us there was a handsome young slave standing with a golden goblet and a crystal jug containing water. When we had finished eating Yûsuf rose and went out to a place behind the tent, and a number of bed-makers equal to our own number came with silver jugs and basins and silver trays[2], and we all washed our hands at the same time. The young slaves then went away and another set, one for each of us, came bearing heavy polished mirrors, crystal phials, and fine polished censers, wherewith we fumigated ourselves ; we were then left for a time where we were, and presently summoned to a tent of satin more exquisite than the other, containing benches of sandal-wood adorned with silver, holding satin cushions and matting from Tiberias like the other. The tent contained some thirty tables of molten gold holding models in ambergris of citrons, melons of different sorts, etc. We were filled with amazement. Then we noticed that on the four sides of the tables there were four enormous white bowls each of them like a large bucket filled with rose-water and containing a great number of models in camphor. There were slaves, one for each one of us standing and fanning and another set, one for each of us, holding in their hands drinkers' napkins, and having in front of them golden stands holding golden dishes, and decanters with goblets both of crystal, also crystal jugs, all of them empty. Yûsuf then ordered wines to be produced in crystal decanter-holders (called in Persian *chashangir*)[3], and a number of grape wines were produced of the sorts made in the mountain of Oman ; we had not supposed that wines of such bouquet and fragrance were to be found in those regions. Ibn Maktûm selected one of the wines and with this the vessels were filled. Behind each of us there stood a slave who filled his cup and looked after his dessert, having only him to serve. So we drank a number of goblets and then Yûsuf introduced the subject of 'Ali b. Buwaihi. After talking of various matters he said to

(1) The purpose of these is not clear. Probably to secure it to some support.

(2) This seems to be the meaning.

(3) This word means rather " cupbearer. "

Ibn Maktûm : I want you to tell me what my brother Abû'l-Hasan 'Ali b. Buwaihi has secured to himself in this reign of his.—Ibn Maktûm replied that 'Ali b. Buwaihi had two thousand Turkish retainers, four thousand mules, and two thousand camels. And he repeated these details.—Yûsuf said to him : Nonsense ! That is a family, and an expense ; I am not asking about that ; what I want to know is what has he amassed of such objects as excite the emulation of sovereigns ?—Ibn Maktûm replied : Between ancient treasures[1] and moneys which he has exacted he has got up to ninety million dirhems.—Yûsuf said : I was not referring to this either. I meant treasures such as jewels, light objects which sovereigns carry on their persons in case disaster befalls them.—Ibn Maktûm replied: I know nothing about this except that I have heard that the " rope "[2] which belonged to Muqtadir has come into his possession.—Yûsuf asked : What is the " rope "?—Ibn Maktûm said : A red ruby weighing five *mithqal*[3]. Also I myself purchased for him two gems for 120,000 dirhems.—Yûsuf said : I have confidence in you, and it is proper that I should show you what I have with me of this sort on this expedition, if it interests you.—Ibn Maktûm thanked him profusely and said : I am indeed interested therein and regard it as an honour.—Yûsuf then called a slave and said to him : Fetch the casket (which he named).—The slave brought him a large casket. In front of him there were some bags of Khorasan manufacture lying about the room. From one of which he drew out a gold key. He first examined the seal[4] of the casket, then opened it with the key, and took out a rod on which were some five hundred rings with stones of ruby, turqoise, and cornelian, the like of which we had never seen. He showed us this, and said : This is nothing. Leave it alone.—We did so, and then he took out a necklace of ninety three gems, each of them as large as a snake's or a sparrow's egg. We marvelled at their size. He said : This necklace was in the treasury of my maternal uncle Ahmad b. Hilâl, and since then in my treasury for so many years. Now the jewels come to us first,[5] and then get

(1) See *Eclipse* IV. 338, where examples of his luck are produced.

(2) Perhaps the word should be read " mountain ".

(3) A *mithqal* is said to be a dirhem and three-sevenths: a dirhem to be 16 carats. The weight of this ruby would then be somewhat over 114 carats. According to Chambers's *Encyclopaedia* (1926) a ruby weighing about 38 and a half carats was sold in 1875 for £20,000 : and " no stone increases so much in value in proportion to increase in size ".

(4) The operation of breaking the seal is omitted.

(5) He seems to mean that Oman was the market for jewels.

distributed from us to other places; we are trying hard to find seven gems which will match these, so as to make up a hundred in the necklace, and for all these years we have been unable to do this.—Then he produced a diamond signet and put it at once on his finger, and brought it close to a signet of cornelian which was on Ibn Maktûm's finger. The diamond attracted the cornelian as a magnet attracts iron[1] so that Ibn Maktûm's signet broke in pieces. Then he took out a thin napkin, which he undid, producing some cotton which he separated with his hand. Out of this he drew an object which dazzled our eyes and lit up the room so that we were amazed. Handing it to Ibn Maktûm he bade him examine it. We all of us examined it, and found it to be a red ruby as large as a man's hand, being indeed a foot long and the same broad. We were amazed, and Yûsuf b. Wajîh said: How does this compare with the "rope" which you described, Ibn Maktûm?—Ibn Maktûm was crushed. We went on handling the "hand" and drinking over it for a time. Then Yûsuf produced from the case certain herbs which he said would produce instant death and others which he said would act no less instantaneously as antidotes to them. He also took out other curious and terrifying objects, but only those which I have mentioned remained in my memory, so amazed was I at what I saw.

When evening came, candles of ambergris were brought and set blazing. We drank till midnight and then departed. Yûsuf proceeded to Basrah where Barîdî fought and routed him.[2] He escaped on one vessel, but the rest of his fleet was burned. He did not like passing by Siraf, so he made his way through the middle of the sea making for Oman. We heard what had happened to him and Ibn Maktûm despatched one of his friends to Oman to condole with him and learn the facts; he also sent him letters by this person. This friend of ours arrived in Oman some days before Yûsuf; then Yûsuf arrived, and when he saw the letters he recollected his meeting with Ibn Maktûm, spoke warmly of him, gave our friend five thousand dirhems and sent to Ibn Maktûm a present of the value of a hundred thousand dirhems, consisting of rarities from the seas. He also sent to each of the guests who had been present with Ibn Maktûm a number of pieces of stuff of the finest and most splendid sorts. I was one of the recipients.

(1) My colleague professor Bowman, Professor of Mineralogy, informs me that this story is absurd.

(2) See *Eclipse* V. 51. His fleet was destroyed by fireships.

88. I was told the following by Abû'l-Fadl. We were told, he said, by a teacher of ours in Fars, a man of Qumm, how Wasîf[1] came to their city like a lion ; we went out to meet him, and were greatly impressed by his nobility, intelligence and majesty. He made us a graceful speech wherein he made promises and held out hopes, and explained the justice and benevolence of the Sultan's views. Then he began to ask a series of intelligent questions about our town, and about the Shaikhs there. Ultimately he asked about a man who was of no importance or celebrity, and only known to one of us in the assembly. Wasîf began to extol him and ask about his circumstances and his children, which we thought silly. Then he said to us : Bring him here, only in a courteous fashion, as I am unwilling to send to summon him, for fear of alarming him.—So we fetched the man, and when Wasîf's eye fell on him, he rose to his full height and bade him sit on the cushion with himself. This proceeding discredited Wasîf in our eyes, as we said : The man must be a fool. —Wasîf proceeded to ask him about his wife, his daughters, and his sons, to which the Shaikh replied in a style that indicated weariness and surprise, and amazement at his procedure. Then Wasîf said to him : I fancy that you have forgotten me and decline to recognize me.—The Shaikh said : How could I fail to recognize the Prince (God sustain him !) who is so mighty and so eminent ?—Wasîf said to him : None of that ! Do you know me well ? —The Shaikh said : No.—Then Wasîf said : I am your bondman Wasîf. —Then he turned to us and said : Elders of Qumm, I am a Dailemite captured on a certain occasion by a governor who raided them, my age being at the time ten or thereabout. I was brought to Qazwin and it so happened that this Shaikh was there and he purchased me and took me to Qumm, where he sent me to the same school as his own son, treating me as he treated him in giving a good education ; he further did this and that (enumerating a series of kindly acts) and was a good master, of whom he had never to complain ; they never beat him nor abused him, and fed and clothed him as they fed and clothed their own son. I lived with them, he said, on the best terms till I reached maturity, and they would give me dirhems for my pleasures, indeed more than I required. Now from the time when I was a lad, whenever I got hold of any money I used to hoard it with a green-

(1) Evidently Wasîf Kamah, who was sent to Fars to suppress a rebellion in 298 A.H. See *Eclipse* iv. 20.

grocer who lived in a quarter called after someone (whom he named ; he also asked about the green-grocer, and was told that he was still there). Now when I became a strong man I wanted arms and was devoted to them, and my master in addition to what I have mentioned would buy for me anything I wanted, would not oppose my tastes, but was generous to me and would not resist anything that I desired. It happened that a certain soldier saw me, and said to me : How would you like to come out with me to Khorasan, and be mounted by me on a horse and receive all sorts of favours ?—I said : I will accompany you on condition that I am not to be your bondman or chattel ; I will buy myself a horse and arms, and follow you as a retainer who has control over his own person ; should I see any procedure on your part of which I disapprove, I will quit you and you will have no right to object.—He said : I agree.—So I went to the green-grocer and asked for his account, and found that a considerable sum stood to my credit ; I took this, bought with it a horse and arms, and I took your clothes and having some dirhems in my possession accompanied the soldier and ran away from my master and went off to Khorasan with the lot. I went through various vicissitudes and as the days passed my fortunes rose till I reached my present position, being all the time the bond slave of this Shaikh ; and I beg you to ask him to sell me my person.—The man was aghast at this proposal, and said : I am the prince's slave ; the prince is free for God's sake, it is an honour to me to be his client, and both I and my descendants will be proud thereof.—Wasîf said to a slave : Bring three talents.—They were brought, Wasîf emptied the bags and handed the money to the Shaikh. Then he ordered clothes, horses, mules, scent and furniture to be brought to him, of which the value exceeded that of the money. Then he called for the Shaikh's son, and when he came, treated him with high respect, and presented him with ten thousand dirhems, much raiment, horses and mules. Then he sent for the green-grocer, and gave him five hundred dinars and quantity of raiment. He then sent presents to the wife and daughters of the Shaikh and to the green-grocer's family. Then he said to the Shaikh : Enjoy, sir, the authority which Allah has bestowed on you with the confidence of one who knows that the governor is his client and be assured that nothing which you bind shall be loosed by me, nor shall anything which you loose be bound by me.—Then he turned to us and said : People of Qumm, you are my masters and teachers, there is no town on

earth whose citizens are dearer to me than you, nor to whom I have greater obligations. Enjoy in your affairs the liberty of a partner, who is in no respect different from myself, except in what religion forbids. Nor is there any difference between me and you save in three matters: Loyalty to the Sultan, guarding of the Hareem, and my disagreement with you in the matter of "rejection"[1]; for I have traversed the regions, crossed mountains and seas, and reached the extreme limits of East and West, but have never seen any one except yourselves who followed your creed. It is incredible that the whole of mankind should be in error and you only among all peoples in the right.[2] Then he asked each of us about our needs and attended to some of them, paying, however, twice as much attention to those of the Shaikh as he paid to ours. So we parted from him and he had become greatly ennobled in our eyes. Processions of suitors now came to the gate of the Shaikh, and people turned to him and to his son for their requirements; the two became the chieftains of the town. Wasîf refused nothing, small or great, for which they asked him, till he went away from Qumm.

The narrator added: I was informed by Abû'l-Hudhail that when Wasîf was put in charge of Fars he abode in Shîrâz, and treated the people with much condescension. His conduct was good, and he endeavoured to win the affection of the populace, even visiting the sick and attending funerals. Never, they said, have we seen a wiser governor. One day, he said, I saw him when he had come to the funeral of a humble individual, riding a horse, wearing a white tunic and a turban, with only three guards in attendance; he stood up in the crowd and prayed over the deceased. There was in our place a weaver (whom he named) who professed to "enjoin right and forbid wrong.[3]" I saw this person deliberately come and stand by Wasîf at prayer, and jostle him; he put his elbow on Wasîf's chest and pushed him. One of Wasîf's attendants came up, disapproving of this, and wanted to remove the man; Wasîf directed an angry glance at this attendant who withdrew in alarm and left Wasîf with the weaver.

(1) Of the claims of all Caliphs but 'Alî. They so detested the first two Caliphs that no one could be found there whose name was either Abu Bakr or 'Umar.

(2) Wasîf seems to have been mistaken in thinking that the people of Qumm were unique in their religious opinions.

(3) Technically the duty of the *muhtasib* or "censor."

I observed that Wasîf drew himself together and made room for the weaver so that they could stand up to pray.

89. The following was told me from a source which I regard as trustworthy as having been narrated by Abû Ishâq Ibrâhîm b. al-Sarî al-Zajjâj. I was present, he said, in the chamber of Abû'l-Qâsim 'Ubaidallâh b. Sulaimân when Abû Zunbûr the Clerk was finding fault with him for trusting Abû'l-'Abbâs b. al-Furât with his secrets and committing affairs to his charge. He used strong language on the subject, and finally said to him: People say, vizier, that you are the orphan ward of Ibn al-Furât.—'Ubaidallâh replied: I am the ward of every competent person.

90. A friend in whom I have confidence told me the following. I was told, he said, by Abû Ahmad al-Fadl b. 'Abd al-Rahmân b. Ja'far, clerk of Shirâz, as follows. When I accompanied (he said) Abû 'Alî b. Muqlah to Baghdad,[1] and he made me his secretary, he tried to benefit me in every way and bestowed large sums upon me. I did not save anything, but let all the money slip through my fingers on singing-girls and wine. I squandered it all. Now there was a Greek[2] singing-girl whom I loved, and with whom my relations became notorious; I spent all my earnings upon her till Abû 'Alî heard of it, and he kept reproaching me, upbraiding me, and forbidding me to leave his presence or be alone with her. One day I got away from him and went to my house; my slave had fetched the singing-girl and got ready an entertainment with a quantity of fruit, choice delicacies, and excellent wine. I drank the whole night with her and was afraid I might neglect the vizier. My desire to remain with the singing-girl induced me to write a note to the vizier in which I apologized for my failing to appear, alleging that there had been a movement of my bile which had disturbed my whole body so that I should be unable to come next morning to attend to my duties; and I hoped he would accept this excuse.—Abû 'Alî b. Muqlah's reply came to me in his own handwriting between the lines of my letter[3]; it was most respectful and in delicate banter, playing on the word *safra*, which means both "bile" and "Greek girl[4]." I know, he said, the reason for your failure to appear, and am answering suitably. I am sending you a

(1) See Index to the *Eclipse*.
(2) Literally "yellow".
(3) In a letter to a vizier wide space would be left between the lines.
(4) In fact the jest is too coarse for translation.

sealed packet, and hope that its contents will satisfy you.—I opened the packet, and found it to contain a *ratl* of mixed perfume, a quantity of camphor and musk, and two hundred gold dinars.

Abû'l-Hassan 'Alî b. Hârûn b. al-Munajjim[1] recited to me a couplet which he had composed about the *Safra ;* I never heard anything wittier than its sentiment, and it resembles the saying of Ibn Muqlah :

The leech contemplated my features and said :
'Tis the gall without doubt that is killing this lad.
I marvelled how he hit the nail on the head
When in what he meant he was wholly misled.[2]

91. I was told the following by a citizen of Baghdad. A certain fanatic among us had five hundred lashes administered to him at one time and he neither moaned nor uttered a word. After some days he had a violent fever and beat himself about the head, shrieked like a camel, and repeatedly cried " Pardon, pardon !" The following day a number of his fellow-prisoners came to him and said : You have disgraced us. Yesterday you received five hundred lashes and did not utter a sound. You have an attack of fever for an hour of the night and shriek ! He replied : The chastisement of God Almighty is the severest, and I cannot bear up against it.

He proceeded : A certain governor had two men brought to him, of whom one had been convicted of atheism, while the other had incurred personal chastisement. The governor delivered the two men to one of his attendants and said : Decapitate this one (pointing to the atheist), and administer so many lashes to the other.—The attendant took the two, and was going off, when the man who was to be chastised stopped and said : Your highness, deliver me to someone else, as I have no confidence that an irretrievable mistake will not be made.[3]—The governor laughed, thinking it a good jest, and ordered the man to be released. This was done, and the atheist was beheaded.

He proceeded : Al-Mahdî[4] son of Al-Mansûr had brought before him a man charged with atheism. The Caliph asked him about the charge and the man said : I

(1) Ob. 352, member of a family which produced many literary men of eminence. Yâqût in his life of this person introduces this story from the *Table-talk.*

(2) If the lady had been French, "gall " which sounds like " Gaul" would represent the ambiguity.

(3) *i.e.*, the executioner might decapitate the wrong man.

(4) Caliph 158-169 A.H.

attest that there is no God but Allah only, who hath no partner, and that Muhammad is his Apostle, and that Islam is my religion wherein I live, shall die, and shall be raised.—Al-Mahdî said to him : You enemy of Allah, you only say this to save your life ; bring the scourges ! —They were brought, the Caliph ordered the man to be scourged, and this was done, but the man only confirmed what he had said. When the scourging became painful, he said to Al-Mahdî : Prince of Believers, fear Allah ! Your Judgment in my case is contrary to that of Allah and to that of His blessed Apostle. Allah, who is exalted, sent Muhammad to fight against mankind until they should say There is no God but Allah ; when they said it they rendered their lives and properties inviolable save for just reasons, and it was for Allah to reckon with them.[1] And here are you sitting and urging me with blows to repudiate my faith so that you may put me to death !—The Caliph was abashed, perceived that he had erred and ordered the man to be discharged.

92. I was told the following by 'Abdallâh b. Muhammad b. 'Abdallâh b. Muhammad b. 'Allân of Ahwâz. I was told, he said, by my grandfather[2] Abû'l-Qâsim b. 'Allân the following narrative. We were talking about the sovereign and how his violence may be averted by the hours.[3] We were visited, he said, by Abû Yûsuf al-Barîdî,[4] clerk of the Queen-mother,[5] who demanded that I and Abû Yahya of Ramhurmuz should farm the Queen-mother's estates. He insisted, but we declined. Finally, on a certain Thursday, he gave us a private audience, submitted us to a lengthy examination, and insisted that we should undertake to pay an enormous rent. We came near assenting, although it would have involved us in serious loss. I said to Abû Yahya : We must try hard to adjourn to-day's meeting, so as to get time to think what we are to do when we get away. Now Abû Yûsuf was a good talker, and Abû Yahya drew him into conversation, which he indeed monopolized, while Abû Yahya was silent. It was Abû Yûsuf's habit to say after every clause in his talk : Do you understand ? So each time Abû Yûsuf asked this question Abû Yahya would say : No, I do not. Abû Yûsuf would then repeat what he had said and go off to

(1) If their profession of faith were insincere.

(2) Probably great-grandfather is meant.

(3) *i.e.*, by delay.

(4) The text has Yusuf al-Yazîdî, but it seems clear that the person meant is the famous Abû Yûsuf. See Index to the *Eclipse*.

(5) The mother of Muqtadir.

another topic. So this went on till the day grew hot and the sun came near where we were. Abû Yûsuf then went back to the subject of the farming and demanded that we should undertake it. I said to him : It is getting hot, and this matter will take an hour to settle : suppose we come back to-morrow. We mollified him, and he dismissed us. We went off and he summoned us for the next day ; but we wrote him a note to say that it was Friday, a crowded day, when one had to bathe and attend religious service, and that it was rare that any business could be commenced before service on a Friday and come to anything. However we will come to you early on Saturday morning.— So he let himself be put off and summoned us for Saturday. We went, having made up our minds to assent, as we saw no means of escaping. When we came to his room he received a letter which he read, and which occupied his mind. So he dismissed us that day. We departed, and he started off a little later, for the letter informed him that he was to be dismissed, and he hurried off before the arrival of the person who was to supersede him. So we were quit of him.

93. The same narrator told the following. At a certain time an official came to us who was put in charge of Ahwâz by the Sultan ; (the narrator mentioned his name and his *nisbah*[1]). He inquired into our customs and made certain demands from us. I with a number of other cultivators was affected by this demand. It meant, if carried out, the loss of our crops for the year, and of most of what we had paid for our lands.[2] My colleagues said to me ; You are the only person we have. See the man privately and offer him a *douceur* and so relieve us from him.—So I went and had a private interview with the man and offered him a handsome *douceur*. He refused it. I approached the matter from various sides, but he would neither soften nor assent. I began to despair and was about to acknowledge failure and depart, but I said to him casually : My friend, you are making a serious mistake in your insistence. You are doing us an injustice and increasing our customs in a manner which will not be approved by the Sultan and will not profit you either. And besides, tell me : Are you sure that you are not already dismissed ? Possibly the order for your dismissal is on its way and will arrive in two or three days ; in that

(1) *i.e.*, his family and local names.

(2) Probably the meaning is that the increase of customs would depreciate the value of the land.

case you will have ruined us, sinned against us, and missed this handsome *douceur*. There is a chance then that we may be saved, and that another governor may come who will either make no such demand upon us, or, if he makes it, will accept the *douceur* which we shall offer him. The mischief in that case will fall on you and no one else.—When he heard this, he was convinced that I must have a a correspondent in Baghdad who sent me intelligence, and that I was aware that he was about to suffer a reverse. So he began to talk to me in a way which suggested to me that this had occurred. So I confirmed it and he felt sure that it was the case. So he agreed to accept the *douceur* and to stop the demand. Bankers' drafts for the money were delivered to him, and I obtained a signed declaration from him that the demand was cancelled. So I went away, having attained my end, and was secure. After five days and no more there arrived the order for his dismissal. I paid him a visit, and he began to thank me, and inform me of what had come to him. I let him suppose that I had had grounds for saying to him what I did. So I was relieved from the demand.

94. I was told the following by Abû'l-Tayyib Muhammad b. Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Mu'min who was in charge of the gates of the Judges in Ahwâz.[1] I was told, he said, by one of the *chevaliers d'industrie*[2] in Baghdad about one of their leaders, who had become so wealthy and grand that he could afford to retire from his profession, but would instruct others in the practice. I enquired into the source of his fortune. He said : I studied Syriac so as to be able to read their service-books. I then donned a monk's attire, and proceeded to Samarra, where the Turkish officers were stationed. I solicited an interview with one of them. Being admitted, I said : I am the Monk of the—monastery (mentioning one in Syria), where I have been a monk for thirty years. I was asleep and saw the blessed Prophet, who seemed to have entered my monastery and invited me to accept Islam. I consented. He then said to me : Go to a certain officer who will take from you the profession of Islam, for he is one of the people of Paradise. So I am come to enter Islam at your hands.—The Turk was enraptured ; but he was not well-skilled in accepting a

(1) This office, which appears to resemble that of usher, is rarely mentioned.

(2) This phrase perhaps is the best rendering of the Arabic *mukdi*, whose methods are illustrated by the heroes of Hamadhâni's and Harîri's *Maqamahs*. Their devices for obtaining money were varied and unscrupulous.

profession of Islam, and was discursive in his language. I tore off my *zunnar*[1] and made profession of Islam in his presence. The Turk presented me with coin, clothes, and other things to the value of five thousand dirhems, and I returned to my dwelling. Next day I went in monk's attire to another officer in the morning, talked as I had talked to the former, and this officer gave me more than the other had given. I proceeded to go the round of a whole lot and obtained from them more than fifty thousand dirhems. On one of those days I went to one of them, and it so happened that he was giving an entertainment at which the chief among them were present. I told the story of my dream, and then looking at them saw among them one of those whom I had already approached with my dream. I was in a terrible state of mind, and when I had finished recounting my dream and had made my profession of Islam at the hands of the Turk and he had ordered a present to be given me, I went out, but was followed by the slave of the other officer by his order, and when I had got some distance from the house he arrested me and dragged me to the dwelling of the first Turk. I was in despair and anticipating trouble ; I offered the slave all that I had on me if he would let me go. He declined. Then the Turk came, in a state of intoxication, and he said : Ho, ho, you have come to make fun of the Turks one by one and take their money, have you ?—I was distraught with terror, and said : Sir, I am only a poor impostor and earner of cuffs ; I did this in order to get something.—He said to me ; Did you suppose I was going to expose you in your town ? I am not the man to do it. As I have let the joke be played on me, let it be played on other people similarly. But are you not a—[2]. I gave him a soft answer and offered my cheek to be cuffed, but he laughed and called for wine, and began to drink. I jested with him and he found me an agreeable companion, kept me with him, put a robe on me and gave me some dirhems. Then he called a number of Turkish officers and I came out to them in the guise of an earner of cuffs, and they jeered and laughed at me. The Turk told them the story and they laughed. I got from them under these conditions a further handsome sum, went off to Baghdad, and purchased myself with my winnings lands on which I support myself till now.

End of Part VIII.

(1) The belt worn by Christians.

(2) Probably the speaker meant to add some words like " an utter rogue."

D. S. Margoliouth.

MOSQUES AND SHRINES IN CAIRO

Of all cities in the world, Cairo offers the greatest opportunity for the study of Islamic architecture. Her innumerable mosques, 365 according to a popular saying, more in reality, if all modern buildings be included—dating from the Xth to the XXth centuries, comprise some of the most important monuments in existence, and the character of the population makes visits to those beautiful places of worship easy and delightful. For the religion of the lower classes in Cairo is peculiarly attractive: sincere though not fanatical—neither secretive nor ostentatious—ready to welcome strangers whose "Rabbuna" seems to them the same as their own, they enter their sanctuaries at prayer-time and proceed to perform their devotions without objecting in the least to the presence of visitors or appearing even to notice it. Of late years, the Egyptian Government has issued regulations concerning the hours when mosques may be visited, so that a non-Muslim wishing to enter a mosque at prayer-time is asked to wait a while, but that is merely official routine and there is none of the jealous suspicion that makes it difficult in Morocco, for instance, to cast a glance through the open door of certain sanctuaries.

Owing to the enormous number of mosques in actual use in Cairo, the worshippers in the smaller ones are few, fewer especially of late years, probably on account of the increased prominence given to politics and to the fact that many of the political leaders are agnostics, or at any rate non-practising Muslims, and several of them Copts, nominally Christians.

It might have been expected that those politicians, well educated and anxious to prove themselves highly civilised, would realise the worth of the splendid and unique series of medieval monuments that constitutes the inheritance of Cairo, monuments such as any other historical city might well envy. Such is not the case, unfortunately, save in a few individual instances. After a period of some twenty years, during which the mosques were very credit-

ably cared for under an Austrian architect and his Italian successor, the conservation of the mosques has fallen into the hands of Egyptian architects who have not had sufficient training in archæology and who have not performed their task with wisdom or discrimination, allowing valuable monuments to go to ruin whilst spending money on repairing insignificant details, and blind to the fact that an ancient monument, pulled down and rebuilt, almost entirely loses its archæological value.

This is all the sadder since the labour that they had at their disposal was of exceptionally good quality ; Egyptian craftsmen, mosaicists, plasterers, wood-carvers, have retained much of their traditional skill and some of the work of repairs executed in the time of Herz Pasha is remarkably successful.

A great deal had indeed to be done then : when the COMMITTEE FOR THE CONSERVATION OF THE MONUMENTS OF ARAB ART, which is now moribund, first came into existence, many of the beautiful mosques of Cairo were in ruins and threatened to disappear, having been for some time left quite uncared for, though never quite deserted at the hours of prayer. Little by little, the most urgent repairs were executed and complete ruin averted.

The present indifference of the Egyptians towards their marvellous city is the more regrettable seeing that it is not traditional and several writers, in more enlightened though earlier days, have left us accounts of the beauties of Cairo. Maqrîzi's Khitat or Topography is a veritable fund of information and has been completed in recent times by the useful work of 'Ali Pacha Mubârak. Shams-ed-Dîn Muhammad ibn Zayât, author of *Al Kawakib es-Sayyara fi tartib ez-Ziyara*, and the Sheikh Es-Sakhâwi wrote careful accounts of the cemeteries surrounding Cairo and the principal mausoleums that they contain. The founders of great monuments also restored some that existed already and records exist of work executed on many of the principal buildings by order of Bâibars el Bonduqdâry, Muhammad ibn Qâlâûn, Barqûq, Qâitbây, 'Abd er-Rahmân Katkhoda and H. M. King Fuad I, who is too gifted and cultivated to share his subjects' strange blindness in these matters.

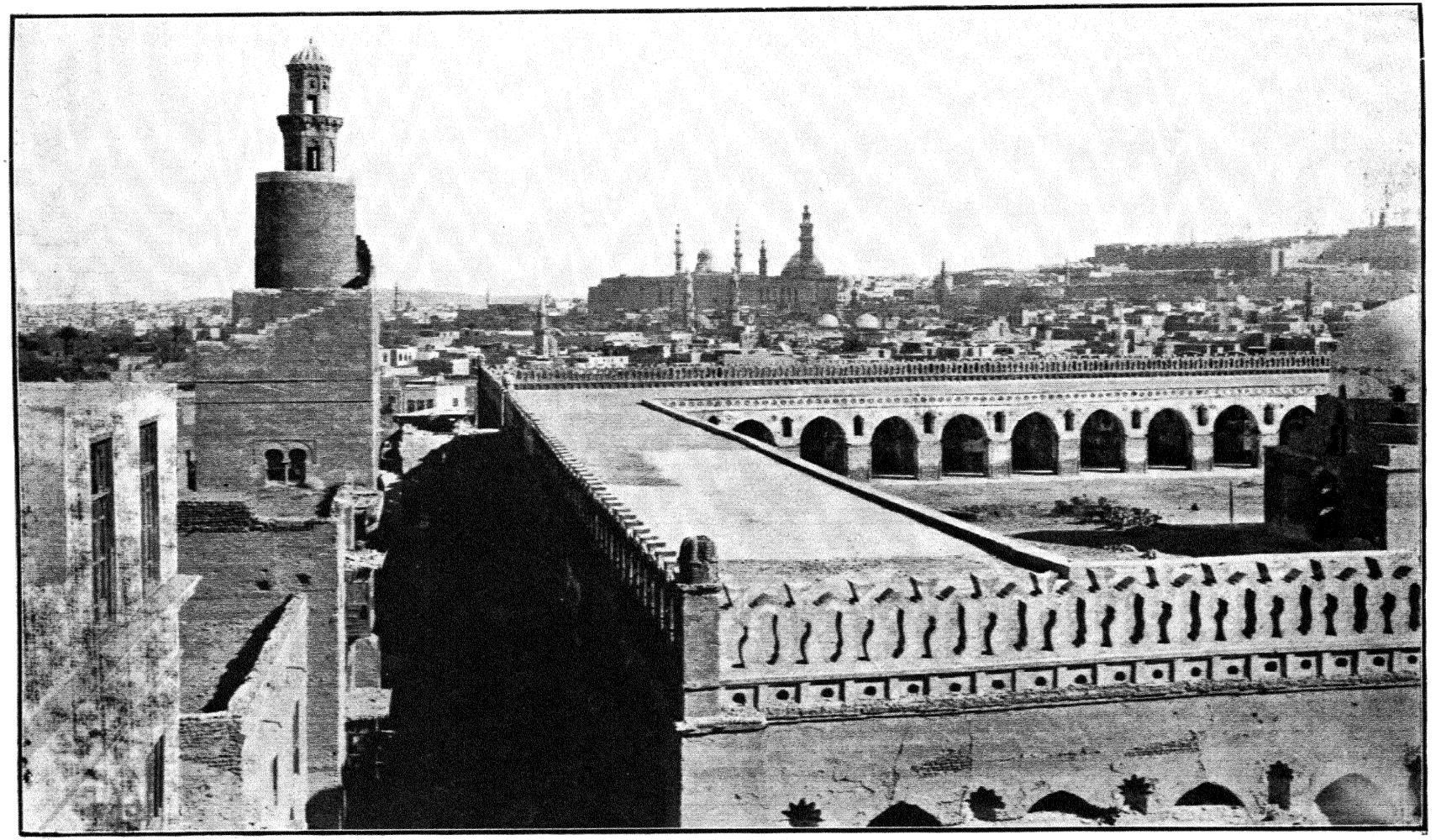
The study of the Islamic monuments of Cairo implies a study of the history of the country and the evolution of the architectural features follows a chronological rhythm which helps us to understand historical developments.

An adequate account of those monuments would therefore entail volumes, some of which have been written by such scholars as Lane-Poole, Margoliouth, Martin Briggs, E. Richmond, and also by the present writer. A complete and thoroughly documented work on the subject is in course of preparation, under H. M. King Fuad's auspices, by a world-renowned scholar, Capt. K. A. C. Creswell, and is being published by the Clarendon Press. Within the limits of a magazine article, it is only possible to mention the most important of the mosques of Cairo in the order of their foundation, dividing this greatly abridged list into historical epochs.

The earliest place of worship founded by the Moslems after they conquered Egypt was a mosque situated near their new city of Fostât and called by the name of the conquering general, 'Amr ibn el 'As, who built it. It was however but a rough structure of palm trunks and mud, and the most ancient parts of the present edifice only go back to the IXth century ; the pre-Islamic columns were taken from some Greco-Roman temples or early Christian churches, probably ruined by the Persian invasion in 617. This mosque, however, is looked upon as an important sanctuary and State Prayers are said there at least once a year.

The actually earliest mosque in Cairo is the magnificent one built by Ahmed Ibn Tulun in 265/879, of which great portions of the original work remain. Founded by a Turki Lieutenant-Governor sent to Cairo by the Khalifah in Baghdad, who had been educated at Sâmarrâ in Mesopotamia, the mosque is a copy of a Sâmarrâ model, the materials used being bricks and plaster, after the Mesopotamian fashion. The plan is the typical early mosque plan : a very large courtyard surrounded by arcades, the portico on the *qiblah* side comprising five rows of arches whilst there are only two on the three other sides. The arches are pointed with a very slight return, resting on piers of masonry and decorated with characteristic Sâmarrâ ornament in stucco. The minaret, rebuilt in the XIVth century, has preserved the feature, unknown in Egypt but usual in Mesopotamian early instances, of an outside spiral staircase ; it is surmounted however by the " mabkhara " or censer-shaped finial peculiar to the early IVth century in Cairo.

No other pre-Fatimid mosque remains ; the next on the list is therefore Al-Azhar, founded in 359/970, built to supply the spiritual needs of the new royal city of



MOSQUE OF IBN TULUN.

[Facing page 660.

El-Qâhira, and soon afterwards made into the chief religious school in Islam. It has kept that character to this day; throughout the dynastic changes that have taken place in the history of Cairo, the theologians of El-Azhar have continued to instruct students, many of them poor and benefiting from pious endowments, in the Holy Qurân, its commentaries and different readings, calligraphy, the Traditions, Canon Law, and also in ordinary secular subjects. The latter teaching, not always up to date, has to be supplemented by a course in Government Secondary and Higher schools in the case of students who desire to follow a professional or administrative career.

The architecture of El-Azhar does not present the satisfying harmony of certain mosques, completed in less than ten years and therefore perfectly homogeneous, all in the style of one architectural epoch. On the other hand, it offers the kind of historical interest found in Europe in cathedrals of which the building extends over a period of several centuries, recording the changes in taste, or rather in fashions. Always held to be a sacred building, all successive dynasties deemed it a duty to enrich and enlarge it and specimens of all epochs are to be found within its enclosure, from the Xth century stucco ornament inside the prayer hall to the fine room in Moorish style added during the reign of the ex-Khedive, 'Abbâs Hilmy Pasha. Three small but very interesting mosques have been incorporated with El-Azhar, those of Tâibars and Aqboghâ, founded in the XIVth century, and that of Gawhar el-Kankabây in the XVth. The similarity of the last name with that of the Fatimid General who founded El-Azhar in 970 often leads ignorant people to assume that El-Kankabây's tomb, under a lovely and characteristic XVth century dome, is no other than that of the conquering General. A very superficial knowledge of archæology suffices to perceive the absurdity of such a theory.

The vast mosque of El-Hâkim, begun in 380/990 by El-'Azîz, was finished in 403/1012 by his son, whose name it bears. Built on a plan inspired by that of Ibn Tûlûn, it offers certain architectural peculiarities, also noticed by Captain Creswell in North African monuments in Qâirawân and Mahdîya, which is not astonishing, considering that that was the original locality from which the Fatimids came. It is now in ruins; the two great minarets were uncrowned in 703/1303 by a terrific earthquake and restored by Bâibars el Gâshenkir; they and other parts of the mosque are somewhat protected by an imposing

remnant of the XIth century fortified enclosure of El-Qâhira, about 300 yards of curtain wall, with bastions and interior galleries and two superb gates, Bâb en-Nasr and Bâb el-Futûh.

With the exception of the vast mosque, now ruined, of Edh Dhâher Bâibars, built in 659/1260, the mosque of El-Hâkim is the last of the spacious congregational mosques that were intended for the greater part of the population ; the principle according to which one mosque only should serve for one city or district was waived about this time and smaller mosques were built not only by rulers, but by wazîrs. Of Fâtimid times, four mosques have been preserved, El Guyushy on the Moqattam plateau above the town, El Aqmar, with its beautiful façade, the first of its kind, and Talaye 'Ibn Ruzik, unfortunately much ruined, but still containing marvellous carved wood and stucco work. Besides those, we have also a number of small sanctuaries, several of them said to be tombs of holy women. Those of Saida Sakina and Saida Nafisa, held in great veneration, have been rebuilt in modern times, but those of Umm Kulthum, Saida'Atika and Saida Ruqqiya still show important remains of the original structure. The last-mentioned (527/1133) is very beautiful, with many special features, such as a ribbed dome with windows of an unusual shape, traces of a Cufic inscription painted in blue, and five stucco shell-shaped mihrâbs.

Perhaps I may be pardoned for drawing attention to feminine influences in the religious architecture of that time : of the Ayyûbid period, to which Cairo owes her Citadel, begun by Saladin and continued by his successors, no important sanctuary still stands, save one, and that the most venerated in Cairo, the Mausoleum of the Imam Shafi'y. Over the modest tomb of this renowned divine, Queen Shamsa, a sister-in-law of Saladin, wife of his brother, El 'Adil Saif ed-Dîn, determined to build a Qubba that would be worthy of him. 615/1218. The carved wood cenotaph that she ordered for the holy man is one of the most perfect examples of that kind of work and that which was made for her own tomb, within the same mausoleum, is scarcely less remarkable. The wooden dome which actually spreads over these tombs is not the original one, it was restored by Qâit-Bây in the XVth century, and perhaps again in Ottoman times. But it has preserved its amazing beauty, due perhaps to the perfect harmony of its proportions. The impression on first

entering this chapel is unforgettable and much more spiritual in character than sensuously artistic or intellectually archæological. This sanctuary is much frequented by worshippers of both sexes and is not open indiscriminately to tourists ; it is possible, however, for serious students to obtain permission to visit it. The modern mosque adjoining it stands on the site of a madrasa originally built there by Saladin, the first Sunnite madrasa in Cairo.

The last Ayyûbid, or perhaps we should call her the first Mamlûk sovereign in Egypt, Queen Shagaret ed Durr, is responsible for another mausoleum, interesting, but of course not to be compared with that of the great Imâm—that of her first husband, SULTAN SALEH NEGM-ED-DIN AYYUB, a great nephew of Saladin.

The dramatic history of this remarkable woman has been dealt with elsewhere.[1] It is more romantic than many a work of fiction. The small mausoleum that she built for herself, with its Byzantine mosaic mihrâb and delicately chiselled stucco niches, stands opposite the shrine of Sâida Ruqîya.

The Turcoman or Bahri dynasty of Mamlûk sultans endowed Cairo with some of the finest Islamic monuments known. The Mausoleum founded for himself by Qâlâûn (684/1285), whose family held the throne of the Mamlûk Empire during four generations, is incomparable in its splendour and cannot fail to excite the most eager admiration, but the religious feeling so noticeable in the Imam Shâf'iy's sanctuary seems here to be lacking. It is not used for prayer, the mosque by the same sultan being contiguous and fairly frequented. According to Maqrîzi, it was some time before the Sheikhs consented to pray in that mosque, one of the reasons given by them against holding it sacred being that, in order to build it, the Sultan expropriated a Fatimid palace, then standing on the selected site ; this place was inhabited by a Princess who had no less than 8,000 slave-girls who, the expropriation having been carried out somewhat hastily, found themselves homeless and scattered, occasioning a grave scandal.

During the long reign, twice interrupted, of Qâlâûn's son En-Nâsir Muhammad, innumerable mosques and madrasas were erected by his emirs, each anxious to glorify himself in the eyes of posterity. It would take pages even to catalogue the most important of those buildings.

(1) See " Some Cairo Mosques and their Founders, " by the present writer.

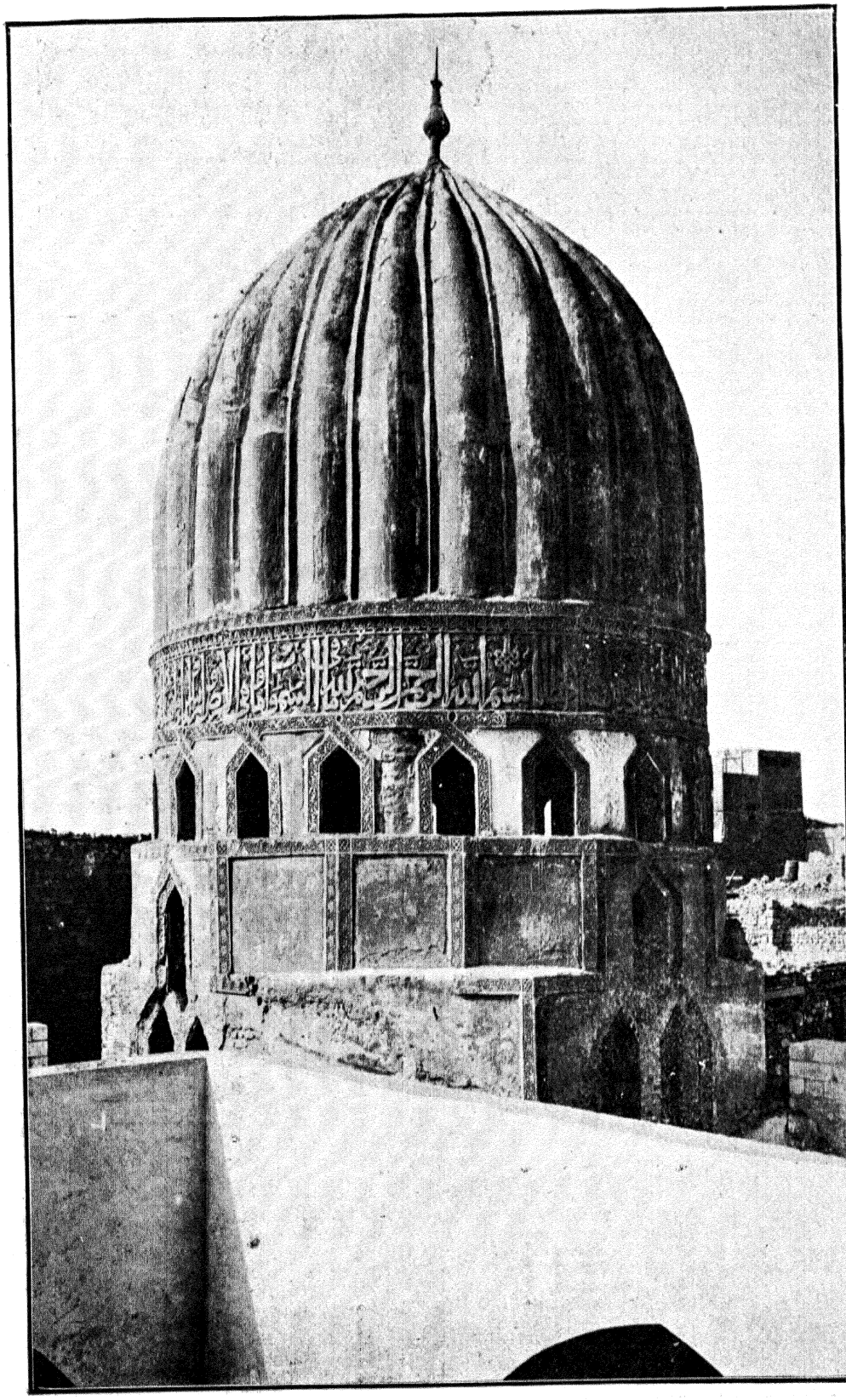
One of the most beautiful is the double mausoleum of SANGAR EL GAWLY and SILAR, with its twin domes and the unique open-work carved stone screens of its arches. Though Silâr was a typical Mongol Mamlûk, rapacious and cruel, the ignorant poor of the neighbourhood have assumed that his lovely tomb could only be that of a saint and, every Saturday, mothers bring their sick babies and lay them on his cenotaph, for a blessing.

It is to be feared that many of those blood-thirsty emirs' monuments represent more vainglory mingled with artistic taste than real religious feeling; there are however a few small sanctuaries dating from the same period which originated from more pious motives. One of them, the mausoleum and madrasa of the holy and learned Umeyyad Sheikh ZEIN ED-DIN YUSUF 697/1298, is a perfect little gem, with delicate stucco ornament decorating the cruciform court and the inside of the charming dome. The very fine wood-work that it once contained suffered a tragic fate: a drunken keeper set fire to it and the whole chapel was much damaged. It is now entrusted to the care of a pious woman who keeps it scrupulously clean and who performs her own prayers in a very edifying manner.

Another little sanctuary, that of the Sheikh AHMED IBN SULEIMAN ERRIFA'Y 690/1291 also displays a beautiful stucco decoration in the interior of its diminutive but exquisite dome. In this monument, a singular decoration is to be found which has excited the curiosity of specialists: small pieces of transparent glass, painted on the inside with arabesques characteristic of the period have been inserted in the stucco ornament, a decoration hitherto found nowhere else to my knowledge.[1]

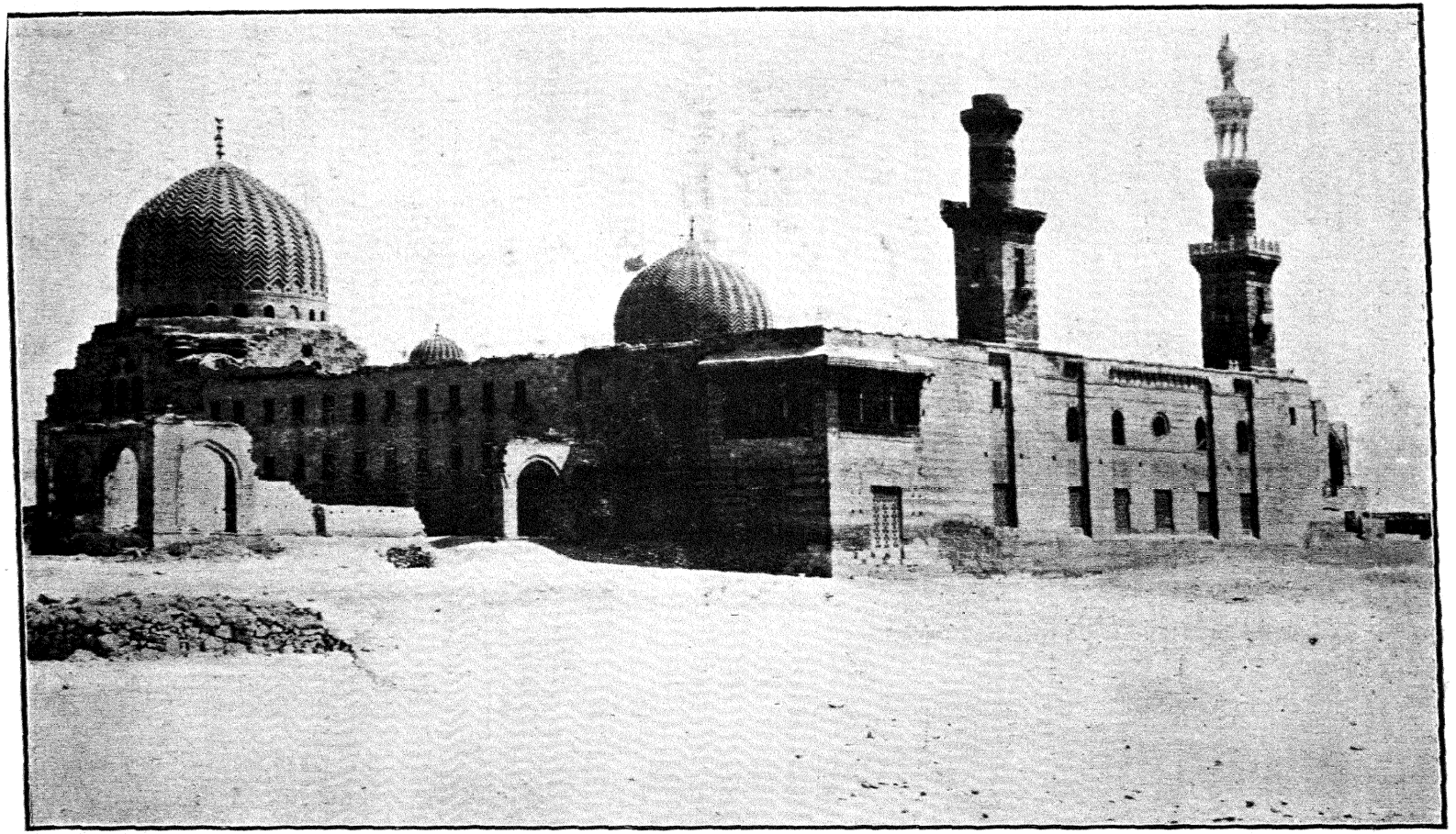
Though no more shrines of female saints are now to be found until we come to the modern—and apocryphal—SAIDA ZEINAB several mosques and tombs exist from the Bahri period bearing the names of princesses and Court ladies: the Lady HADAQ, sometimes called MASKA, who founded a mosque in 740/1340, and also performed the pilgrimage, was an honoured member of Sultan En-Nâsir's harîm and was entrusted with the education of some o his children. Two of his wives, Princess TOGHAY an Princess TULBIYA had handsome mausoleums founde for them, (749/1348 and 765/1364) the former showin one of the rare examples in Cairo of an inscription in fayenc mosaic after the Persian fashion. Princess Toghây, th

(1) See Burlington Magazine, Jan, 1927, *A Moslem Decorati in Stucco and Glass*, by Carl Johan Zamm.



DOME OF THE MAUSOLEUM OF ZEYN-ED-DIN YUSUF.

[*Facing page 564.*



MAUSOLEUM, MOSQUE AND KHANQAH OF SULTAN BARQUQ.

[Facing page 595.

daughter of a Mongolian ruler, was Muhammad b. Qâlâûn's favourite wife, the mother of his beloved son Anûk, who predeceased him. She performed the pilgrimage and Maqrîzi gives a vivid description of the elaborate and costly arrangements made for her comfort on the journey.

Princess TATAR EL-HEGAZIYA (761/1360), En-Nâsir's daughter, ordered her own mosque and tomb, now sadly ruined ; the minaret, which was leaning over, was taken down and rebuilt with the deadening effect that this operation invariably implies.

Of all the remarkable monuments which Cairo owes to this dynasty the most celebrated, and justly so, is the great mausoleum and madrasa of SULTAN HASAN, one of En-Nâsir's eight sons, who reigned from 1347 to 1361. This was completed in 764/1363. It is such an important monument that it is mentioned in all manuals and histories of architecture. Of imposing proportions (the height of the principal vaulted *Iwan* in the great court is 85 ft. or so), the plan of it is ingeniously adapted to the area it covers and many details reveal the hand of a great artist. It was built to accommodate the teaching of the four Sunnite rites practised in Cairo, and the cruciform plan that this requires has given rise to the unfounded idea that this arrangement had been inspired by Christian churches. Other features of the Muslim place of worship, however, as Captain Creswell has pointed out, are derived from Christian architecture, *i.e.*, the minaret, originally square in plan, like ancient Syrian bell-towers, and still in North Africa conforming to early models ; also the mihrâb, originally flat, and hollowed later in imitation of a church apse.

When the Bahri Mamlûks were succeeded by the dynasty, or rather series of Circassian Mamlûks, a new form of ostentatious piety had become the vogue. Not only was every royal tomb flanked by a theological college, but the founder prepared by the side of it a sort of monastery, (khânqa) in which religious men, scholars, dervishes, could go into temporary retreat or settle down to a pious old age. The best known of these composite buildings is that in which Maqrîzi wrote some of his invaluable records, the beautiful ruined mausoleum of SULTAN BARQUQ, built for him in 803/1400 by his son Farag in the North-East cemetery that dragomans and tourists persist in calling " Tombs of the Khalifs " though not a single Khalif is buried there. When this and many other monuments to the same purpose were founded on that site,

the holy men who came to live there indeed found rest in solitude and health in the pure desert air. Now the whole neighbourhood is crowded, not only with modern tombs and their bungalow-like enclosures, but with hideous houses, the dwellings of the keepers of the tombs and also of many other people who solve the problem of Cairo's rising rents by settling among the dead. The graceful, characteristic Mamlûk domes, one of the most attractive of which is that raised by Sultan EL-ASHRAF BARSBAY over the tomb of his mother, may before long become hidden by surrounding sky-scrapers or shaken down by a heavy traffic of motor-omnibuses and lorries. Several of them are already threatened with ruin.

After Barqûq, other Sultans, INAL, BARSBAY, etc. built themselves tombs adjoining *khanqas*, as it seemed incumbent upon them to do. But when we come to QAITBAY, (1468/1496) we find a founder of great buildings who was consumed with a sincere artistic fire, and for whom architecture was no less than a passion. Not only did he build himself a mausoleum (879/1474) which, like the mosque of Sultan Hasan, may be considered as a land-mark in the history of architecture, but he founded other mosques in Cairo and abroad, including one at Mecca and one in the Haram at Jerusalem, also innumerable sebils (free fountains) palaces, caravanserais, drinking troughs for cattle, etc., etc., besides building or repairing fortifications, bridges, etc. His personal interest in it all is evinced by the fact that all these works exhibit the same style, obviously the Sultan's own choice imposed on the builders, though they are too numerous and too scattered to be due to one working architect. In Jerusalem, for instance, his charming little sebîl is roofed by one of those domes decorated on the outside with carved stone that are, but for that one exception, peculiar to Egypt. The numerous emîrs of his Court who built beautiful mosques in emulation of their sovereign, QIGMAS EL-ISHAQY, ZANEM EL BAHLAWAN, ABU BEKR MUZHIR, etc, did not seem actuated by the same whole-hearted interest; Abû Bekr, for instance, whose madrasa in Cairo is one of the most distinctive specimens of the "Qâit-Bây" period, founded another in Jerusalem which is quite in a different style, much more Syrian than Egyptian and evidently the work of a local architect who was allowed a free hand. One of the Sultan's widows, the mother of his unworthy successor Muhammad, had apparently caught some of his enthusiasm, for she founded a handsome mosque at Medî-

net el-Fayyûm one of the few examples of Mamlûk architecture in the provinces.

Qâit-Bây conformed to the custom by building a khanqa near his mausoleum in the desert, and a few were built after his reign, by the Emir Kebîr QUR-QOMAS EL GULSHANY and others. These are among the last of the monuments dating from the Mamlûk Empire, the most important being the mosque of EL GHURI (910/1504) one of the most pleasing in Cairo, in spite of its very decadent minaret.

The Turkish conquest (923/1517) put an end to the independent sovereignty of Egypt and reduced the kingdom to the rank of a mere province of the Ottoman Empire. There was now no longer in Cairo a luxurious and munificent Court to stimulate artistic production and it must be added that places of worship were now so numerous that there was not much room left for new ones. However, the conquerors were anxious to manifest their piety and they hastened to build a mosque, choosing for its site in the Citadel enclosure the tomb of a mysterious but very ancient and revered saint, SIDI SARIYA. This small mosque, in a style then entirely new to Cairo, is a peculiarly attractive specimen of the Constantinople architecture of the time, inspired by St. Sophia, but developed on sounder structural principles. Suleimân the Magnificent's architect, Sinân, may have been responsible for the plan of the pretty little Cairo mosque, called, like its great Stambûl model, the Suleimânîya, after the Turkish Governor then in office.

Of the three or four other Ottoman mosques which were built during the Turkish suzerainty, that bearing a Queen's name, MALIKA SAFIYA, is one of the most interesting, but it must be admitted that more blame than praise is to be attributed to the lady in connection with it. A rich eunuch belonging to Safiya Baffa, the favourite Venetian wife of Sultan Murâd III, built it but the Queen seized it after his death and had her name inscribed on it, thus unfairly taking the credit to herself.

But if there are only a few mosques, many religious foundations date from that time, small tekias or retreats for derwishes, primary schools and sebils or free fountains. That fashion of giving free water to the poor is one that might well have been followed by recent governments in Cairo, many hovels being excusably dirty when the destitute inhabitants have to spend about one fifth of their

weekly income in water retailed to them, in petrol tins, by an official seated in what looks like a sentry-box and armed with the extremity of a hose pipe.

The great MUHAMMAD 'ALI celebrated the foundation of his dynasty by erecting on the Citadel the noble Ottoman pile which contains his tomb and which is such an imposing feature in the incomparable panorama of Cairo; the picture composed by its two slender minarets and majestic dome with the Moqattam hills for a background is universally familiar.

More recently, the mosque of ER-RIFA'Y, over the tomb of a saint venerated by some princesses of the Khedivial family, was erected near the mosque of Sultan Hasan, on the opposite side of the road. Any ordinary building would have been completely dwarfed by that grandiose monument; Herz Pasha, the Austrian architect of Er-Rifa'y, realised the position and designed a worthy pendant to the great Mamlûk building. His mosque is cleverly planned in Mamelûke style though not a copy of that of Sultan Hasan, it equals it in height and general proportions and the two, leading up towards the Citadel surmounted by the mosque of Mohammed 'Ali, compose a truly magnificent *ensemble*.

The charming mosque of ABUL FATH, adjoining the royal gardens of Abdîn Palace is much smaller in size, but a delightful example of a modern adaptation of traditional models. With the elegant Ottoman minaret, unique green fayence dome and harmonious interior decoration, later generations will see in it a fitting memorial of the noble and enlightened sovereign under whose inspiration it was conceived.

HENRIETTE DEVONSHIRE.

MODERN ART AND THE MOGHULS

THERE are fashions even in Art and these may change from time to time, almost, it may be said, from day to day. The Londoner who once admired the smooth classical heroines of Leighton, the Victorian beauties of Millais, or the patriotic landscapes of MacWhirter, has, within the span of his natural life, had to readjust his whole scale of artistic values to a degree which is really incredible. This statement will not seem too strong to any one who has had the opportunity of paying a visit to one or other of the numerous exhibitions of modern Art which annually enhance the terrors of the West End of London during the Season. The writer recently saw one such exhibition, where, to quote a modern authority on modern Art, " We find ourselves in the select company of eight modern British Painters (the capitals are impressive). Eight Painters who will, if one may risk to forestall the verdict of posterity, be identified with what is best and most significant in the Art of our time." The question which of course arises in one's mind is, What *is* the best and the most significant in Art ? That is just the question which has converted the world of Art in Europe into a topsy-turvydom which the pessimist might perhaps parallel, but not easily surpass, by comparison with notorious contemporary political and social upheavals. It is certain that what is often regarded as the best and most significant in the Art of our time is utterly different from the best and most significant in Art of the time of Akbar, or Michael Angelo, or Manet ; and this fact must be so obvious to a good many people as to convert the Art critic's florid praise into a very equivocal compliment to the taste which happens to distinguish " our time." When the present writer, for instance, viewed the exhibition in question, he found its almost empty walls, where every very modern picture was accorded the semi-isolation due to a masterpiece, thickly hung with shadow pictures from the past ; and the almost empty galleries crowded with the ghosts of artists of very different calibre who had long passed beyond the veil. It is so easy to prescribe for posterity, and posterity,

like a spoilt child, is so very chary of taking our prescription! Who knows what posterity will have to say of "our time"; or which of our artists will be numbered with those who are not for an age but for all time? Perhaps some would think that it would be wiser if our infallible modern critics were to refrain from the pleasant vices of dogmatising and prophesying, but after all they run very little risk in so doing. For by calling posterity as their witness they can throw the case of Art into Chancery and the plaintiff (the long-suffering public) is defrauded of his just verdict. Another generation will most probably witness the discomfiture of our critics; will proclaim that the feet of their statues are of clay; and will reinstate past fashions in Art which are anathema to-day as surely as the British public reinstated some of the lost ideals of John Ruskin when they mustered half-a-million strong at the exhibition of Italian Art at the Royal Academy last winter. But the Hydra of modern Art has seemingly more than the hundred heads of its classical prototype, whose extinction, it will be remembered, could hardly be accomplished even by a demi-god, and then only by cutting off each of its heads one at a time! It will take much more than one exhibition to stop the dry rot of the Art Criticism in England in "our time." Let us not try to retard the march of Modern Art even when clothed in its absurdest panoply, recollecting that it is a good deal easier to laugh at Don Quixote for tilting at windmills than it is to admire his knightly courage in doing so. To deny the premises of those who delight in promulgating wearisome definitions of what is best and most significant in the Art of our time would only be to court the fate which overtook that luckless idealist.

When we turn eastward and glance at the condition of modern Art in India, we are confronted by nearly as great if not quite as noisy a conflict of opinion. It is interesting to note, however, that the European Art writers feel called on to shift their view-point while by no means thinking it necessary to shift their *locale* when they write about Art in India. In London the pass-word to favour for our artists is "Self-expression." This shibboleth is altered for the benefit of artists in India to "Indian Art." The term is made to exclude all innovations except such as are possible within those restricted and easily recognisable historical conventions of drawing and painting which are as rigid as the law of the Medes and Persians. Discovery of new modes of expression in Art, though encouraged with

the utmost avidity in Europe, is looked upon askance by many anxious European friends of Art in India. Woe betide the British Artist who dares to follow the manner of painting of his Victorian predecessors! Woe betide the Indian artist who does not adhere strictly to the manner of the Moghul Artists or their precursors! The voices which clamour for "self-expression" in the one unite to condemn it in the other. The international inconsistency is humorous enough from the philosophical spectator's standpoint; but far from mirth-provoking when viewed from that of the Indian painter who finds his Indian street-scenes or pictures of daily life innocently labelled as "Non-Indian," although they may be redolent of the rich fragrance of "the Seventh Continent." When the defunct Moghul is so often dragged in as an *ex-parte* witness; when the absence of his mark from an Indian picture is so frequently held to disqualify the modern Indian artist from participation in the privileges of his own inheritance, it may not be out of place to consider what really constituted the Moghul point of view in Art. So far from finding that it was a narrow or esoteric view, both historical and intrinsic evidences to the contrary are overwhelming.

The student of history will find ample contemporary testimony to the breadth of vision which characterised the patronage of the Moghul Emperors. Instead of tiresome restrictions being placed upon the methods of artistic expression employed by the painters of Akbar or Jahangir they were encouraged to seek and find sources of artistic inspiration wherever they felt impelled to do so. Indian Art was not held by those patrons of true taste and lofty discernment to be confined within geographical limitations; its range was to embrace all that the national consciousness recognised as Art. It was not thought to be artistic heresy for the Moghul artist to pass, in spirit, the boundaries of the ocean and to recruit the stores of his artistic pabulum from the portfolios of the Catholic priests or the foreign ambassadors. "Jahangir's mania for collecting included all kinds of European curiosities, watches, jewels, but especially pictures. Jahangir had a picture gallery of his own and enriched it with the work of many European artists, which the Portuguese and the English Ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, brought to him as presents."[1] Sir Thomas Roe's experience of the Grand Moghul's wonderful interest in Art (so inimitably described in the Ambassador's own account) is sufficiently summarised by Elphinstone's brief

(1) Indian Book Painting: Kûhnel and Goetz.

but significant statement, " Sir Thomas also gave a picture to the Moghul and was soon after presented with several copies among which he had great difficulty in distinguishing the original." Jehangir's interest in European painting is thus explained by another author, " As a youth he saw the religious pictures which the first Jesuit Mission brought to the court of the Great Moghul for he accompanied the Emperor to their Chapel, and heard the discussions which took place concerning these examples of western painting. This gave him an interest in European Art which lasted all his life.[1]" The truth is that Jehangir inherited from his father a noble breadth of vision in Art if not in statesmanship, and consequently was devoid of petty fear of eclectic influence, rather believing in the influx of Western ideas which of course need not imply Western ideals. For instance, Akbar and Jehangir would certainly have encouraged the study and use of the Western medium of oil painting if such had been introduced into India in their time. Jehangir had also imbibed from his father—if indeed the belief was not inherent in his aesthetic tendencies,—a high opinion of the importance and dignity of the artist's calling. One has only to open the pages of Bernier who was an astute observer to learn that the Emperor's taste was very faintly reflected in that of his nobles, who as a rule decried Art and belittled the artists. There is no reason to suppose that Moghul India was devoid of its full share of that Philistinism which is the natural enemy of Art the world over, or of the type of opponent personified later in an extreme form by the puritan iconoclast whose destruction of England's Art treasures is still mournfully impressed on the visitor to the ruins of many a noble chantry or shrine. The artists of the period were at a loss—as indeed artists not uncommonly are—and it was the ruler's personal taste which restored to them the self-confidence which comes of pride in one's own calling ; which stimulated in them a sense of emulation, which means the production of fine work. The Moghul was the last who would willingly have endured to see obstacles put in the way of the free and unfettered progress of art, whether by arbitrary demands for " self expression " or its antithesis, archaic formulas of Eastern convention. The thought that art is a gift to ennoble and to elevate was beautifully uttered by Akbar whose words are quoted by the editors of Bernier's famous narrative: " One day at a private party of friends His Majesty the Emperor Akbar who had conferred on

(1) *Court Painters of the Great Moghuls*, by Professor Rothenstein.

several the pleasure of drawing near him remarked, 'There are many that hate painting but such men I dislike. It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognising God; for a painter in sketching anything that has life and in devising its limbs one after the other must come to feel that he cannot bestow individuality upon his work and is thus forced to think of God, the Giver of Life, and will thus increase in knowledge.'"

This view of art, analogous in its splendid humility to the lowly sincerity of the primitive Italians, might well be recorded once again, in golden letters, to-day.

W. E. GLADSTONE SOLOMON.

IBN-AT-TATHRIYA

"*The Poet of the Dairy.*"

Abû'l Makshûh Yazîd-ibn-Salâmah-ibn-Samura-ibn-Salâmat-al-Khair-ibn Kushair-ibn-Ka'ab-ibn-Rabî'a-ibn-Aâmir-ibn-Saasa, generally known by the surname of Ibn-at-Tathriya was a celebrated poet. It is thus that Abû-Amr as-Shaibâni traces his genealogy. The appellation of Al-Khair "the good" was bestowed upon his great grandfather because Kushair had another son who was called Salâmat-as-Sharr, "Salâmah the bad" The same author states that the name of this (Yazîd's) father was Al-Muntashir-ibn-Salâmah. According, however, to Ibn al-Kalbî, Yazîd was the son of Simma, who was one of the sons of Salâmat al-Khair. The learned men of Basra held him to be the son of Al-Aawar-ibn-Kushair, which person is mentioned by Abû'l Hasan 'Alî-ibn-'Abdullah at-Tûsî,[1] towards the commencement of Ibn-at-Tathriya's *Diwan* (collected poetical works) of which compilation he was the author. He says therein :—

"Ibn-at-Tathriya was a poet of nature, intelligent, elegant in language, well-educated and of a noble, manly disposition ; never did he incur either blame or reproach.

(1) Abû'l Hasan 'Ali-ibn-'Abdullah-ibn-Sinân at-Taim (of the tribe of Taim Allah) at-Tûsî (a native of Tus or Tuz, formerly the capital of Khorassan, and one of the most celebrated cities in the East). It was here that the Kaliph Harûn-al-Rashîd died, aged 47 years, having reigned for three and twenty years, in the 193rd year of the Hegira, corresponding with the 10th March, 809 of the Christian era, and it was in this city that Firdausi, the celebrated Persian poet was born, in the 329th year of the Hegira (940 C.E.), and died (402. A.H.=1020, C.E.) Tûs was situate about 14 miles N. N. W. of Meshed. Its site is now but a mass of ruins. Abu'l Hasan-ibn Sinân at-Taim was a man of considerable learning and a narrator of anecdotes concerning the Arabian tribes, of poems, and of the adventures of the *fuhal* (heroes). He met and was instructed by the *mashaikh* (great masters of learning) who taught at Basra. The preceptor whose sittings he most frequently attended and from whom he obtained the greater portion of his information was Ibn al-A'arâbi (who died A.H. 231=846 C. E.).

He was liberal, *jari* (brave), and held, by the nobleness of his family and character, a high rank in his tribe which was that of Kushair. The Omayyads selected him for one of their poets and treated him with great favour and honour."

Another author says :—

" Yazîd ibn-at-Tathriya was surnamed Muwaddik ' the exciter ' on account of his handsome face, the beauty of his poetry and the sweetness of his discourse. People used to say that, when he sat in the company of females, his very presence excited them to amorous feelings. Hence tradition states that the following lines were often recited :—

If, for your wife, you do not want to fear,
Muwaddik's voice then never let her hear.
If you do not want her from you to flee
Then never let Muwaddik's face her see."

In Arabic in speaking of a female, the verbs *istawdakat* (in the 10th form), and *wadakat* (*in the first form*) are employed to signify that a female desires the approach of the male. This verb, taken in its primitive signification, was only applied to animals having hoofs, but it was subsequently employed in speaking of human beings. A *muwaddik* is a person who inspires women with an inclination for him.

It is recorded of Ibn-at-Tathriya that he frequented the company of females and liked conversing with them. It is said that he was '*ajiz*[1] impotent and thus incapable of having sexual intercourse with a woman or of begetting children. The women of Damascus seem to have been captivated by the handsome features, courtly manners, and poetical language of Ibn-at-Tathriya and crowded to his recitals.

In addition to the surname above-mentioned the poet was, as we have already seen, called Abû'l-Maqshûr, because he had on his *khash* (side) a scar caused by a burn, which was skinned over with a rather hard crust. In Arabic the word *munqashir* means excoriated.[2] The poet's mother was called *At-Tathriya* or *at-Tathariya* and

(1) Arabic, *Ajaz*=Impotent, incapacity of propagation ; *ajiz* (adj.)= impotent ; *Khasi* (pl. *Khusyan*), *tawashi* =a eunuch ; *akirat*, *akim*= barren (woman).

(2) *Taqshir*, an excoriation, *qashir*, excoriated, *qashshar* excoriate ; *qishrat*, a shell, a hurt, and *qishr*, bark of a tree. The word frequently used for the side is *janb* (pl. *junub*). What is colloquially termed, in English, " a stitch in the side ", in Arabic is rendered *zat al janb*, while Pleurisy is denominated *zat at janb*.

he was surnamed after her. She was one of the daughters of Tathr-ibn-Aûs-ibn-Wâil. The word *tathr* signifies *fertility* and *abundance of milk.* One writer says : " She was born in a year when the land was extremely fertile and there was an abnormal *kithrat* (abundance) of *halib* (milk)," but others contradict this statement and state that she gave birth to her son (this very poet) in a year of that character. Others again relate that she toiled in extracting butter from milk and was therefore named *At-Tathriya* because the *tathr* of milk is *zubdah* (butter). There is also a story to the effect that it was while the poet's mother was in the act of churning that she was taken with the pains of labour, and actually gave birth to the child in the dairy wherein she had been working.

In support of these various stories connecting the poet's surname with the operations of the dairy, the following lines from one of his poems are quoted and said to be a poetic tribute to his mother :—

" Some wealthy dame attir'd in lace and silk,
" Is just a woman, as she who toils with milk.
" The *halibat*[1] who, working, churns each day,
" Is just as good as dame in bright array."

The biographer Ibn-Khallikan stigmatises all the above explanations anent the poet and his mother's name to be, in themselves, " quite objectionable," and adds :— " All writers say that the poet's mother was of the family of Tathr-ibn-Aûs, whence we must conclude that she was named after that tribe, and declare that the words " she was born in a year of such a character " or " she gave birth to him in a year of such a kind," or " she extracted butter from milk " are quite inapplicable." It is evident there are two distinct opinions on the subject ; according to one, she was named after her tribe, and, according to the other on account of her association with the dairy. It is worthy of mention in connection with this dispute, that the poet had a sister named Zainab-bint-at-Tathriya, who was a poetess and to whom a great number of poems (to some of which I shall allude hereafter) are attributed. Some state that Zainab-bint-at-Tathriya and Yezîd Ibn-at-Tathriya were twins.

There are undoubtedly many allusions to milk, cream, butter and honey in Yezîd's poems, but these may be merely poetic imagery. Allusions to milk, cream, butter,

(1) *Halibat,* a milkmaid : *halib,* a milkman.

and honey are not uncommon in Oriental poetical literature. Both milk and honey are specifically mentioned in the Qur'ân as being some of the special beneficial gifts bestowed upon man by Allah.

The Sûrah entitled *An-Nahl* (" the Bee "), revealed at Mecca, after reciting many manifestations of Divine Power and Wisdom, *Al-'alamat wal-isharat* " signs and tokens "—" Signs unto people of understanding",—in the 66th and following *ayat* says :—

" Allah sendeth down water from heaven and thereby causeth the earth to revive after it hath been dead.

" Verily herein is a sign *of the resurrection* unto people who hearken !

" Ye have also in cattle an example of instruction.

" Allah giveth you to drink of that which is in their bellies, a liquor between digested dregs, and blood ;

" Namely pure milk,

" Which is swallowed with pleasure by those who drink it.

" And of the fruits of palm-trees and of grapes, ye obtain an inebriating liquor and also good nourishment.

" Verily herein is a sign unto people who understand.

" Thy Lord spake by inspiration unto the bee, saying

" Provide thee houses in the mountains, and in the trees, and of those materials wherewith men build hives for thee ;

" Then eat of every kind of fruit, and walk in the beaten path of thy Lord.

" There proceedeth from their bellies a liquor of various colours wherein is a medicine for men.

" Verily herein is a sign unto people who consider."

Learned Muslim commentators have given much attention to this portion of the Holy Book. 'Abdullah-ibn-'Abbâs, the eldest son of 'Abbâs, and cousin of the Holy Prophet, Muhammad (on whom be eternal peace and everlasting blessings), one of the most celebrated of the Companions and the relator of numerous traditions, and who was called *Terjumanu'l-Qur'an* (the interpreter of the Qur'ân)[1] comments on the same at considerable length.

(1) He was appointed Governor of Al-Basrah, by the Caliph 'Alî, which position he held for some years. He returned to the Hijâz and died at Al-Tâif in the 68th year of the Hegira (687 of the Christian era), aged 72 years.

He points out that the expression " a liquor between digested dregs and blood " is to show that milk consists of certain particles of the blood, supplied from the finer parts of the aliment, that the grosser parts of food partaken by cattle subside into excrement, and that the finer parts are converted into milk, and the finest of all into blood, for " in the blood is the life." The expression pure *laban* (milk) means " having neither the colour of the blood nor the odour of the excrements."

Dealing with the sentence, " And of the fruits of palm-trees and of grapes, wherefrom ye obtain an inebriating liquor, and also good nourishment," the commentator adds, " That is to say, not only wine, which under the Islamic law is forbidden, but also lawful food, as dates, raisins, a kind of honey flowing from the dates, and vinegar."

From these words, and also from the *ayat* in the second *surah*, " They will ask thee concerning wine and lots. Answer them and say, in both there is great sin, and also some things of use unto men ; but their sinfulness is greater than their use," some persons have contended that only drinking to excess, or too frequent gambling are prohibited, and that the moderate use of wine is permitted. But the more received opinion is that both drinking wine or any other intoxicating liquor in any quantity, however small, save as a medicine under medical orders, and the playing at any game of chance, are absolutely prohibited.

Al-Bêdawi in commenting upon the use of the word ' houses ' in connection with the habitations of bees says " the apartments which the bee builds are so here denominated, because of their beautiful and skilful workmanship, and admirable contrivance, which no geometrician is able to excel."

The expression " And walk in the beaten paths of thy Lord," Al-Bêdawi explains as being the manner whereby, by the Power and Wisdom of Allah, the nectar extracted even from bitter flowers, by the bee, in passing through the animal's crop or honey-bag, becomes honey ; or the methods of making honey, which Allah hath instructed her in by instinct ; or it may be that curious and valuable power that the Bee has of finding its way back to the hive from the distant places to which it makes its peregrinations in order " to gather honey from every opening flower."

The expression " a liquor of various colours, wherein is medicine for man," is a distinct allusion to honey, the

colour whereof differs according to the different plants whereon the bees have fed, some being white, others being yellow, some red, and some black.[1] Honey is not only good food, but a useful remedy in several distempers, particularly for allaying coughs, for the relief of persons suffering from phlegm and bronchial mucous; it is also employed in various agreeable cooling drinks used in febrile and inflammatory affections. Taken in moderate quantity honey is wholesome and laxative.

Al-Bêdawi states that a man once came to the Prophet, and told him that his brother was afflicted with a violent pain in his stomach, and asked what should be done to relieve him of his pain; whereupon the Prophet gave him some honey. The enquirer accepted the same; but in about two hours after returned and stated that the medicine had not done his brother any good. The Prophet answered, "Go and give thy brother more honey. Allah only says that which is true, it is thy brother's stomach that tells lies, and obstinately refuses to accept the truth!" The man then returned to his brother and, the dose being repeated, the man, by the mercy of Allah, was immediately cured.

In connection herewith, it may be observed that a beverage composed of honey, wine, and oil is mentioned in the Talmud, under the name of *nomelim* or *onemelin* (*Terumot* and *Shabbat*, Talmud). The medicinal use of honey is mentioned many times in the Talmud (*Berakot*, 44b; *Shabbat*, 76b, 154b; *Baba Mezia*, 38a). The employment of honey in embalming is mentioned by Josephus ("*Antiquities of the Jews*," XIV, 7).

The Hebrew sacred writings contain many references to milk[2] which was a common article of food among the ancient Hebrews—Palestine is praised as a "land flowing with milk and honey" (Exodus iii, 8, *etc.*), milk representing the ordinary and common necessities of life and honey being symbolical of its luxuries. The prophet Isaiah couples milk with wine, probably to denote a similar conception. The Israelites used the milk of goats (Deuteronomy, xxxii. 14), and the milk of sheep (Proverbs

(1) Honey, when pure, is of a whitish colour tinged with yellow, of a spicy sweetness and an agreeable odour: it is soluble in water, and becomes vinous by fermentation. Bees often fill their cells with other substances than the nectar of flowers, such as molasses, honey-dew, or the juices of fruits, but the product thereof is not true honey.

(2) In Arabic, milk is denominated *halib*; in Hebrew, *halab* and in Aramaic, *helba*.

xxvii. 27). Cow's milk is rarely mentioned, probably because of its scarcity, owing to the unsuitability of the mountainous country of Palestine for pasturing large cattle. Milk was believed to give whiteness to the teeth, and was employed as a simile for the whiteness of the human body. The prophetess, Deborah, refers to milk ("*hem'ah*" in parallelism to "*halab*") as "a cup of the nobles" (Judges V. 25), and in several other texts milk is spoken of as one of the most delicious of beverages. Ben Sira reckons milk among "the principal things for the whole use of man's life" [*Ecclesiasticus Sirach* XXXIX. 26]. The abundance which the Israelites will enjoy in Messianic times is pictured in the figure that the hills of Palestine will flow with milk (Joel IV. 18). Cream or butter ("*hem'ah*") is also used as a figure denoting abundance (Job XX. 17), and is frequently mentioned in connection with food. When Jael entered the tent of Sisera, "she brought him butter in a lordly dish" (Judges V. 25). In rabbinical literature it is mentioned that a mixture of milk and honey was regarded as a delicious drink. In a figurative sense milk was used to denote whiteness and purity and the sage advice is given: "He who desires his daughter to be fair should feed her in her youth on young birds and on milk" (*Ketubot, Talmud*). It is also declared that "He who devotes himself to the study of the *Torah* (The Law) will be greeted in the future world with sixty cups of milk, besides many other delicious beverages (*Agadat Shir ha-Shirim*, p. 84, note).

It is related of Nadira, the daughter of Daizan-ibn-Mo'awia (frequently termed "As-Satirun"), who betrayed the ancient city of Al-Hadr (now in ruins), which was situated in the desert between the Tigris and the Euphrates and whereof her father was king, to Ardashir-ibn-Babek, the first Sasanid king of Persia, on the condition that he made her his queen, that after the conquest of the town and the murder of the king, her father, by Ardashir, the conqueror fulfilled his promise and married the traitress. One night she was extremely restless on her couch and could not sleep. Her husband enquired the cause of her inability to sleep, and she replied, somewhat testily: "I never lay on a rougher bed than this!" "How then," asked Ardashir, "did your father bring you up?" She replied haughtily, "He spread me a bed of satin, and clothed me in silk, and fed me with marrow, butter and cream, and the honey of virgin bees, and gave me the best and

purest wine to drink." "And you requited him by betraying him and his people to his enemies!" replied Ardashir, "The same return which you made to your father for his kindness, would be made, by you, much more readily to me!" He then ordered her, partially undressed as she was, to be tied by her hair to the tail of a horse, which, on being struck with a whip, galloped off with her, so attached, and killed her.

Ibn-at-Tathriya appears to have heard some such suggestion as to feeding a young girl on milk and select foods as the following lines rendered into English from one of his poems would show :—

Ray Sakib=Good Advice.

"If you would have your daughter fair,
"Then rear her from her 'teens with care ;
"If on her cheeks bloom rosy pink,
"Then give her *halib* pure to drink ;
"To make her form full plump and nice,
"*Farraj pilau*,[1] of best of rice ;
"And glossy hair, in tresses long
"And dulcet voice, that thrills in song
"With cheerful mind and heart e'er gay,
"Comes to the maid, who bathes each day.
"For such an one, need have no care,
"She'll find a *husband* anywhere.

Ibn-at-Tathriya excelled in amatory poetry. The celebrated poet Abû-Tammân at-Tâi[2] mentions this highly distinguished son of the Muse in different places of his *Hamasa ;* thus, in the section of amatory poetry, he has quoted the following lines as having been penned by Ibn-at-Tathriya :—

"'Tis of the Okalid maid I think and dream,
"Envelop'd in robes that like a sandhill seem,
"In shape and smoothness, in colour like the sand,
"Her waist as slender as the willow wand.
"Within the tribal bounds the summer she doth spend
"And, after *zuhri*, then her fleeting footsteps bend,
"To Na'mân, in the Arak vale soft there to sleep,
"While hosts of friendly Jinn do faithful vigils keep.

(1) Farraj pilau, "chicken-pilau."

(2) His father is said to have been a Christian and a druggist, named Tadûs al-Attâr ("Thadeus the Druggist"), who became a convert to Islam. Abû-Tammân, died at Mosul in the 231st year of the Hegira (845 of the Christian era).

" One look at her, though but a timid glance,
" Doth me transfix, my soul complete entrance,
" My brain doth set on fire, the flames mount high,
" A single glance can ne'er me satisfy.
" Yet, but one glance from her, however slight,
" Doth ravish soul, and fill me with delight.
" O idol of my heart ! my inmost soul !
" To gain thy love is my desire, my goal ;
" I have no thought, no love, but thee alone,
" For thee I pine, for thee my heart doth groan,
" If I've conceal'd my love, 'twas for thy sake,
" So that no slur, thy enemies might make,
" They may intrigue, their plots will go awry
" For thee alone I live, for thee I'll die.
" Oh ! tell me love, yea, tell me of thy grace,
" Where near thee I can be ? Where is the place ?
" I would be by thy side to ever stay,
" Even an inch is far too far away ;
" My heart is thine, with thee it ever goes,
" Though rack'd with pain, for fear of jealous foes.
" Many and strong are enemies of mine,
" Let my life be the ransom then of thine ;
" That direful distance we are kept apart,
" Doth whirl my brain, with sorrow fill my heart.
" Oh for a friend ! one who could say to you,
" He is thy slave, he ever loves thee true,
" For want of thee, 'tis sure that I must die,
" Take not the fault on thee, nor damp thy eye,
" Thou art too frail, to such a burden share,
" I take it all, I will the burden bear ;
" And on the Judgment Day, I'll loud proclaim,
" My love is pure, on me be all the shame !
" What pretexts I did make to gain a chance,
" For e'en a moment, on thy form to glance ;
" But now, what, can I do ? No pretext left,
" Not an excuse ! Of all I am bereft ;
" For to thy country, thou, alas ! art gone,
" And I am left disconsolate, alone ;
" None have I left, a note to thee to take,
" What can I do ? My heart will surely break !
" Oh happy thought ! Myself, I will disguise,
" And follow thee, and when the chance arise,
" I'll snatch thee for my own, together fly.
" And in some distant land, then, you and I
" Will find a nest, where, like two turtle doves,
" We'll live rejoicing in our mutual loves."

Abû'l-Faraj 'Alî al-Isfahâni, a member of the noble tribe of the Qoreish and a descendant of Marwân-ibn-Muhammad, the last of the Omayyad Khalifs, was born in Isfahân, but passed his early youth in Baghdad, and became the most distinguished scholar and most eminent author in that city. His verses combine the learning of the scholar with the grace and elegance of the poet, all his works are excellent and one of them the celebrated *Kitab al-Aghani* (" Book of Songs ") is, by unanimous consent, considered as unequalled. It is related that he occupied fifty years in the compilation of the same, and that, on its completion, he took it to Saif-ad-Dawlat-ibn-Hamdân, who remunerated him with one thousand pieces of gold, stating, at the same time, that he deeply regretted his inability to offer a more adequate recompense. It is also related that when the Sâhib-ibn-'Abbâd, who has been described as " the pearl of his time, and the wonder of his age for his talents, his virtues and his generosity,[1]" was travelling, or changing residences, he took with him for perusal on his journey, thirty camel-loads of books on literary subjects ; but, on receiving the *Kitab-al-Aghani*, he found that he could dispense with all the other works and took it alone.[2]

In addition to composing his *magnum opus*, the *Kitab al-Aghani*, Abû'l-Faraj al-Isfahâni, formed also a *Diwan* of Ibn-at-Tathriya's poetry, and therein he attributes a poem to him, whereof the following is a literal translation :—

" I would even make a *zabihat* (sacrifice) of my own father, to secure the *salamat* (safety) of the one who has inspired me with such love that my body has become *nahif wa daif* (extenuated and emaciated) ; for the one on whom, on account of her beauty, all eyes are fixed and who is the object of my consuming *hawa' al-'ishq* (' passions of love ') !

"For the one whose enchanting charms never cease augmenting desire, and who is never to be seen unless under the protection of a vigilant guard.

" If I am forbidden to hold converse with her, if I should be compelled to encounter enemies and combats

(1) He was born on the 16th Zû'l Qada, 326 (September, 938 A.D.) at either Istakar or At-Talakan and died on the evening of Thursday, 24th of Safar, 385 (March, 995) at Rai, from which city his body was reverently transported to Isfahân, and there interred in a vault.

(2) Abû'l-Faraj 'Alî, al-Isfahâni, died at Baghdad on the 14th Zû'l-Hijja, 356 (November, 967) in his 73rd year.

in case I tried to meet her, yet I shall ever continue to extol the beauty of Lailah in eulogiums brilliant with the ornaments of rhyme and sweet to hear from the lips of the public.

" Dearest Lailah ! Take care, by thy disdain, that thou dost not diminish my strength, but permit me, though far away from thee and an outcast, to venture to hope that I retain a share in thine affection."

" Let me still give lasting trouble to jealous spies, as they have given constant annoyance to me. If you fear that you cannot support the bitterness of love, then restore to me my heart ; our visiting place is near."

The same author also attributes to Ibn-at-Tathriya the following lines :—

" Oh what would I do, what sacrifice make !
" For one whom I love, for her own sweet sake,
" Whose cool hand, if pass'd light o'ver my head,
" Would all my pain heal, bring life to the dead.
" My life I devote to one, who me fears,
" Whose doubt and whose love is mingled with tears,
" I fear her also and fearfully dread,
" That I am not lov'd, but another instead ;
" No favour she grants me ; Oh hopeless task !
" But from her I ne'er a favour will ask ;
" And, yet, I still hope and fervently pray,
" That, united in love, we shall ever stay."

The traditionist, Abû'l Hasan al Mu'ayyad-ibn-Muhammad-ibn-'Alî at-Tûsi, surnamed Ridâ'd-Dîn (" of approved religion ") and of whom it is said " No person in his day possessed traditions whereof the *Isnad*[2] mounted up so high as his, nor had a memory equal to his,"

(1) The documents relative to Islamic history were transmitted during the first centuries after the Hegira by oral tradition from one *Hafiz* to another, and these persons made it an object of their particular care not to alter, in the slightest degree, the narrations which they had thus received. The pieces thus preserved were generally furnished by eye-witnesses of the facts which are related in them, and are therefore of the highest importance not only for the history of Muslim people, but for that of the Arabic language. The Hâfiz who communicated a narration of this kind to his pupil, never neglected indicating beforehand the series of persons through whom it had successively been transmitted before it came down to him, and this introduction or *support*, was termed *Isnad* and was regarded as the surest proof that what followed was authentic. The increasing number of the names in these narrations, at length, became a burden to the best memory, and it became necessary to write down the more ancient of them lest they should be forgotten.

gives the following verses as being composed by Ibn-at-Tathriya :—

" Before Allah would I blush, my cheeks would be red,
" If to my discredit, with truth, it were said,
" To some other fond lover I did succeed,
" And I was the second on her love to feed,
" Or that while professing fond love, that she
" Should be, with other, sharing favour with me
" Or that my belov'd any favour should give
" To any other, all the days I should live.
" Am I then so base, that of me you could think
" From the lake of love with another I'd drink ?
" My path must be private, secluded and sweet
" Not an open *tank* trod by other feet.[1]
" I am not a suitor for love that's impure,
" Or for affection that's too weak to endure,
" I do long for love, for it I fondly call
" I want it for ever, and I want it all."

Another author who quotes the same poem adds the following lines thereto :—

" Pure water is good and is sweet to the taste,
" And is drunk with pleasure, e'en when in haste ;
" But when mix'd with dregs, or beclouded with mud,
" 'Tis nauseous indeed, and to drink it who would ?
" A vile faithless woman from me I e'er thrust,
" Zâniyat, fâhishat,[2] fills me with disgust."

At-Tûsi also quotes the following verses as being from the pen of Ibn-at-Tathriya :—

" Many strive for a thing, but it cannot obtain,
" Yet it cometh to others without care or pain ;
" How for favours, so small, men persistently toil,
" To see, with dismay, someone else take the spoil ;
" Or when hope is all crush'd, and the favour they gain,
" Find it to be useless and their labour all vain."

The traditionist, Abû'l Hasan al-Mu'ayyad-ibn-Muhammad-ibn-'Alî at-Tûsî, above mentioned, was born in the year 524 of the Hegira (1130 A.D.), and died at Naisapûr on the 20th Shawâl, 617 (17 December, 1120).

(1) Compare Othello's speech :

" I had rather be a toad,
And feed upon the noxious vapours of a dungeon,
Than keep a corner in the thing I love
For other's uses."

Othello, Act III, Sc. 3.

(2) Zâniyat, fornicatress ; *Fahishat*, a prostitute.

The above lines by Ibn-at-Tathriya remind us of those lines in Hudibras :—

" Success, the mark no mortal wit,
" Or surest hand, can always hit :
" For whatsoe'er we perpetrate,
" We do but vow, we're steered by Fate,
" Which in success oft disinherits,
" For spurious causes, noblest merits.[1]"

At-Tûsî, extracts the following passage from a poem composed by our poet :—

The Loadstone.

" There is a stone which to it iron draws,
" (Its innate magic virtue is the cause) ;
" There is a maiden whose sweetness and light,
" Is magic stronger than the loadstone's might.
" I try, against my will, from her to turn
" This very act makes my love stronger burn.
" When she is absent, then I close my ear,
" Lest her name mention'd I should hap to hear,
" For if I heard her name, such is the fact,
" That name, like loadstone, swift would me attract,
" And casting prudence, care, whate'er betide,
" At once, in frenzy, hasten to her side.
" Until I saw her, virgin was my heart,
" I knew not love, with me it had no part,
" But when I saw her, like *silsilat* dart,
" Hot love did strike to my most inmost heart."

He gives also the following verses from the same poet :-

" And (*I pronounced*) a word which, when she (*whom I loved*) accused me of numerous crimes, dissipated every foul imputation, (I said) :—

" ' If I am innocent, you do me wrong ; if guilty, I have repented and merit '*afu nama* (pardon)'.

" When she persisted in rejecting my excuses and explanations and allowed herself to be pushed to the utmost extreme by the lies and false tales of vile slanderers, I discovered that *burudat* (indifference) could console me, when suffering from her unjustified disdain,

(1) Samuel Butler. *Hudibras*, Pt. I. Canto. 1. Line 879, *et seq.*

and my affection for her was chilled, and I no longer desired to approach one who refused me her love.

" I acted like the man who, afflicted with a malady, looks for a physician and being unable to find one, becomes his own doctor."

HAROUN M. LEON.

(*To be continued.*)

INCURSIONS OF THE MUSLIMS INTO FRANCE, FROM THE EVACUATION OF NARBONNE IN 759 UP TO THE COLONISATION OF PROVENCE IN 889 A.C.

PART II.

'ABDU'R-RAHMAN ed-DAKHIL, first independent Emir of Andalus, 756-788—Pepin courts the Abbasid Khalîfah of Baghdad. Pepin invades Spain; Battle of Roncesvalles; the Marches. Abdur-Rahmân's patronage of Literature and Art. ABDUL'-WALID HISHAM, 788-796—Hishâm crosses into France, Battle of Villedaigne: Possible recapture of Narbonne. ABU'L-MUZAFFAR MURTADA EL-HAKAM, 796-821—Subjugation of Barcelona and conquest of the Pyrenees. Christians take Barcelona, 801. 'Amr recaptures Aragon. Rise of the Muslim navy; Arsenals at Tarracona, Tortosa, Carthagena, Seville, Almeria, 773. Defeat of the Count of Genoa at sea, 806. Nice and Centocelle overrun by Muslim seamen, 807. First truce between Charlemagne and Hakam, 810. Spanish ambassador at Aix-la-Chapelle, 812. Corsica invaded; raids on the French border, 813. Death of Charlemagne and the accession of Louis the Gentle, 814. Capture of Sicily by the African Muslims and colonization of Crete by the Spanish Muslims. Rebellion in the Christian provinces of France; Pampeluna handed over to the Muslims by the native Christians. 'ABDU'R-RAHMAN al-AUSAT, 821-852—Muslims advance up to the Val Spir, 827. Oye in Brittany raided by a huge Muslim ship. Naval invasion of Marseilles, 838. Muslims penetrate into Provence by way of the Rhône, 840. Muslims raid Rome, 846. Genoa invaded. Invasion of France by Mûsa, Governor of Sarragossa, 848. Progress of Arts and Letters. MUHAMMAD I, 852-886—Pact between Muhammad and Charles the Bald: the French to remain in Catalonia but to abstain from siding with the enemies of the Muslims. African Muslims masters of the whole of southern Italy.

THE period of French history with which we are now going to deal is entirely different from the period dealt with in the first part of this work. We have already seen how the Musulmans had fully intended to spread the religion of Islam in France and to make that country the starting-point for their conquest of the European continent. Their ultimate object was, in fact, to make the part of the world which had menaced all the known countries in the days of the hegemony of Rome a mere province of their world-wide Empire. We must not forget that most of the com-

manders of the conquering armies originally came from Arabia, Syria and Mesopotamia, that the centre of their religion and power was the East and that their thoughts were always turned towards Asia. No difficulty, however, seemed to deter persons who had taken part in these conquests, conquests which have no equal in the history of Europe, and the larger and more populous a country the more did they see an opportunity of achieving terrestrial glory and Divine pleasure.

The background changes with the period which we are now going to discuss. The new ruler of Spain had seen his family overthrown in Syria and his own kith and kin meet a violent death, and once in his new dominions he saw that Africa and other parts of the Empire were full of his enemies, and those were the very people who had so largely contributed to the success of Muslim arms in the past. Moreover, the condition of the peninsula was such that its resources could not be relied upon for an extensive scheme of conquest. Internecine wars had been the order of the day and the spirit of faction had been rampant, while the Christians of the northern provinces of Spain had taken advantage of this state of affairs and assumed a very menacing attitude. Lastly the memory of the failure at the gates of Narbonne had had a lasting effect on the spirit of the Muslims.

On the other hand, France, which had been the immediate object of these invasions, was becoming more and more powerful every day. All these vast lands had come under the sway of one chief, whether a Pepin or a Charlemagne, and as it was possible to call the warriors of Germany, Belgium and Italy to their aid in time of need, they were practically safe from the danger of a foreign invasion. Moreover the tables seem to have been turned, and instead of the Muslims of Spain attacking the Christians of France, the Christians of France began to harass the Muslims of Spain. Both Pepin and Charlemagne put themselves in touch with the Christians of Catalonia, Aragon and Navarre, so that the latter began to look upon the former as their patrons and superiors ; at the same time they backed the efforts of the provincial Emirs and governors to shake off the yoke of the sovereigns of Cordova. We must also remember that Charlemagne and his successors crossed the Pyrenees and annexed the provinces situated on the banks of the Ebro to their dominions. Later on, when the people of the northern provinces of Spain were reconquering the lands of their forefathers,

they were helped spontaneously by the warriors of southern France who boasted of being of the same race as themselves.

We must here mention a remarkable fact, one which would show the extent to which the human feelings are likely to go. Both the Emir of Cordova and the Khalîfa of Baghdad were more occupied in injuring each other than in adding fresh provinces to their Empires. While the Emir of Cordova allied himself with the Emperor of Constantinople, who was nearly always at war with the Musulmans of Syria, Persia and Egypt, the Khalîfas of the East were the allies of the Princes of France. Right from the beginning of the commerce of the country, ships used to go from Marseilles, Fréjus and other ports of the South to the coast of Syria and Egypt for spices, silk cloth, perfumes etc[1]. To these commercial reasons were added motives of piety which led a very large number of persons to brave all dangers in order to visit places sanctified by the mysteries of the Christian faith. The result was that just when the Muslims were attacking French soil, the pilgrims of the West were allowed to move about quite freely at Jerusalem, Nazareth, and Damascus, and were admitted to the very court of the Khalîfa of Islam, either because the Prince had a very hazy idea of the countries of these pilgrims or else did not care to pry into the objects which brought them thither[2].

The 'Abbâsid Khalîfas adopted a policy of the greatest friendship towards France; and if we see that later on their representatives on the coast of Africa led the most sanguinary incursions into France, it was simply because these Governors took advantage of the expanse of desert and the immense distance which intervened between them and the centre of the Empire to make themselves independent at the earliest opportunity offered to them.

From the conquest of Narbonne up to Pepin's death in 768 there had been peace between the Muslims and the Franks. Pepin considered the Pyrenees the natural frontier of his dominions, while on the other hand 'Abdu'r-Rahmân was busy dealing with the Emîrs who had refused to accept his authority. We must, however, remember that Pepin left no stone unturned to sow the seed of discord among the Muslims of Spain. A year after the fall

(1) *Vide* Deguigne's article in the *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions* Vol. XXXVII, p. 66. Also *vide* M. Pardessus : *Lois maritimes*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 62.

(2) *Vie de St. Guillebaud*, in the Bollandiste collection, under date July 7.

of Narbonne, *i.e.*, in 759, Sulaimân, the Muslim Governor of Barcelona and Gironne entered into relations with Pepin[1]. If we were to believe the French Chroniclers, Sulaimân ranged himself on the side of the son of Charles Martel, but it seems to be far more natural that he simply wanted the assistance of the King of France in order to make himself independent of the control of Cordova. We shall soon see that the policy of the Emîrs of the northern provinces of Spain becomes one of seeking the help of the ruler of France whenever they were hard pressed by the Emîr of Cordova, and of flying to the arms of the Emîr of Cordova whenever the French became too exacting.

We must remember that the geographical conditions of the Pyrenees country favoured these Emîrs as well as the Christians of the northern provinces of Spain. We know that Catalonia, Aragon and Navarre are all intersected with mountains from end to end, and that it is quite possible for a small army to fight against comparatively large forces in their defiles. As the Arabs never fully established themselves in those parts of the peninsula, their writers had only a hazy idea of the country they were dealing with. They called the provinces of Alava and Old Castille the land of Alaba and the Castles[2]; provinces which were naturally shut off from the outside world by very strong outposts. On the other hand they called Navarre the Land of the Bashcanes, a word which sometimes signifies the parts of Gascony situated on the other side of the Pyrenees, which were related with Navarre in the matter both of language and race.

The Arabs called the Pyrenees proper the "*Mountains of the Ports*,[3]" from the Latin *Portus* (Spanish *Puerto*), meaning *Passage*, because it was through the Pyrenees that it was possible to pass from the peninsula to the rest of the European continent. The Arabs distinguished four "ports" or passages, which, according to them, were large enough for a horseman to go through. These four passages are the following: (1) the route from Barcelona to Narbonne through the modern town of Perpignan; (2) the route of Puycerda through Cerdagne; (3) the route from

(1) *Annales de Metz*, in Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, p. 335.

(2) الابة و الاقلاع (Maqqari, Vol. I, p. 218) called in the Old Latin maps *Alava et Castella vetula*. Vide, *L'Art de verifier les dates*, 4to. edition, Vol. II, p. 349.

(3) جبل البركات

Pampeluna to St. Jean-Pied-de-Port; (4) the route from Toulouse to Bayonne.[1] The Pyrenees were far less accessible during the Middle Ages than they are at present, yet the account left to us by the Arabs is fairly complete, and there are quite a number of places described by them which it is difficult to decipher.

At the time with which we are dealing, the Governors of various provinces and towns were invested with the title of Vazîr, but the ancient chroniclers of France call them Kings, simply because quite a number of them had become virtually independent. They were distinguished from the commanders of secondary towns who were called " el-qâ'ids " or leaders.

While Pepin wanted to play off the different parties against each other, their discord was further increased by the Khalîfa of the East, Al-Mansûr, who had just founded the town of Baghdad, and desired that there should again be a complete political and religious unity within his Empire. He had sent a fleet from the coast of Africa, and a number of the Spanish Emîrs had already declared in his favour. Pepin, who had nothing to fear from Khalîfa Mansûr but who, on the contrary, expected help from him in case of necessity, immediately entered into direct negotiations with him. In 765 his plenipotentiaries went to Baghdad and returned to Marseilles three years later in company with the Khalîfa's ambassadors. Pepin welcomed the oriental representatives with open arms and requested them to spend the winter at Metz, whence he took them to his castle at Sels on the Loire. They finally returned home *via* Marseilles, laden with presents.[2]

Pepin's policy was literally followed by Charlemagne. As soon as he felt his position secure, he began to make friends with the influential Spaniards, Musulman as well as Christian. To the Musulmans he said that he wanted to free them from the Cordovan yoke, and while before the Christians he posed as the natural protector of Christianity,

(1) Idrîsi, from whom we have borrowed the above details, has mixed up some of these routes. For instance he does not distinguish between the first and the third route which leads from Jaca right into Bèarn. The passage of the Roncevalles is really a part of the third route which goes through the Cize country and which Idrîsi calls the Port of Shâzer. In the Chronicle of Turpin, p. 60, and in Jacque de Guyse's *Histoire de Hainault*, Vol. IX, p. 24, this place is named Portus Ciserei, and in Roger de Hovedon, Portus Cizarae. This passage is now called St. Jean-Pied-de-Port.

(2) Fredegaire's continuation, in the *Recuil des Historiens de France*, Vol. V, pp. 8 etc.

as the defender of the Pope against the tyranny of Lombard Kings and as the sincere friend of the sound Christian doctrine so unhappily assailed by reformers and heretics.

After their conquest of Spain, the Arabs left the native Christians free to exercise the tenets of their own religious faith. At Cordova, Toledo and other large towns of the dependency there were Bishops who were really superintendents of their Christian flock ; but it seems that there were no high ecclesiastical dignitaries in the frontier provinces which frequently changed hands between Muslims and their enemies, and it was Charlemagne himself who provided this spiritual need of the population. As the Metropolitan town of Tarragona had been destroyed, the Catalonian Christians were placed under the Archbishop of Narbonne, while the Archbishop of Auch took over the charge of the whole of Aragon[1]. Whenever a quarrel arose among the Christians of Spain, the Emperor himself offered to mediate and he invariably acted as the intermediary between them and the Holy See.

In the meantime a quarrel arose between two Saracen Emîrs of the Ebro country and the ruler of Cordova, resulting in the flight of the former towards the Pyrenees. They crossed the frontier, and with a large entourage, proceeded to Paderborn in Westphalia where the Emperor was holding sessions of the Diet of the Empire[2]. One of these refugees, named Sulaimân, had been governor of Sarragossa[3] and had actually captured the commander of the troops sent by the Cordovan Government against him. He now not only paid homage to Charlemagne but, according to the French chroniclers, actually put himself under his authority and command.

Charlemagne, whose sole desire was to extend his authority, considered the moment favourable for making himself master of a part of the Spanish peninsula. In 778, therefore, he appealed to the warriors of France, Germany and Lombardy to help him to liberate their co-religionists of the

(1) *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. VI, p. 15.

(2) We find that the French Kings were now becoming uneasy at the appearance of the Muslim Emîrs on great public occasions, and it was no doubt due to this factor that the Chivalric romances speak of Muslim knights coming from the ends of the earth in order to dispute the honour of skill and courage with Christian warriors.

(3) *Vide* Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, pp. 19, 40, 142, 203, 319, and 328, as well as Ibn-ul Qutiah..... The Arab authors are not unanimous with regard to the actual name of the Emir, as some of them call him Sulaimân ibn Jaktân al-'Arabi, while others name him Mutraf ibn-ul-Arabi.

Pyrenees area. He felt certain that once he set out for his sacred purpose, the people would flock under his banner. But it proved otherwise. The Muslim chiefs, whose solitary aim in approaching Charlemagne had been to make themselves independent of the central authority, could not countenance their further subjugation, and made up their mind to resist him. As for the Christians of the Pyrenees, they had sworn that they would recognise no foreign ruler, so they also went against him. When, therefore, he had crossed the Pyrenees, he was obliged to lay siege to Pampeluna which was captured only after a most bloody struggle,[1] while the governors of Barcelona, Gerona and Huesca did no more than send hostages to the invading potentate.

Charlemagne was now informed that the Saxons, who had so far refused to become converts to Christianity, had again taken up arms. He thereupon turned back towards France, but while he was crossing the Pyrenees, his rearguard was attacked by the native Christian hillmen, who were perhaps helped by the Musulmans, in the valley of Roncesvalles, and a very large part of his illustrious warriors lay dead on the field of battle. It was perhaps in this struggle that Roland was killed.[2]

The extent of the country which France henceforth occupied on the Spanish side of the Pyrenees changed from time to time. It was called the " Marches " or the land of the frontier, for, indeed, it was like an advanced post of France on the other side of the Pyrenees, and was a part of the newly formed kingdom of Acquitaine which Charlemagne had carved out for his younger son Louis, with Toulouse as the capital. The Arab writers call it the Land of the Franks and thus add one other source of confusion for the historian.[3]

It is not within the compass of this work to relate in

(1) *Vide* Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, pp. 14, 20, 26, 142, 203, and 343. We know from Christian writers that Charlemagne entered Sarragossa at the head of his troops and that the Emîr was carried to France in chains. According to certain Arab authors, however, the town was not captured, but the local governor was killed a short time afterwards and his son fled to French territory.

(2) The memory of the day is still kept, for on the anniversary of the battle the people play a piece called the *Piece de Roncesvaux.* Vide *Histoire literaire de la France,* Vol. VIII, p. 720.

(3) The Arabs still call it the Land of Narbonne, either because up to the entry of the French into Barcelona all the French possessions were dependant on Narbonne, or because since the conquest of Septimania by the Muslims it had been under the jurisdiction of Narbonne.

detail the events which were the outcome of the ambitious schemes of Charlemagne. What we have to deal with here is not so much the incursions of Frenchmen into Spain, as the incursions of the Musulmans into France, and here we shall only deal with the results of these new ventures.

The moment Charlemagne's back was turned, most of the towns which had submitted to him, shook off the yoke of his authority. The Musulmans had felt the pang of this submission the most, and they were now free to take revenge on their Christian neighbours. Clad in bear-skins and armed with scythes and axes the Christians had to take refuge on the mountain-tops in the river-valleys. There were, however, many who could not possibly live under such conditions, and who were forced to cross over and seek refuge on French soil. There were a number of tracts round Narbonne which had been devastated and laid bare in the successive campaigns of former wars, and which were now utterly uninhabited; these Charlemagne now distributed among those who sought asylum with him, on the sole condition that they should submit to military service in return. Judging from the names of these refugees which have come down to us, it seems that there was many a renegade Musulman among them.[1] Some of these exiles attained positions of eminence later on, and even now we find families which are proud to trace their origin from them.[2]

The Emîr of Cordova, 'Abdu'r-Rahmân died in 788. We read in the works of contemporary French writers that he was a cruel ruler who put to death a number of his Arab and African subjects; they further add that the Jews and Christians of his kingdom were so hard pressed that some of them had actually to sell their children in order to maintain themselves.[3] We know that 'Abdu'r-Rahmân had to conquer the whole of his dominions and to defend himself against continuous attacks made on his authority, so that it is by no means surprising that he was not always able to spare the lives and fortunes of his subjects; but we also know him as friend of literature and art, and as a man of gentle temperament, and it is really to his noble qualities that we must attribute the origin of all that was best in the civilization of the Moors. It is not known whether 'Abdu'r-Rahmân maintained direct relations with

(1) Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, p. 776 : Vol. VI, p. 486.

(2) Such are the Villeneuves of the Languedoc. Vide *Histoire geneologique de la maison de Villeneuve*, Paris, 1830, in 4to.

(3) Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, p. 74.

Charlemagne ; an Arab chronicler says that he asked Qarleh (meaning thereby Charlemagne) for the hand of his daughter in marriage;[1] but in all probability our author is really referring to 'Abdu'r-Rahmân II, who carried on direct negotiations with Charles the Bald, and who lived in a period when such a request would not have raised the same amount of scruples as in the early times which we are discussing.

'Abdu'r-Rahmân had appointed his third son Hishâm his successor in preference to his older sons. The result was that immediately after his accession the new ruler had to face opposition from all sides. He, first of all, made his authority felt in Cordova and the neighbouring provinces, after which he advanced to the banks of the Ebro in order to make the refractory leaders return to their posts.

When order had been established to a certain extent, Hishâm thought that the best way to uproot the spirit of faction which had been the cause of such a large amount of mischief in Spain was to put forth a great scheme in which he might be able to unite all parties. He therefore thought that this was the proper time for avenging the confusion and misery caused by the policy of Pepin and Charlemagne, and was greatly incensed by the menacing intentions of the Christians of the Asturias and other northern provinces of the Peninsula. Deciding, therefore, upon a general attack on the Christians, he ordered that all the resources of the Empire should be fully utilised in the pursuit of such a glorious enterprise. Pious Musulmans had, in fact, been complaining for a long time that Muslim forces were wantonly used against the Muslims themselves, and many had actually declared that they were not obliged to pay taxes to those Princes who made war on their co-religionists, citing the example of the Khalîfas of Baghdad who, they said, earned everlasting glory for Islam by fighting against the Emperors of Constantinople.[2]

As Hishâm wanted to turn this into as solemn an enterprise as possible, he gave it a religious tinge by proclaiming a 'Jihâd' or 'Holy War' against the enemies of Islam.[3] He ordered that people should be invited to rise in defence of their faith on the occasion of Friday prayers when the Musulmans would gather together to pay homage to their Creator. Those who could carry arms were ordered to the

(1) Maqqari, 1860, Vol. I, p. 213.
(2) Conde : *Historia* Vol. I, p. 199.
(3) The Arabs also use another word, *i.e.*, *Ghazawat*, for the Holy War.

Pyrenees forthwith, while those who were unable to go on active service were asked to put their money and other resources at the disposal of the government in order to facilitate the undertaking. The discourse which was then pronounced from the pulpits of Spain, was in rhymed verse and was interspersed with Qurânic passages in order to increase its effect. The following is a translation of a part of this oration :—

> " Praise be to the Lord, who has increased the glory of Islam by the sword of the Champions of the Faith, and who has, in His sacred Book promised His help in the achievement of victory in terms which admit of no ambiguity. He, in all His Goodness and Lovableness says : ' O ye who believe ! If ye lend your help to God, He will help you and make your feet firm. Therefore dedicate to Him all your good actions, for He alone can help you in winning your battles.' There is no God but the Almighty ; He is One and has no equals : Muhammad is His Prophet and the dearest of His creatures. O men, God has blessed you with the leadership of the noblest of the Prophets and has well pleased you by the gift of faith. He has reserved for you in your after-life a happiness which eye has never seen, ear has never heard, heart has never felt. Make yourselves, then, worthy of such blessings, for these are the marks of His kindness towards you. Support the cause of your immortal religion and be ever faithful to the Straight Path. God has ordered you in His Book which He has sent you as a guide : 'O true believers, fight against the infidels who are near you and be hard on them.' Then start at once for the holy war and make yourself pleasing to the Lord of Creation. You will no doubt achieve victory and power, for God the most High has said : 'It is incumbent upon Us to help the Faithful.[1]'"

On hearing this address a wave of enthusiasm ran through the rank and file of devout Muslims, and the more zealous among them immediately put on their arms in the service of their God and their religion. As there were no standing armies among the Muslims, this appeal to arms must have been responded to the more ; it was the custom that those who came forward did so for one campaign only, after which they were allowed to go back to their

(1) We have borrowed this passage from a treatise on laws, etc., in Arabic, published at Cairo, p. 78. *Vide* the *Nouveau Journal Asiatique* Vol. VIII, p. 338. We are not certain whether this was the identical oration delivered, but it must have been pretty nearly as we have quoted.

respective homes. But the time had already passed when one word of command caused the whole body of believers to rise against the Infidel ; for the descendants of the original conquerors of the Peninsula were in possession of large tracts of land, and most of them by no means wished to exchange their happy home-life for the dangers and privations of the battlefield. Moreover we must remember that it was the volunteers from Africa, Arabia and Syria who formed the army of the conquerors, whereas all those lands were now more or less closed to the Spanish Muslims.

We now come to 792. As a matter of fact the war did not attract even one hundred thousand persons to the banner of Islam. The Saracen army was divided into two groups ; one marching against the people of the Asturias achieved a partial success, the other led by the Vazîr 'Abdu'l-Malik advanced into Catalonia with the intention of marching right into France.

In 793, when the Muslims thus advanced into France, Charlemagne was fighting against the Avars on the banks of the Danube, while the flower of the troops of the south were in Italy with Louis, King of Aequitaine. On hearing that the Muslims had crossed the frontier, the inhabitants of the plains left their homes and either hid themselves in underground caves or else fled to the neighbouring hills. The Muslims went direct to Narbonne, a town which had once been so long in their possession but when they found that it was strongly defended, they set fire to the suburbs and passed on to Carcassonne.[1]

William, Count of Toulouse who had been put in charge of Septimania by the order of King Louis, had appealed to the counts and lords of the land to help him against the intruders, so that the Christians from all parts of the country came to join his banner. The two armies met on the banks of the river Orbieux at a place called Villedaigne between Carcassonne and Narbonne. The day was hotly contested ; but , in spite of the great bravery shown by the Count, the battle ended in the retirement of the decimated ranks of the French army. On the other hand, the Muslims, who had lost one of their leaders, and who were well satisfied with their share of booty, refused to advance any further, and retired to Spain where they were acclaimed as victors and conquerors. In all the Spanish mosques the Musalmans held thanksgiving

(1) Moissac's chronicle, in Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, p. 74.

Services to Almighty God for having granted them a victory the like of which they had not experienced for a very long time.[1]

The fifth part of the booty was reserved for the ruler according to Islamic law, and this came to 45,000 *mithqals* of gold, the intrinsic value of which comes to about 700,000 Francs, but which must be multiplied at least by nine if we take into account the small amount of money which was then in circulation. Moreover if we remember that the country which had to provide all this was naturally poor and had been overrun a number of times, we shall have some idea of the real perspective. Hishâm, whose desire was to give the expedition a religious colour, used this money in order to complete the Great Mosque of Cordova (now a Christian cathedral) the building of which had been begun by his late father. What attracted the Muslims most was the fact that 'Abdu'r-Rahmân had built this great edifice entirely out of the booty taken from his Christian antagonists ; now that the building was complete, the Muslims refused to offer their prayers in the parts built by Hishâm, for, they said that they were not sure where the money now spent in it came from, and they were more certain to have their prayers heard by the Almighty if they offered them in parts built out of the booty taken from the Christians. Thereupon the ruler called the Qâdi and other persons of eminence to swear that the money spent by him also came from the same source, and thereby satisfied the community.[2]

We learn from some of our authorities that the foundations of this part of the Mosque were laid on soil actually brought from the field of the recent victory, and that it was carried thither from Galicia or Languedoc, a distance of nearly 200 leagues (*i.e.* nearly 600 miles), either on carts or on the backs of the unfortunate Christian prisoners.[3]

According to certain Arab authorities, and Roderic Ximènes who has followed in their footsteps, the Muslims recaptured Narbonne during this expedition. But we

(1) Collection of *Historiens de France*, Vol. V, pp. 74 and 360. Novayry.

(2) *Vide*, Extracts from the History of the Spanish Arabs, taken from Abul-Fida's Geography, published by Rinck, Leipzig, 1791, in 8vo.

(3) *Cf.* Roderic Ximinès, p. 18, and Maqqari, 1860, Vol. I, p. 369. (But Maqqari does not say that the earth was imported from France, but only that Hisham built the mosque out of the proceeds of booty from Narbonne. *Vide* Vol. I. p. 369—Tr.)

must remember that while, on the one hand, these writings are very much confused, on the other the name, " Land of the Francs " which they give both to the Cis-Pyrenean and the Trans-Pyrenean Christian provinces makes it difficult for us to make out precisely what the Musalman army was doing at a given time.[1] If a town of importance like Narbonne had been recaptured by the Musulmans, the contemporary Christian writers would have mentioned it if only to inform us how the French regained its possession later. We must remember that about this time Charlemagne had already established order throughout his dominions, and the contemporary Christian chroniclers record important events faithfully from year to year.

But while contemporary Christian writers do not mention the reconquest of Narbonne by the Musalmans, later authors take it for granted that the Muslims became masters not only of that ancient city but also of the whole of southern France. We have seen that the leader of the Christians during this war, who was also one of the most prominent personalities of France, was William, Count of Toulouse. He belonged to a distinguished family, and had, by his piety as well as bravery, made himself worthy of the high position he occupied in the current politics of the country. A short time afterwards he took a prominent part in the conquest of Barcelona by the French; but, weary of the false grandeur of this world, he retired to the monastery at Gellone near Lodève which he had founded, and there died a true Christian. All these facts in the middle of a century well known for its piety and religious feelings, made William's name a household word in Southern France, and he was soon canonised as a Saint by the Christian Church. An author who wrote his life towards the middle of the tenth century tells us that William's triumphs were sung in the churches as well as in various other gatherings of Frenchmen,[2] and a short time afterwards, when the French poets vied with each other in celebrating the exploits of Charlemagne and his Knights (some of them true, others mere fabrications), they did not forget the name of the Count of Toulouse. We have

(1) For instance Idrîsi places the town of Gironne (Girundah), really situated in Catalonia, in Gascony near Auch. Moreover Novayry, who gives us a certain amount of detail about this expedition, does not tell us positively that Narbonne was captured by the Musulmans. *Vide* Arabic MSS. in the Royal Library, Anc. Fonds, No. 645, fol. 95, back.

(2) Mabillon : *Annales Benedictini*, Vol. II, p. 369.

in our possession today a poem called "*Poeme de Guillaume du court-nez*", in which we are told that this hero wrested Nîmes, Orange and Arles from the hands of the Saracens.[1] On the other hand a Latin inscription existing in the Abbey at Mont-Major near Arles describes how Charlemagne himself had to come to Arles to help (the local levies) in expelling the Saracens from the country.

These accounts have not the least foundation in facts. We know that the authors of the romances of chivalry were never over-scrupulous with regard to actual historical facts ; apart from this, the Mont-Major inscription is entirely false. After reciting how Charlemagne came to Arles, it adds that he founded the abbey in order to immortalize his great victory over the infidels. Now, as a matter of fact,—the abbey was only founded about 150 years after the date ascribed to it ; it is, therefore, certain that the forger, when forging the inscription which was based on the rumour then current in the locality, sought to make people believe that the monastery was older than it actually was, and give it an entirely false origin.[2]

The ruler of Cordova, Hishâm, died in 796, and was succeeded by his son Hakam. Two uncles of the new sovereign, senior to him both in age and kinship, had tried their best to capture power and authority, and now they took up arms against him. Thus Hakam was obliged to begin his reign by a pacification of the country.

The next year, when Charlemagne was at Aix-la-Chapelle, the Muslim Governor of Barcelona went to that city to implore his help, while 'Abdullah, one of the uncles of the Emîr of Cordova, who had failed in his attempt to seize the throne, also repaired to Charlemagne's capital to seek his assistance.[3] About the same time Charlemagne's son Louis, King of Acquitaine, held a meeting of his Diet at Toulouse, to which came an ambassador from Alphonso, King of Galacia and the Asturias, with a request that all the Christian forces should join hands against the common enemy ; moreover the Saracen Emîr of the neighbourhood of Huesca, ' Bahaluc ' by name, sent his agent to Louis with

(1) The accounts on which this poem is based are very old, and even in the eleventh century they were on everyone's lips. *Vide* Orderic Vital's chronicle, collection of the *Historiens de la Normandie*, by Duchesne, p. 598. Also *vide* the *Roman de la Violette*, published by M. Fracisque Michel, p. 72.

(2) Millin : *Voyage dans les departements du midi de la France*, Vol. IV, p. 2.

(3) Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, pp. 22 and 50.

the intimation that he wanted to live in peace and amity with the Christians[1].

The moment thus seemed opportune for avenging the damage done to the Languedoc, by the Musulmans, and to achieve the triumph of the French arms beyond the Pyrenees. Already Louis and his brother Charles had led expeditions to the banks of the Ebro, putting everything to fire and sword. Louis now recrossed the Pyrenees from the Aragon side and laid siege to Huesca, the governor of which had previously sent its keys to Charlemagne, but now refused to open its gates. At the same time one of the uncles of the Emîr of Cordova made himself master of Toledo, while the other uncle, Sulaimân established his authority in Valencia.

Under such critical circumstances, while Hakam sent a part of his army to Toledo, he himself went at the head of his cavalry to the Pyrenees. He began by subjugating Barcelona and other towns; and, marching against the Christians of the Pyrenees, laid their land waste, massacred those fit to carry arms and made the women and children slaves[2]. Many of these slaves he appointed to certain offices in his palace, but as he was by nature jealous, he had them first castrated to the great indignation of pious Musalmans. Hakam was the first ruler of Spain who organized a regular body-guard, and in order that it should be thoroughly devoted to the throne, appointed to it either prisoners of war or slaves bought in the open market.

These brilliant exploits earned for him the title of Al-Muzaffar or the Victorious by which epithet he was hailed by his soldiers[3]. When he arrived at Toledo he found that Sulaimân had been killed in battle while 'Abdullah had fled to Africa in order to wait for a favourable opportunity to return to the political arena. On his arrival therefore, the city immediately opened its gates to him.

While all this was taking place, Alphonso, king of Galicia, led an expedition to the neighbourhood of Lisbon, and on his return sent to Charlemagne, as trophies of his success, some Saracen prisoners riding on mules and wearing their own coats of arms. On the other side, the

(1) Collection of the *Historiens des Gaules* Vol. VI, pp. 90 and 91.

(2) *Vide* Maqqari Vol. I. p. 219. Here Conde, who was misled by the accounts given by some Arab authors, supposes that the Muslims reentered Narbonne.

(3) That is why the old French chroniclers have given him the barbarous name Abulafar.

King of Acquitaine ravaged the neighbourhood of Huesca[1].

These incomplete successes did not bear any important fruit, while the immediate result of the incessant wars between the two parties was the utter devastation of the country which formed their bone of contention. As we know, it was the Saracen governors themselves who had invoked the help of the Christians, but now that the Christian army was in the land, they refused to receive them and even sent word to the Emîr of Cordova when force was brought to bear on them. The Muslims continued to hold such strong and important positions as Barcelona, Tortora and Sarragossa, and were therefore sure to find places of refuge in the time of necessity, while these strongholds were so near the Christian frontiers that they could easily cross over to the enemy's country. Of all these places of vantage, the situation of Barcelona eclipsed all others. It was not only very strongly fortified, but was in close proximity to the French frontier so that it was comparatively easy to terrify the inhabitants of the surrounding lands either by land or by sea. The Muslim governor, whom other old French chroniclers call Zaton or Zadus[2], had paid homage to Charlemagne more than once, but now that the French soldiers were knocking at the very doors of the citadel, he utterly refused to have anything to do with them.

At last, in 800, while Charlemagne was at Rome, no doubt preparing to have the Imperial crown placed on his own head, William, Count of Toulouse, advised Louis to stake all in order to gain possession of this important citadel, and Louis, announcing to his court and grandees his resolution to do all in his power to achieve this end, ordered them to march to the capital of Catalonia at the head of their armed retainers.

It remains for us to give an account of the details of the siege of Barcelona as given in the Latin poem of Ermoldus Nigellus who has already been quoted above. We wish to give a few quotations from that poem as it throws considerable light on the methods of Muslim and Christian warfare of those days[3].

" Barcelona had become", says the poet, " a bulwark of the first order. It was thence that the Muslim warriors

(1) Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, p. 213.

(2) ? Zaitûn (Eng. Tr.).

(3) *Historiens des Gaules*, Vol. VI, pp. 13 ff. *Vide*, *ibid*, Vol. V, pp. 80 and 81.

led their cavalry into the land of the Christians, and it was there that they collected their booty. It was in vain that the French soldiers pillaged the country-side round about the town, for it seemed impossible for them to force the Muslim commander to lay down his arms.

" On arrival at the walls of the town, the Acquitainian warriors began to undertake the work allotted to them. One could see an Acquitainian prepare the ladders, another fix the stakes in the earth, here one takes up arms, there another collects stones. Arrows falling everywhere, walls shaking under the pressure from the battering-rams, slings causing the utmost damage. The Muslim governor, in order to encourage his men, announces that forces have already left Cordova, and then, with his hand pointing towards the French horde, exclaims : ' Can you see yonder men of high stature who do not let us live in peace ? I tell you, they are brave, able to carry arms, thoroughly reckless of any danger which may come in their way and always full of agility; they always have arms by their sides. It therefore behoves us to defend our ramparts with the utmost bravery.' "

The army of the Christians was divided into three parts. The first division was set aside specially for attacking the town ; the second, commanded by Count William, was ordered to cut it off from the auxiliary forces coming from Cordova ; while Louis was stationed on the Pyrenees at the head of the third division with orders to march in case of eventualities. The troops which advanced from the capital thus found the road blocked, and when they turned towards the Christians of the Asturias they were put to flight. William now turned to Barcelona and thus redoubled the strength of the army which was laying siege to the town. Zadon, not being able to defend the town any longer, left it and fell into the hands of the Christians. The French now assaulted the citadel which was forced to open its gates to them.

Barcelona thus fell into the hands of the Christians in 801, after remaining in the hands of the Musalmans for ninety years. Immediately on their entry into the city its new masters turned all the mosques into churches, and Louis sent to his father a part of the spoils of war, comprising cuirasses and helmets studded with precious stones, and beautiful horses superbly harnessed.

The Spanish possessions of France were henceforward divided into two parts : the Gothic or Septimanian March

which coincided with the present Catalonia, with its capital at Barcelona ; and the Gascon march which included the parts of Navarre and Aragon in actual possession of France.

The same year (801) Charlemagne received an embassy from the famous Khalîfa of Baghdad, Hârûn-ur-Rashîd. A short time before this Charles had sent an embassy to the court of Baghdad, consisting of a Jew named Isaac and a couple of Christians as plenipotentiaries. These were ordered to proceed to Baghdad *via* Jerusalem which had become a place of pilgrimage as well as a centre of commerce, and after taking note of the conditions prevalent at the Holy Places to beg the Khalîfa to grant them as many favours as would produce a certain amount of enthusiasm and make them more accessible to the pilgrims and traders who gathered at Jerusalem from the four corners of the world. Moreover they were to make a request for an elephant, an animal which had not been seen in France since the days of Hannibal, and which was certain to strike the sense of curiosity of the people. The Khalîfa welcomed these ambassadors with open arms. He granted to Charles the right of looking after the security of the Holy Places and at the same time sent him the only elephant which happened to be in his zoological garden. He also presented him with a magnificent tent of cotton and silk, an article which was rarely to be seen in France, perfumes and scents of every description, two huge brass chandeliers and a brass clock worked by hydraulic power, which marked the twelve hours of the day. All these presents were disembarked at Pisa and were ceremoniously carried to the Emperor's favourite resort, Aix-la-Chapelle. The ambassadors were asked to present Harûn's compliments to Charles and to tell him that the Khalîfa valued the Emperor's friendship more than that of any other potentate[1].

The Emperor then ordered his own envoys to visit the ruins of Carthage *en route* and beg the permission of the Muslim Viceroy, Ibrâhîm the Aghlabite, to remove the body of St. Cyprian and other Chirstian Martyrs who had sanctified the ancient capital of Africa by their blood. Ibrâhîm gladly acceded to this request and in addition sent his own ambassadors to Charlemagne with his compliments. We can only conjecture the vivid impression which all these events must have created on the mind of

(1) Eginard, Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, p. 95. *Vide* also p. 56.

a people who were almost without any communication with the outer world; to them it seemed as if the three continents were paying homage to the extraordinary prestige of the person of their great Emperor.[1]

War continued in Aragon, Catalonia and Navarre all this time, resulting in partial successes to both the contestants. Judging from the facts reported, it is certain that Charlemagne could not gain the same amount of success here as he could elsewhere, and this may have been due either to the fact that he could not pay due attention to this part of the frontier of his dominions, or else that his instructions were not followed *verbatim*. We may have some idea of Cordovan politics and of the curious situation in which he was placed by certain facts, which we reproduce below.

In 807, after the death of the French commander in Aragon, Count Auréole, the Muslim Emîr of Sarragossa, named 'Amr, took possession of all the French Aragonese towns, with the apparent intention of handing them back to Charlemagne. But when the French troops arrived on the spot, he refused to receive them, saying that he would fulfil his promise at the next session of the Diet. In the meantime he was recalled to Cordova leaving the Aragonese towns in the possession of the Musalmans. Such is the account left to us by French chroniclers[2]. Now let us see what the Arab authorities have to say about this man 'Amr. He was born at Huesca of a Christian mother and a Muslim father, a matrimonial alliance which was quite common in Spain, especially in the North, which

(1) *Vide* Dom Bouquet's collection. Vol. 5, pp. 53, 95 etc. The Arab authors do not tell us anything about the diplomatic relations of Charlemagne with the Khalîfa Hârûn-ur-Rashîd, but accounts of this are given in most of the French authorities. These accounts are at one with what Fredegaire's successor has said of the relations between Pepin the Short and the Khalîfa Al-Mansûr: they also agree with what is described later about the deputation sent by Hârûn's successor Al-Mâmûn to Louis the Gentle. Add to this evidence that of Pope Leo III who, after Rashîd's death in 813, sent word to Constantinople that if the pirates of the African coasts do not respect the coasts of the French Empire it was because the grand name of the late Khalîfa had entirely lost its force. V. Pagi: *Critique des Annales de Baronius*, year 813, No. 20 ff. Nevertheless the learned M. Pouqueville, in the new *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, Vol. X, p. 529, treats them as false and finds fault with Eginard's accounts taken as a whole. Probably he has mixed up Eginard with the monk of St. Gall who has also written on Charlemagne and whose account has been subjected to well-founded criticism a number of times. *Vide* Dom Bouquet's introduction to Vol. V. of the collection of *Historiens de France.*

(2) *Vide* Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, pp. 58 ff.

was mostly inhabited by Christians. Those born of such a wedlock were called "Mowallads" by the Arabs.[1] They did not follow any definite religious persuasion but generally allied themselves to the winning side[2]. We are told that a few years earlier the town of Toledo was threatened with a general rising. The Emîr of Cordova, who was certain of 'Amr's fidelity, appointed him to quell the insurrection. After having taken orders from the Emîr as to the plan of his campaign, 'Amr proceeded to the discontented people (the great mass of whom were Mowallads) as one of them, who was in entire sympathy with their ideas, and said that he was only awaiting the first opportunity of revolt. With their help he built a strong fortress in the highest part of the town, which was to be the best rampart of their liberty, and when it was ready he invited the ringleaders to meet him there. When these chiefs were well within his power, however, he had their heads cut off. Four hundred (according to some, five thousand) were thus murdered in cold blood, and if the inhabitants of the town had not come to know what was happening, many more would have been put to death. Here was the man who had taken possession of Count Auréole's towns with the declared intention of returning them to the Frenchmen!

We shall now consider the state of the Spanish and African navy of the Musalmans at this epoch and the disastrous effects which it produced for France.

We have already noticed that after the fall of the Omayyad Khalîfas and the establishment of 'Abdu'r-Rahmân I, at Cordova, Spain was organised quite separately from the rest of the provinces of the Islamic Empire. The Khalîfas of Baghdad made repeated attempts both by sea and land to establish their authority in the Iberian peninsula. The result of this was that the Emîrs of Cordova were forced to pay special attention to their naval armaments.

Even before the year 773, when 'Abdu'r-Rahmân I, began to construct arsenals at the ports of Tarracona, Tortosa, Carthagena, Seville, Almeria, etc., the Balearic islands, Sardinia and Corsica were exposed to the ravages of Muslim seamen. These islands, which were left to their own fate, at last put themselves under Charlemagne's

(1) مولد This is equivalent to the Spanish *Mulato* and French *Mulatre.*

(2) *Vide* Ibn-ul-Qûtiah.

protection.[1] Thenceforward the Spanish Musalmans made frequent incursions into the islands, thus enriching themselves with much booty and at the same time engaging the forces of the potentate with whom they were in open conflict. They deemed nothing sacred, and those who were capable of carrying arms were either taken prisoners or put to death, while women and children were turned into salves. Only the old and infirm were left intact for they could not oppose them and were indeed of no account whatsoever to their cause.

In 806, on hearing that the Musalmans were ravaging the island of Corsica, Pepin, to whom his father Charlemagne had given charge of the government of Italy, sent a navy to check their advance. They retreated without waiting for the French forces, but the campaign cost the Christians the life of Ademar, Count of Genoa, who had attacked them rather unwisely and had in consequence been defeated. The Saracens carried back with them sixty monks who were finally sold in Spain and some of whom were later bought back by the Emperor.[2]

In 808, the Spanish Muslims attacked Sardinia, but were put to flight by the inhabitants of the island. They now turned to Corsica where they were met by the constable Barchard, and lost thirteen ships in the affray. This success on the part of the Christian forces was regarded by the Christians as a condign punishment which God had inflicted for the numberless acts of cruelty committed by the Saracens.[3]

Nevertheless, the next year, while the African Muslims attacked the island of Sardinia, the Muslims of Spain arrived in Corsica on Easter Day and put everything to fire and sword.[4] They came back to Corsica in 813, but as they were returning home they were entrapped by Ermengaire, who was Count of Ampourias near the modern town of Perpignan. The Count captured eight of their ships which had on board nearly five hundred prisoners.

(1) In 799 the Christians of the Balearic islands rendered homage to the French potentate after gaining some success over the Saracens and capturing a number of flags ; Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, p. 51.

(2) Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, pp. 25 and 56.

(3) Collection of the *Historiens de France*, Vol. V, p. 56.

(4) *Vide* Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, pp. 60, 61, and 355. If native writers are to be believed, the Musulmans established themselves on the eastern coast of the island in the midst of the ancient ruins of Aleria, and the Frenchmen, in spite of the wish of the natives, had great difficulty in driving them out. *Histoire de la Corse*, Paris, 1835, Vol. I, pp. 110 ff.

The Musalmans thereupon devastated the environs of Nice in Provence on the one side and the country round Centocelle (modern Civita-Vecchia), in the neighbourhood of Rome, on the other.[1]

The very fact that these raids and other inimical acts were actually doubled, makes it clear that the strength of the Muslim fighters had been considerably increased, and if the Emperor did not take extraordinary measures it would mean the utter collapse of the Empire which he had built up with so much difficulty. We have seen that the (northern) coast of Africa was under the authority of the Abbâsid Khalîfas of Baghdad, who were on friendly terms with France. While Harûn-ur-Rashîd lived, the Aghlabite prince of Qairûan respected the integrity of the coasts of the Empire out of regard for his wishes. When, however, Hârûn died in 809 and his dominions were rent asunder by the internecine wars between his two sons, the Aghlabite prince thought that he was free from all supervision, so that the ports of Tunis, Sousa, etc., soon became the haunts of the marauding vessels of the Muslim seamen. When a Governor of Sicily complained to the Aghalbite envoy of the cruelties which were committed by the raiders almost every day, he was told that ever since the death of the Commander of the Faithful, those who had been slaves had acquired freedom, while those who had been poor went to look for wealth where they could find it. The fact was that the trade which went on between France and Italy in the west and Egypt, Syria and Asia Minor in the East, was a fine bait for the African vessels.[2]

The Empire had to deal not only with African ships of war but with Norman pirates as well. At this time Jutland and the Baltic coasts were full of a poor and warlike people among whom the rude rites of heathenism still survived. As is the case with all barbarian nations, for these Normans the surest means of achieving glory was to shed blood and carry off booty. Everyone among them measured his strength with the gentler peoples of Southern Europe, and already their light ships were seen on the coasts of the French Empire.[3] In 810, Charlemagne who judged the gravity of the situation in its true

(1) Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, p. 62.

(2) Pagi : *Critique des annales de Baronius*, year 813, No. 20 ff.

(3) V. M. Depping : *Histoire des expeditions maritimes des Normands*, Paris, 1826, 2 Vols. in 8vo., and M. Auguste Leprevost : *Notes pour servir a l 'histoire de Normandie*, Caen, 1834, in 8vo.

proportions, issued orders to the counts and provincial governors of his dominions to build military towers and fortresses at the mouths of rivers by which the Muslim raiders were likely to enter the Empire. In addition to this he expressed his wish to hold the navy in readiness in the chief seaports in order to pursue enemy squadrons whenever necessity arose. So long as this great potentate lived, such measures were enough to hold the enemies of France in check.[1]

The two combatant parties were soon tired of continuous hostilities which could only be to the disadvantage of both. We read of pourparlers for a temporary truce, and it is the first time that contemporary chroniclers speak of negotiations between the rulers of France and the Emîrs of Cordova.[2] As a matter of fact according to the spirit of the Islamic precept, there could be no permanent peace between the True Believers and the Christians who inhabited the border of the Islamic dominions for we read in the Qur'ân the following : " Fight with the infidels till there are no disputes left over ; fight till none except the Divine Religion dominates the world.[3]" It is the result of mere toleration that in countries conquered by the Musalmans the Christians and the followers of other religions are free to exercise their particular tenets. As a matter of fact the Muslims make use of a term meaning truce for every treaty that is concluded between a Muslim and a Christian power.[4]

The first truce was concluded in 810, but it was soon broken. Two years later a Muslim Ambassador who was perhaps the Admiral Yahyâ bin Hakam, a man who is described by the Arab authors as a spirited person, went

(1) Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, p. 96 ; Vol. VI, p. 93.

(2) *Ibid.*, Vol. V. pp. 60 & 82.

(3) Qur'ân, sûrah VIII, Verse 39 and 40. (The author has suppressed a part of the verse, which is as follows : " Then if they desist, then God seeth all that they do. " Thus it is clear that a permanent peace between the Muslims and the Christians is by no means the impossibility that our author represents it to be. The idea conveyed in the next sentence of the author is also without foundation, for it was always the Christians who broke the pact between the Muslims and themselves. So far as the principle of toleration is concerned the Muslims have ever acted on the Qur'ânic precept that " there should be no compulsion in Religious belief ", a precept which has made them tolerant towards those who differ from them in religion. Tr.)

(4) *Vide* d'Ohsson : *Tableaux de l'Empire Ottoman, Vol.* V, p. 66, Ro'land : *Dissertationes miscellaneae* Vol. III, p. 50 : and our own *Extraits des historiens arabes relatifs aux guerres des croisades* Paris, 1829, pp. 164 and 542 (*Bibliotheque des Croisades* of M. Michaud, Vol. IV).

to Aix-la-Chapelle[1] to negotiate with the Emperor. He succeeded in arranging another truce which was intended to last for three years. It was, however, no better observed than the first, as is evidenced in 813 by the invasion of Corsica by the Muslims, and the advance of 'Abdu'r-Rahmân, the son of the Emîr of Cordova, toward the Pyrenees when he put everything to fire and sword. The Muslim army, in fact, advanced as far as the frontiers of France, and it was perhaps during this campaign that occurred the death of St. Aventin who lived in the vicinity of Bagnères-de-Luchon which is situated in the modern department of Haute-Garonne.[2]

Charlemagne died in 814, but this event did not result in any important change in the relations of France with the Musalmans. His son, Louis the Gentle, who had been working under him for a long time, succeeded him in the high office of Emperor, and he immediately tried to follow in his father's footsteps. Unfortunately for France, while there was any fighting on the banks of the Ebro, the Muslims were making continuous progress in the naval arena, and an event which took place about this time in Spain, singularly contributed to widen the area of their raids.

We have already seen that Hakam had created a standing army for which it was necessary to spend more money and levy new taxes. He was moreover hated by his subjects on account of his cruelty and his sullen humour. The result of all this was that a revolt broke out in the neighbourhood of the capital. Hakam forthwith fell on the rebels with his newly-formed forces and caused blood to flow in torrents for days and days. After suppressing the rebellion he caused a number of suburban houses to be destroyed and compelled those who had escaped the sword of his soldiers to go and settle elsewhere. A party of these unlucky exiles, numbering more than sixteen thousand, went to Egypt and forcibly entered the town of Alexandria. They, however, accepted a large sum of money offered to them by the governor of the town and, leaving the Egyptians alone, sailed to Crete which was then in the hands of the Greeks.[3] The inhabitants of the island resisted their

(1) Conde : *Historia* Vol. I, p. 294, and collection of the *Historiens de France*, Vol. V, pp. 82 and 258.

(2) Comte de Castellanc : *Notices de l'eglise de St. Abentin*, in the *Memoires de la Societe archeologique du midi de la France*. Toulouse, Vol. I.

(3) Cf. Conde : *Historia*, Vol. I, p. 253 : M. ET. Quatremère : *Memoires historiques sur l'Egypte*, Vol. II, p. 197 : and Lebeau : *Histoire du Bas Empire*, Book LXVIII, s. 48.

entry in vain, and they finally settled there. Soon afterwards the Spanish Muslims made themselves masters of the Balearic Islands and the African Muslims captured Sicily, so that the Mediterranean was turned into a vast theatre of naval warfare.

In 816, Muslim envoys came to the Emperor's Court at Compiégne on behalf of 'Abdu'r-Rahmân, to whom his father Hakam had relegated the charge of his dominions. From Compiégne they accompanied the Emperor to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was about to hold a meeting of the Diet.[1] The truce, however, was observed by neither party, for a Muslim fleet, which left Tarracona in 820, attacked Sardinia, while some Christian vessels which were sent against it, were defeated, eight sunk, many burnt and the rest put to flight.[2]

The same year, 816, Hakam died and was succeeded by his son 'Abdu'r-Rahmân II. By his cruel deeds Hakam had earned the name of Abû'l-'Asy,[3] or the wicked, from his subjects, and it is this epithet which the ancient French chroniclers have corrupted into the barbaric sounding word Aboulaz.[4]

On Hakam's death, his uncle 'Abdullah, the same who had attempted to seize the throne with Charlemagne's help, hurried from Africa where he had been living in retirement, in order to make another attempt to seize the Cordovan government. The French took advantage of such a favourable opportunity offered to them, invaded such parts of Aragon and Catalonia as did not recognize their authority and there destroyed everything that came before them. But the bonds which had kept the various parts of the Empire together and which the strong hand of Charlemagne had prepared with so much difficulty, had already begun to loosen. Discontent appeared in all parts of the Empire and the schemes of ambitious persons began to multiply. Thus in 820, Béra, the Governor of Barcelona, who had been ordered to carry on war against the Musalmans, was accused of felonious conduct, probably of siding with the enemy. As there was little evidence forthcoming at the trial, recourse was had to the old Gothic custom, adopted by the Spanish Musalmans as well, and both the accuser and the accused were ordered to fight a duel. Béra was defeated and was forthwith

(1) Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. VI, pp. 98 ff.
(2) *Ibid*, Vol. VI, p. 180, and Conde, Vol. I, p. 255.
(3) ابو العاصی
(4) Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. V, pp. 80 and 81.

declared guilty.[1] A short time afterwards the Christians of Navarre, who evidently had some complaint against their French rulers made an alliance with the Musalmans and handed over the town of Pamplona to them. Thereupon two counts, Asnar and Eble by name, were sent by the Emperor to quell the rebellion. They were, however, attacked during their passage through the Pyrenees by the native Christians, who spared Asnar (who was a Gascon), but handed over the Frenchman Eble to the Emîr of Cordova.[2]

Louis was burning to avenge the insult offered to his authority. So, when the town of Merida in Estremadura, the inhabitants of which were ill-disposed towards the Cordovan authority, took up arms in 826 on the pretext that they had been badly treated by the Governor,[3] Louis lost no time in putting himself in communication with the inhabitants and sent the following letter to them :—

" In the name of the Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, Louis by the Grace of God, Emperor, Augustus ; To the primates and people of Merida ; Salutations in our Lord. We have been informed of your great distress and all that you have suffered at the cruel hands of King 'Abdu'r-Rahmân, who is oppressing you and robbing you of your wealth. He is really following in the footsteps of his father Aboulaz, who was imposing burdens on you which were not his due, and who thereupon turned his friends into enemies, loyal subjects into rebels. He really wished to deprive you of your liberty and to levy all kinds of taxes and to humiliate you in every way. Fortunately you have bravely resisted the injustice, barbarism and greed of your Kings. All this has reached us from different quarters. We have consequently decided to write this letter in order to comfort you and ask you to remain staunch in the purpose which you have put before you for the defence of your liberties. As this barbarian King is our enemy as well as yours, we propose that we should show a united front against him. God willing, we intend to send an army to the other side of the Pyrenees next summer for your support. If 'Abdu'r-Rahmân or his troops try to march against you, our army will be able to make a powerful diversion. We declare that if you decide to throw off his yoke and give yourselves up to us, we will grant you again your ancient privileges without

(1) Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. VI, pp. 48, etc.
(2) *Ibid*, Vol. VI, pp. 106 and 185.
(3) Novayry.

the least delay and will not ask any tribute from you. We shall further allow you to live under your own laws and we shall treat you as our friends and associates in the defence of our Empire. We pray God that He may keep you in the best of health.[1]"

Louis held a great Diet at Aix-la-Chapelle which was attended by his son Pepin who had become King of Acquitaine, together with the counts of various provinces adjacent to Spain. The Emperor here announced his intention to make the utmost efforts to punish the insult offered to his arms. But even while the Diet was still in session, a Gothic Lord named Aîzon, who was perhaps allied with the Musalmans and sent by them to Aix-la-Chapelle in order to report to them the correct state of affairs there, left for the Pyrenees, put himself at the head of the malcontents of Aragon and Catalonia and captured the town of Ausone, which he made his centre for ravaging the country occupied by the French.[2]

The French army which was sent southward in the spring of 827 came to grief. Aîzon, who had already sent word to the Emîr of Cordova for help, himself proceeded thither in order to press on the departure of the troops. Thereupon 'Abdu'r-Rahmân sent some of his best troops, among them a part of his own body-guard, under his relative 'Ubeydullah. As the French army advanced very slowly, Aîzon and his allies had ample time to overrun the territories round Barcelona and Gironna and to advance right up to the Cerdagne and the Val-Spir on the French side of the Pyrenees, where they committed the most horrible ravages.[3]

All this time the natives of Merida were making the greatest possible attempts to keep up their rebellion. At the end of the third year, however, when no help was forthcoming, they were forced to open their gates to the enemy.

It was about this time that the Normans left the Northern countries which had become too small for their increased population, and began to make annual descents on the German, French, English and Spanish coasts. Nor did the Spanish and African freebooters leave the coast

(1) This letter, published by Lecointe, has been reproduced by Dom Bouquet in his collection, Vol. VI, p. 379. But as both these illustrious writers were unacquainted with the relationship which had existed between the Emperor and the inhabitants of Merida, they have changed the word *Emeritanos* to *Caesaraugustanos*.

(2) Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. VI, pp. 107, 149 and 187.

(3) *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 108 and 188.

of Southern France and Italy free from their ravages. In order to avenge the continuous onslaughts on the island of Corsica, Boniface, Governor of the island, sent an expedition to the coast of Northern Africa and overran the district between Carthage and Utica with fire and sword.[1]

The Spanish and African ports whence issued these freebooting ships were generally situated on the Mediterranean coasts and it was round the Mediterranean basin that their raids generally took place. We read that a Muslim ship of such dimensions that it resembled a huge wall from a distance, raided the island of Oye in Brittany near the mouths of the Loire[2] ; but as the episode is not even mentioned in the local histories of this part of France,[3] it doubtless left few traces behind.

While the situation became more and more alarming every day, Louis, to whom history has given the title of " Gentle ", was unable to raise himself above the grievous circumstances in which his sheer weakness had placed him. He was at first foolish enough to divide his vast empire among his three sons in his life-time, and then he was even more foolish to redivide it later and reserve the fourth part for his youngest son. Thereupon the three elder protested against this injustice done to them and took up arms. In the general conflagration that followed, Louis was sometimes victor, sometimes vanquished, but in any case he utterly lost all the respect due to him on the part of his subjects.

Anarchy and other similar evils which always follow in the wake of such events, became the order of the day, so that the pious among the Christians thought that the general decadence was no doubt only the result of the Divine Wrath caused by the corruption which existed in all ranks of society. In 828, a letter addressed to the Bishops of the Empire, says : " Famine, disease and various other evils have become rooted in the nations of our Empire. Who does not see that God is angry at our irreligious acts[4]?" The Emperor thereupon commanded a general fast to be kept and ordered the Bishops to assemble in council in four of the chief centres of the Empire (one of which was Toulouse), in order to discuss the means whereby this deplorable state of affairs might be brought to an end.

(1) *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 109.
(2) *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 308.
(3) Neither in D. Morice's history nor in that of M. Daru.
(4) Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. VI, p. 344.

The same kind of disorders were prevalent in Spain, where the Emîr of Cordova had to face some insurrection or other almost every day.

We must remember that the commercial intercourse between the French Empire and the provinces of Egypt and Syria was never broken off, and the political relations which had existed between Charlemagne and Hârûn-ur Rashîd were re-established when the East was again in a peaceful state. Thus we are told that in 831 three ambassadors, two Muslim and one Christian, sent by the Khalîfa Mâ'mûn, son of Hârûn-ur-Rashîd, arrived in France bringing with them a number of presents for the Emperor, such as rich perfumes and cloth![1]

War continued on the other side of the Pyrenees. In 838 'Ubaidullah, a relative of the Emîr of Cordova, raided the provinces occupied by the French; while the French, on their part, attacked Castille and destroyed everything which came in their way.

It was about this time that a fleet left Tarragona and, after being largely reinforced by ships from Majorca and Iviza, made a descent on the country round Marseilles, took possession of the suburbs of the town and imprisoned all the persons, lay as well as cleric, who could carry arms.[2] It was perhaps on this occasion that the episode took place which is attributed to St. Eusabia and her forty nuns. It is said that as they did not wish to expose themselves to the cruelty of the invaders, they deformed themselves by cutting off their noses; they were thereafter known in the country as *denazzadas* or *the noseless*.[3]

Louis the Gentle died in 840, and this was immediately followed by an internecine war among his sons. Europe was then experiencing one of those severe chastisements, which, as Bossuet puts it, make their effect felt over whole nations, and when the Almighty smites the good and the innocent along with the vicious and the guilty. The Muslamans took advantage of the general confusion to penetrate Provence by way of the estuary of the Rhône, and lay waste the environs of Arles.[4] At the same time

(1) *Vita Loudovici pii*, and St. Bertin's *Annals*, in the collection of the *Historiens de France*, Vol. VI, pp. 112 & 193. The Khalîfa is simply called *Emir-ul-Muminin*.

(2) *Vide* Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. VI, p. 199.

(3) An inscription about St. Eusabia still exists at Marseilles, but it bears no date. *Vide* Millin: *Voyage dans les departements du midi de la France*, Vol. III, p. 179. Mabillon (*Annales Benedictini*, Vol. II, p. 90) says that St. Eusabia's martyrdom took place in 832.

(4) Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. VII, p. 61.

the Governor of Tudela in Navarre, named Mûsa, entered Cerdagne and overran it.[1] On their side the Normans and their light boats advanced right into central France by way of the Scheldt, the Seine, the Loire and the Garonne and began to turn the fair land of France into a huge mass of ruins. The history of this period is an account of ambitious intrigue, detestable treason and calamities of every description, and one can follow it only with a very great amount of difficulty. Charles the Bald, son of Louis, had received practically the whole of France as his share of the Empire ; but Civil War which was the order of the day, caused provinces to change hands practically every year. As if in order to destroy all kinds of commercial and other relations with the outside world, the Languedoc and Provence were divided between the Emperor Lothaire, King Charles the Bald and Pepin the Younger, who was the son of Pepin once Duke of Acquitaine. Moreover to make matters worse still, a lord named Folcrade rose against Lothaire and proclaimed himself Count of Arles and Provence.[2]

As a result of all this turmoil, social ties were loosened to such an extent that princes and leaders of various parties lost practically all their following, and the descendants and relations of Charles Martel, Pepin the Short and Charlemagne had to appeal to the Barbarians and enter into alliance with them about their private quarrels.

Nor was Italy in a happier condition. Sicily was in Muslim hands, while the Muslims were invited even to the mainland by two Christian lords who had quarrelled over the principality of Beneventum. Lastly the Spanish and African privateers did not leave the coasts of the peninsula in peace, and in 846 they went so far as to go up the Tiber and ransack the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul at the very gates of Rome. Moreover certain parts of Genoa suffered so much at their hands that even the priests and monks had to take up arms to fight against them.[3]

(1) Maqqari

(2) *Vide* Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. VII, p. 61.

(3) *Vide* the Bollandistes' collection, *Vie de St. Bernulphe*, under date March 24. A number of details about the descent of the Mussulmans on the county of Nice are given in the manuscript works of Giofredo entitled *Storia delle Alpi maritime*, a work which is preserved in the royal archives of Turin. M. le Chevalie Cesar de Saluces, member of the Academy of Turin, has been good enough to make extracts from this manuscript for us. One may also consult the *Histoire de Nice* by M. Durante, Turin, 1823, 3 vol. in 8vo. A number of mistakes about the Muslims will be found duly corrected in these two works.

Lastly Muslim Spain was itself afflicted by a number of evils, and factions were the order of the day. No longer able to find rich booty on the coasts of France, the Normans made descents on Lisbon, Seville and other rich towns of the peninsula. To add to the distress of the land, a terrible famine destroyed crops as well as animals, while what was left was destroyed by locust storms from Africa. It is indeed to the credit of 'Abdu'r-Rahmân that in such unfortunate circumstances he did all he could to alleviate the sufferings of his subjects.

In 848, while the Muslim freebooters were ransacking the whole Mediterranean coast from Marseilles to Genoa,[1] the younger Pepin, who was at war with his uncle Charles the Bald for the possession of the Languedoc, and who had invited the Normans once before, now besought the Musulmans to come and help him. The intermediary between Pepin and Cordova was William Count of Toulouse, grandson of the same William who barely fifty-five years before had become famous for his patriotic zeal and religious fervour. William was received well at Cordova, and with the help of the soldiers he obtained from there, he captured Barcelona and some other Catalonian towns from Charles's representative.[2]

About this time some Muslim adventurers who had penetrated as far as the town of Arles, were forced to remain there owing to contrary winds, and were massacred by the natives of the country. At the same time, however, a Muslim army, commanded by Mûsâ, governor of Sarragossa, advanced from Urgel and Rivagorsa right into France and put everything to fire and sword. Such was the utter terror of the people that they, of their own accord, offered the invaders their silver and all they possessed in order that their lives might be saved. At last Charles the Bald was forced to sue for peace and offer rich presents to the intruders.[3] It was about this time (850 A.C.) that news of the persecution of the Christians at the hands of the Government of Cordova reached France. It would be better here to give an account of what led to these persecutions.

Islamic law ordains that there shall be complete liberty of conscience for the Christians and they shall be liable to pay only a monetary contribution. But such Christians

(1) Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. VII, p. 66.
(2) *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 41, 565, and 581.
(3) *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 42, 64 and 66.

must be born of Christian parents, while if one of them be a Muslim the child is supposed to follow his religion. There is a saying of the Prophet that the child of necessity follows the religion of the parent whose faith is superior,[1] and the Muslims naturally interpret this maxim in favour of their own faith. The same principle applies to the minor children of a Christian man or woman who has been converted to Islam ; if the child, on attaining his majority refuses to adopt Islam, the magistrate can force him to do so.[2] In the second place, the Christians who have never been converted to Islam have only to raise their hands and utter the creed " There is no deity but God, and Muhammad is God's Messenger"; and whether those words are uttered in a jovial manner or in a state of intoxication, they become Muslims and can no longer follow the precept of another faith. Lastly the Christians must abstain from all insult to the Prophet or his religion. If they transgress any of the above points, the only alternatives open to them are Islam or death.

Now we have already seen how marriage between the Muslims and the Christians was a matter of common occurrence in Spain ; it therefore sometimes happened that the mother taught her children, especially the girls, the dogma of Christianity, which often led to the most terrible results.

It was rumoured that Parfait, a priest of Cordova, who was known for his Islamic as well as Christian learning, had pronounced the creed of Islam in a moment of forgetfulness. One day some Musulmans chanced to meet him in the streets of Cordova, and entering into conversation with him, interrogated him as to what he thought of their Prophet and the religion he propounded. Fearing that his reply might embroil him in some trouble, he at first refused to answer ; but as these men insisted, he began to express his ideas freely and called the Prophet of Arabia a number of vile names. The Musulmans did not reply, but when a few days later they met him in a crowd, they denounced him as one who had spoken ill of the Prophet. He was immediately caught hold of by the Musulmans and arraigned before the Qâdî or judge. The Qâdî asked Parfait whether he wished to recant what he had said, and as he did not wish to recant, he was forthwith condemned to death.

(1) *Vide* d'Ohsson : *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, Vol. II, p. 313, Vol. V, p. 167.

(2) *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 111 ff.

This happened in the month of Ramadân, a month of fasting and prayer for the Muslims, and to give the execution a solemn tinge, it was decided that it should take place at the end of the month, when in order to make amends for their fast the Muslims feast to their heart's content. On the day appointed, Parfait was taken to a great plain on the banks of the Guadalquivir and there he had his head cut off before a multitude of onlookers.[1]

This event caused a great sensation in the country. Spain and even the centre of the Empire, Cordova, was still full of Christians who were left in charge of a large number of their churches and who had their own monasteries for inmates of either sex, especially on the heights to the north of the city. Christianity had even penetrated right into the royal palace, through the slaves of all countries who worked there. Now, zealous Muslims thought that they were doing good by denouncing such Christians as came within one of the three categories above mentioned.[2] We even hear of families where brothers accused their own sisters in order to get hold of their property. In all such cases judgment was swift and sure; the accused was asked whether he still persisted in believing in the Christian dogma, and if the reply was in the affirmative he was put to death.[3] Ordinarily these 'martyrs' were bound to the stake, their bodies burned and the ashes thrown into the river in order that the Christians might not gather them and preserve them as relics. Sometimes the bodies were even thrown to the dogs.[4]

These deeds produced an effect entirely different from that intended by the Government; the courage of the 'martyrs' soon became an object of admiration, and a number of Christians offered themselves for punishment even though they did not come in one of these categories. Among them may be mentioned a Frenchman named Sanche, a native of Alby, who was an inmate of the royal

(1) The Church celebrates St. Parfait's Day on April 18.

(2) [But what does our learned author think about those "enthusiastic" Christians who broke the current law of the land through sheer fanaticism, and when brought to the death were regarded as "martyrs"? Tr.]

(3) [The author has greatly exaggerated this. In the beginning of the fanatical turmoil, the Counts at Cordova were content to imprison the would-be "martyrs" so that, they might mend their ways, and it was only after the days of grace had expired that they were put to death. Compare this with the treatment meted out by Christians to brother Christians in the XVI and XVIIth centuries in Europe. Tr.]

(4) *Vide* the *Vie des Saintes*, under June 3, 5, 7, 13, July 27, September 16, October 21 or 22, November 24, etc.

palace, probably having been taken prisoner in his infancy. Even women took part in these episodes ; timid virgins who had never left their fathers and mothers before were seen to run many miles to Cordova in order to win ' martyrdom ' by showering insults on the name of the Prophet of Islam !

These deeds reached such a point that many Musulmans became actually afraid of the effects which so much shedding of blood might cause. On the other hand the bishops of the country gathered together in congress, and in spite of the protests of certain over-zealous priests decided that it was as much against the spirit of the Bible to provoke the rage of the opponents of the Faith as it was virtuous to endure it when there was no provocation. Finally the Christians of the Northern provinces of Spain begged Charles the Bald to intercede on their behalf and he readily consented to do so.[1]

With such acts of fanaticism before him, 'Abdu'r-Rahmân II, seemed much irritated and surprised at the number of the Christians who had settled down right in the heart of the Empire, and in his anger he dismissed all the Christians employed in his palace. But the greater the number of the Christians he had to deal with, the more dangerous were his methods of reducing that number. While, however, these events were taking place, 'Abdu'r-Rahmân died in 852 and was succeeded by his son Muhammad.

'Abdu'r-Rahmân had a taste for art and æsthetics, and under him Cordova became a centre of letters, music, song and festivals of all kinds. Following in the footsteps of his father and grandfather and the Arabs of old, he himself became an ardent patron of poetry. Here is a translation of a few lines which he composed during one of his expeditions against the Christians, lines which were addressed to his favourite Queen, and which give us some idea of the period under review : --

" Far away from thee, O Sweet heart, have I faced the Enemy and sent him arrows never to miss their target !

" O ! the paths I have trodden, the defiles I have crossed one after another !

(1) Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. VII, pp. 64, 74 and 354.— Dozy has described this wave of fanaticism in detail in his History (Eng. Tr. pp. 268-288). But for a more detailed account *vide* C R. Haines : *Christianity and Islam in Spain*, London, 1889—Tr.]

" Thou shouldst have seen my face exposed to the full glare of the burning sun, while the very pebbles down below seemed to melt in the terrible heat.

" But the Lord God has given me power to save the True Religion and I have given it an entirely new lease of life ; for verily have I overturned the Cross by a mere touch of my feet.

" My soldiers have crossed the rugged and the smooth and have marched undaunted against the Infidel.[1]"

'Abdu'r-Rahmân's successor proved to be a great anti-Christian in his sentiments. He had all the churches built during the Muslim occupation of the country razed to the ground, and would fain have destroyed the parts recently added on to the old edifices. In his enthusiasm an idea flashed on his brain that he should expel from his dominions not only the Christians but the Jews as well, who were really the sworn enemies of Christianity. Luckily for the non-Muslims rebellions broke out in various parts of the land, and he himself feared the serious loss of revenue which would necessarily have followed such a step, so that his thoughts began to wander to another field of vision.

War continued in Catalonia and on the banks of the Ebro. Mûsâ who had been successful in the previous years, was now defeated by the ruler of the Asturias. The Emîr now wanted to punish him and to deprive him of all authority, so he now veered round towards the Christians and even gave his daughter in marriage to Garcia, Count of Navarre. Lastly Toledo raised the standard of revolt, and surrounded by troubles, the Emîr of Cordova was entirely at his wit's ends.

Whichever way one turns, nothing but wars, raids, calamities of every description meet one's eyes. In 859 the Normans passed through the Straits of Gibralter and made themselves masters of Narbonne, a town which had a hundred years before withstood the whole might of France. They even entered the estuary of the Rhône, and advancing right up to the gates of Valence, put everything to fire and sword.[2] They were checked only by Gerard de Rousillon, well-known to readers of the French chivalrous romances, who forced them to retire. About the same time the French raided the islands of Sardinia and Corsica once again.

(1) Maqqari, 1860, Vol. I. p. 224.
(2) *Historiens de France*, Vol. VII, p. 75.

Here is a picture of France left to us in an almost contemporary document: On all sides churches were razed to the ground, towns destroyed, monasteries pillaged. Such was the rage of the barbarians that the Christians who had fallen into their hands were either put to death or ransomed after a huge price had been paid for them. Many left their belongings as well as their motherland; many more moved into the interior in order to live in fortified places. But there were those as well who preferred to die rather than leave all they held dear in others' hands. There were, however, some in whom faith had not taken root and who did not blush to join hands with the foreigners themselves; these proved to be the worst enemies of their motherland, for they knew the country well and it was impossible to escape the effects of the information they gave to the enemy. The result of all this was that some of the best known places were turned into ruins and some of the most famous buildings disappeared in the shadow of brambles and thorns.[1]

A certain 'Umar son of Hafsûn, descended from Christian ancestors and a tailor by profession penetrated right into the Pyrenees at the head of a troop of adventurers and vagabonds and made himself master of a number of fortresses whence he resisted all the might of the Emîr of Cordova.[2] In 866, Muhammad who was on the point of losing his northern provinces requested Charles the Bald for a settlement of differences. Charles was himself in no mood to fight, so it was arranged that the French should remain in possession of Catalonia and should in no way lend any help to the rebels. The ambassadors sent to Cordova by Charles brought back with them camels laden with cloth, scents and other costly presents.[3]

Spain itself was in a thoroughly wretched condition. Lack of water, famine, pestilence, earthquakes, wars, rebellions, everything in fact seemed to conspire against that unfortunate land. A lunar eclipse, moreover, plunged the country in complete darkness and the Musulmans considered it to be a sure sign of the end of their empire. As the pious among them were of opinion that these evils

(1) Dom Vaissette: *Histoire generale du Languedoc*, Vol. I, evidence, p. 108.

(2) *Vide* Casiri: *Bibliotheque de l'Escurial*, Vol. II, p. 200. (For an account of the parentage etc., of this 'Umar, v. Al-A'zari: *Kitab-ul-Maghrib*, 1849, Vol. II. p. 108, and Dozy, Eng. Tr., p. 317. I have not been able to refer to any passage in which 'Umar is described as having reached the Pyrenees—Tr.]

(3) Dom Bouquet's collection, Vol. VII pp. 83, 88 and 92.

were the outcome of the Divine Wrath, they thought that the best way of satisfying the Almighty was to fight the Christians to the death. There was, further, a development to be reckoned with, and that was the imminent danger of the rising of the provinces which were under the sway of the Emîr of Cordova.

As a matter of fact, kings and potentates were quite powerless to surmount all these crises. In 869 Muslim adventurers again attacked Provence, and this time they raided an island formed by the waters of the Rhône called Camargue where they somehow managed to construct a harbour. Now Roland, Archbishop of Arles, owned some landed property in the island and was just then building a house there. The Musulmans left their boats, attacked the house and, killing nearly three hundred workmen, arrested the Archbishop himself, and after handcuffing him took him to their boats. They fixed his ransom at 150 silver Pounds, 150 mantles, 150 swords and 150 slaves, goods which had a decent market almost everywhere. In the meantime the Archbishop died, perhaps of fear; but his captors kept his death a secret for fear of losing his ransom, and pressed the Christians for its immediate payment. It was only after this demand was satisfied that they had the dead Archbishop buried clothed in the cloths he had been wearing at the time of his death, so that the Christians who had come to congratulate him on his deliverance, could only take part in his last rites.[1]

Charles the Bald died in 876 while on his way to Italy to give battle to the Musulmans who had become masters of practically the whole of the southern part of the peninsula, and threatened the very heart of the Papacy. A Prince without capacity or courage, always ready to profit at others' expense, Charles was one of the chief causes of the social dissolution which had sapped the strength of the French nation as well as that of the neighbouring lands. It seemed as if the Normans and the Musulmans would not leave anything intact, while continuous wars raged between the Prince and the party chiefs for the possession of the rich provinces of the realm. The condition of France, Italy and Northern Spain seems to have reached the lowest depth of degradation and misery. But this was not all, as much more degradation was still in store for those unhappy lands.

(1) *Historiens de France*, Vol. VII, p. 107.

HAROON KHAN SHERWANI.

(*To be continued.*)

THE DA'IRAT-UL-MA'ARIF

FORTY years ago, a private association at Hyderabad undertook to preserve and publish rare Arabic manuscripts and applied to the Nizâm's Government to let them establish a printing agency for the purpose. The Government approved of the idea and was pleased to take the association under its patronage. An annual grant of Rs. 6,000 was also sanctioned to help the work of the association which after some internal troubles, was gradually turned into an official Board, and the publishing agency came to be known as the Dâ'irat-ul-Ma'ârif. The Dâ'irah has since then been engaged in this important work and has edited and issued some 70 rare texts, which might have otherwise been lost. Besides a number of old books on religious subjects, some remarkable classical works of general interest have been unearthed and made available to the Arabic-knowing world by the Dâ'irah, whose great services in this matter have been acknowledged by the scholars of Egypt, Syria and Turkey, as well as the orientalists of Europe.

The success and prosperity of the Dâ'irah should be attributed mainly to the great interest of that devotee of Arabic literature—the late Nawab 'Imâd-ûl-Mulk, who contributed so much to revive learning among the Mussalmans of India. The Nizâm's Government never failed to increase its financial aid according to the needs of the Dâ'irah which has thus been enabled to sell its publications at lower rates than the actual expenditure would warrant. The Dâ'irah has already established its reputation far and wide but the Editor of *Islamic Culture* wished to provide his readers with a complete list of the Dâ'irah's publications and Maulvi Muhammad 'Adil, one of its scholarly proof-readers, has kindly prepared the following list of the works so far published, with interesting notes concerning their authors.

SYED HASHIMI (FARIDABADI).

COMMENTARIES ON THE QURAN.

(1) الکہف والرقیم (*Al-Kahf-Var-Raqim*) by Qutbuddîn Shaikh 'Abdul Karîm Jeli (born 767 A.H.)

The author is a great mystic and a descendant of 'Abdul Qâdir Jîlanî, the famous saint of Baghdad.

Shaikh 'Abdul Wahhâb Muttaqî characterises another work of his, *Al-Insan-ul-Kamil* as a remarkable exposition of Islamic truths and the unity of God. Jeli was a great religious scholar of Yaman. He has written a wonderful commentary of the first verse of the Qur'ân (بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم) in 19 big volumes according to the number of letters contained in the verse, one volume being given to each letter.

Among his other works the following may be mentioned here :

(1) *Ad-Durrat-ul-Ainia* containing 533 couplets.
(2) *Al-Lawame'-ul-Barq.*
(3) *Marateb-ul-Vujud.*
(4) *Al-Manazir-ul-Ilahiya.*
(5) *An-Namus-ul-Aazam.*

His mystic attainments together with his profound scholarship have been praised by eminent scholars.

The above-named book, published by the Dâ'irah is a brief commentary of the first 'Ayah' (verse) of the Qur'ân (بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم). Each and every letter of the Ayah has been separately dealt with and wonderful truths have been deduced in the style of the Sûfists. An enormous quantity of matter has been condensed into this short treatise.

(Medium size. Pages 36.)

(2) اعجاز البیان (*'Ejaz-ul-Bayan*) by Shaikh Sadruddîn Muhammad-bin-Ishâq Qunawi (died 672 A.H.).

The author is the renowned pupil of the sage Shaikh-i-Akbar who holds the highest place among the Sufis. No one has surpassed Shaikh Mohiuddin Akbar in mysticism. Qunawi is the pupil and associate of this illustrious personage. He was well-versed in religious subjects and had written several books. After the death of Shaikh-i-Akbar, he succeeded him as mystic teacher and continued to teach and expound his master's work by writings as

well as by oral lectures; and lucid explanations of his master's work show his extensive learning. Qunawi was a contemporary of Maulâna Rûm (Jalâluddîn Rûmî).

'Ejaz-ul-Bayan is a philosophical and scholarly commentary of the first Sûrah of the Qur'ân, Al-Fâtihah (سورۃ فاتحہ). The author has dived so deep in his elucidations that the general reader would hardly comprehend him. The divine truths and problems of every word of the Sûrah are set forth in detail. Only elementary principles of commentary have been dealt with, otherwise the book would have become far more voluminous. The name of the Shaikh is a surety for its excellence.

(Average size. Pages 385).

HADITH. (TRADITIONS).

(3) مسند ابی داود طیالسی *Masnad* of Abû-Daûd-ut-Tialisi (died 204 A.H. at the age of 80).

The author was an Imâm in Hadîth. A great scholar and gifted with a wonderful memory, he acquired *Hadith* from 1,000 'Ulama, and himself dictated 4,000 traditions to the students of Isfahân without the aid of a book.

The *Masnad* is not written by the Shaikh himself, but is compiled by the 'Ulama of Khorasan on the authority of a distinguished pupil of the Shaikh. This is the first *Masnad* of the 2nd century and a landmark in the literature of *Hadith.*

The narration is given under the names of narrators in their alphabetical order. This important work, which was unknown to the world for twelve centuries, has been published by the Dâ'irat-ul-Ma'ârîf. A very old manuscript copy was found in Patna which had been revised by the 'Ulama of Egypt and Syria, as is shown by their notes on its margin.

The MS. was read in 592 H. (648 A.H.?) by 'Afîf-ud-dîn before Qâdî Abû'l Makârim. As it was discovered after some portion of the work had been printed on the basis of the manuscript in the Hyderabad State Library, a supplement giving variations was appended. The contents are given after this supplement.

(In large size. Pages 400. One volume).

(4) مشکل الآثار (*Mushkel-ul-Athar*) by Abû Ja'far Ahmad bin Muhammad At-Tahavî-al-Hanafî (born 229 A.H. died 321 A.H.).

The author acquired knowledge from a great many teachers the list of whose names is long enough to require 8 pages for enumeration. Thousands of people were benefited by his teachings. Shaikh Muznî Shafâî, Shaikh Abû 'Alî Jabaî, the philosopher, 'Allâmah Ibn-i-Duraid, author of *Jamharah*, and Makbûl Bairûtî are some of his teachers. Abû Ja'afar holds high place among the Hanafî Imâms and traditionists. He at first belonged to the Shafa'î school but became a Hanafî later and wrote ardently in support of Hanafism ; was fully conversant with the principles and dogmas of Islamic jurisprudence and has proved the superiority of Hanafism over other sects, in his book called *Sharah Ma'ani-ul-Athar* which is his first investigative work. According to Ibn-i-Khallakân, the mastery of jurisprudence died with him. His books are bulky, comprehensive and useful. All the 'Ulama have paid tribute to his compilations. His work *Ahkam-ul-Quran* and *Nawadir-i-Fiqha* covers more than 20 volumes. His compilations, which are known, number twenty five.

In the present book the Shaikh has gathered all those traditions which were difficult to understand owing to their obscurities, or which appear to contradict other tradition, or which conflict with the purport of the Qur'ân or rationalism. Every such tradition has been discussed and clearly explained in a masterly manner. All doubts and objections have been disposed of in this way. This is the last work of the Shaikh and, owing to its comprehensiveness and utility, has rendered a great service to Muslim theologians.

Marginal notes have been added by the Dâ'irah on difficult words, correction of doubtful proper names and notices of narrators. Only one MS. could be had from the library of Shâh 'Abdul 'Azîz, the renowned traditionist of Delhi. A second MS. was sought in India, Egypt, Syria, Hijâz and elsewhere for 20 years but in vain. The MS. was, therefore, corrected and completed with the aid of books dealing with the subject. A work a, 1,000 years old has thus been resuscitated by the Dâ'irah after great labour.

Medium size in four volumes. Pages about 400 in each volume.

(5) المعتصر من مشكل الآثار (*Al-Mo'tasir min Mushkil-ul Athar*).

As *Mushkil-ul-Athar* was very bulky and its arrangement of subjects rather defective, Qâzi Abû'l Valid-al-Baji-al-Mâlikî abridged and arranged the traditions according

to the subject matter in separate chapters. In some places he has also criticised and supplemented the original. Later Qâzi Yûsuf bin Mûsa Hanafî further abridged the abridgement and omitted references altogether, abstracting the matter in such a way that the meaning was not changed. Difficult problems of the original book were explained in detail and objections of Abû'l Valid refuted. This arrangement and abridgement proved very useful and convenient and the Dâ'irah published it in one handy volume of 467 pages. The contents of the book are given at the end.

(6) كنز العمال (*Kanz-ul-Ummal*) by 'Alî Muttaqî (died 975 A.H.).

Siyûtî, who will be mentioned later, had written '*Jama'-ul-Jawami* (جمع الجوامع) which is a remarkable compendium of numerous collections of traditions under two main divisions : (1) traditions pertaining to the sayings of the Holy Prophet and (2) traditions regarding his acts. No other arrangement of the subject in sections or chapters was followed making it extremely difficult to find out some particular tradition out of the whole mass. 'Alau'ddîn 'Alî-al-Muttaqî of Burhânpûr re-arranged the whole book under separate juridical headings, thus giving it quite a different complexion. A scholar has said that the scholars of Islâm are indebted to Siyûti for his compilation, while Siyûtî himself is indebted to 'Ali Muttaqî for his re-arrangement.

This book deserves to be called the treasure-house of Hadîth. It is exceptionally helpful to compilers. Nowhere will be found such a large store of traditions. With every tradition, the name of its narrator and the book from which it was taken has been given, while details of technical terms have been discussed in the introduction.

The author, 'Alî Muttaqî, belonged to India by birth but emigrated to Mecca. He was an eminent scholar, writer and a great religious personality of the 10th century Hijra. Sha'ranî mentions him in his book '*Tabqa-i-Sufia*' and says he was a man of secluded habits ; lean and emaciated on account of fastings and devotional practices, he used to come out only at prayer-time and retired soon after its performance. Still, there was always a crowd of scholars and mystics present at his house, seen meditating, praying and reading.

The book has been published in 8 volumes, each volume consisting of about 350 pages (large size).

(7) مستدرک (*Mustadrak*) by Hâfiz Muhammad bin 'Abdullah al-Hâkim (died 405 A.H.).

Hâkim is a renowned Imâm and *Hafiz* in Hadîth. He has compiled those traditions which correspond with the conditions laid down by Bukhârî or Muslim or both of them together but had been ignored by them owing to inacquaintance or some slight defect. He has given the authorities of these and noted their fulfilment of the conditions of the Shaikhain (the two masters, Bukhâri and Muslim). Thus all the correct traditions have been collected in this work. For this reason it is considered very important in the traditional literature and is ranked next to the ' Sahîhain.'

Its manuscripts have been obtained for correction from Al-Madinah, the State Library of Hyderabad and elsewhere.

تلخیص المستدرک (*Talkhis-ul-Mustadrak*) by Zahabi.

Notwithstanding the great learning and labour of the author in his selection of traditions, errors had crept into *Al-Mustadrak* and were brought to light by the searching criticism of later writers. To amend this, Zahabi wrote this compendium of the Mustadrak, examining every tradition as well as its authorities critically.

It is printed along with the *Mustadrak* and has considerably enhanced its usefulness as a book of reference.

The MS. was brought from Al-Madînah. Both works have been printed in 4 volumes, (large size).

(8) کتاب الاعتبار (*Kitab-ul-'It'ibar*) by Muhammad bin Mûsa Hâzimi (born 548 A.H. died 584 A.H.).

The author is an *Imam* and *Hafiz* of traditions and a great scholar. He is said to have been a good public speaker and a cultured religious man. He spent a great part of the night in study, and if there were no lamp, he would devote the hours to prayer. Tûsî, Shervia Vailami, Abû Zara Damishqi, and Hâfiz Abû'l-'Ula Hamdâni were his teachers. He died young at the age of 36, but acquired great reputation in his short life. Hâfiz Abû Mûsa has remarked that he surpassed all young men in the remembrance of Hadîth. Ten books of his are known.

In this book he has collected those traditions which have been annulled by subsequent traditions. Both of them are given with their authorities. In this connection he has thrown light on various traditions. The subject

was very difficult and tedious but the author has handled it in a masterly manner. It is a very comprehensive book on the subject. The Dâ'irah procured an authentic MS. from Bihâr which had been verified from the manuscripts of the Lucknow and Bankipûr libraries. Another MS. was obtained from Madras. The book is published in medium size, pages 250.

(9). القول المسدد (*Al-Qaul-ul-Musaddad*) by Hâfiz Ibn-i-Hajar Asqalânî (died 852).

The author is a famous scholar and needs no introduction. His particulars are given elsewhere. The book deals with the objections made by some writers with regard to 9 traditions in the *Masnad* of Ahmad bin Hanbal. The traditions were asserted to be weak or fabricated, although the Imâm is a great authority in theology and has numerous followers in Fiqh and his *Masnad* has been highly esteemed and referred to as authority. The Hâfiz has first put down the traditions and the arguments of the critics with regard to their being weak, and then refuted them in detail by examining the narrators. The MS. was obtained from Bihâr. Average size, pages 96.

(10) جامع المسانيد (*Jami'-ul-Masanid*) by Muhammad bin Muhammad Khwarizmi (born 603 A.H. died 655 A.H.).

The author was the Qâzi of Khwarizm and a great scholar in Hanafite jurisprudence. He taught for a long time in Damascus and Baghdad. The book in the first part deals with the life of the great Imâm, Abû Hanîfa. In the second part those traditions with their sources are given which have been narrated by the Imâm. They are arranged according to the subjects under separate heads. In the third part, a list of those narrators with their biographies is given in alphabetical order whose source of narration goes back to the companions of the Prophet.

In the same way a list of the narrators coming after the Imâm is given whose source of Hadîth terminates on the Imâm.

This book is very useful for the knowledge of Hanafism. It shows the talent of the Imâm in Hadîth and the sources of the Hanafite jurisprudence. There was no such book existing on the subject. The Hanafites may well feel under an obligation to the Dâ'irat-ul-Ma'ârif for its publication.

The *Masnad* has been compiled from the different Masnads of 15 scholars.

Medium size in 2 volumes, pages 575.

(11) احادیث قدسیه (*Ahadith-i-Qudsiah*) by Muhammad Madanî.

Hadith-i-Qudsi are the words of God communicated to the holy Prophet (without the medium of the angel Gabriel) on various occasions as on the occasion of the *Mi'raj* (ascension) or through revelation or dream and the Prophet gave them utterance in his own words. The difference between the verses of the Qur'ân and the Hadîth-i-Qudsî is that the words of the Holy Book were communicated through Gabriel exactly as spoken by God, while the Qudsî are the mere interpretation of the words of God without the medium of Gabriel. The difference between the Qur'ân and Hadîth Qudsî is discussed lucidly at the end of the book under review. The Qudsî tradition cannot be said to be on a par with the Qur'ân. Anyway, this collection of 858 Qudsî traditions is a priceless gem in the literature of Hadîth.

The compiler 'Allâmah Muhammad Madanî is a great Sûfî and a venerable personality of the 10th Islamic century. He used to explain obscure sayings of Shaikh Mohîuddîn Akbar, the eminent Sûfî, who disclosed mysteries and truths which had been unheard before, and in a manner that utterly bewildered even the learned. 'Allâmah Sha'rânî spent 35 years with him and acknowledged to have gained much by his learning. He used to earn his living by weaving and did not accept anything from any person.

Average size, pages 239.

(12) شرح تراجم ابواب بخاری (*Sharah Tarajam-i-Abwab-i-Bukhari*) *i.e.* Commentary of Bukhari by Ahmad bin 'Abdur Rahîm Shâh Walîullah of Delhi (born 1114 A.H. died 1176 A. H.)

The author is a great scholar of the later line of Muslim 'Ulama. He completed the course of religious education at the age of 17 years and became the disciple of his father. His works show his extraordinary ability and intelligence, ranking him very high among his contemporaries. It was he who led the way in the investigation of the philosophy of Islamic teachings, and his *Hujjatullah-ul-Balighah* is one of the greatest works on the subject. His works are scholarly and very instructive, numbering 25 altogether,

The rank of Bukhârî in Hadîth is well-known. But his arrangement of chapters is very peculiar and original and the very headings give the whole purport of its contents. In some places he inserts such traditions also which seem to have no connection with the subject. Some look to be quite clear but he deduces inner meanings from them which the general reader could not detect. For these reasons Bukhârî is not easily understood. The author of *Sharah* has explained these problems in the best way. He deals with the arrangement, headings and their meaning in relation to the text. Though brief, the book is very useful. No other analysis of Bukhârî of this kind has ever been published.

Medium size, pages 152.

(13) سنن بيهقى (*Sunan Baihaqi*) by Ahmad bin-al-Husain Abû Bakar-al-Baihaqî (born 384 A.H. died 458 A.H.)

Baihaqî is the most prominent pupil of Hâkim, the author of *Mustadrak*. He is a great traditionist and author of a number of books on jurisprudence, etc. According to the Naishapûr historian, his treatises comprise about 1,000 scrolls. His scholarly works in which the *Sunan* is also included number 22. Besides these there are many smaller pamphlets. Great scholars and doctors of religion journeyed long distances to learn Hadîth from him. In addition to his learning, he was renowned for his abstinence and piety. The *Sunan* is an authoritative book of traditions. The author belongs to the Shafa'ite school of jurisprudence and, according to a learned saying, Shafa'i must remain indebted to him for his defence of the school no less than the school is indebted to its founder, the great Shafa'i. There is a great store of traditions in the *Sunan*, which have been arranged under separate headings of jurisprudence, in a new form. Trivial questions have been discussed in detail independently, and the ' traditions' have been fully criticised with regard to their authenticity and their narrators. The juridical implications of the traditions have also been judged and Shaf'ism upheld.

No other such book exists on Hadîth. The 'Ulama had been feeling its need for a long time. The book is now in the press under the management of the Dâ'irah. An old and authentic MS. in the handwriting of 'Allâmah 'Abdul-Wahhâb Sha'rânî, has been found in the Khediviah library of Egypt and photographs of this MS. were obtained. A second MS. from Bihâr, a third and more authentic

one from Sind, and a fourth from Madras, were also unearthed by the Dâ'irah, while a commentary of the book proved of invaluable help in its correction. Of 10 volumes, only 2 have so far been published, the rest are under correction for publication.

Besides the original contents of the book, the Dâ'irah took much pains in preparing a full index of the names of all the narrators, referring to their traditions and the page where they occur.

(14) الجواهرالنقی (*Al-Jawaher-un-Naqi*) by 'Alau'ddîn 'Alî bin'Uthmân-al-Marwînî (born 683 A.H. died 745 A.H.).

This is the commentary of the *Sunan* referred to above. The author was the Qâdi in Egypt, and a doctor of all branches of religious science as well as in mathematics, poetry and history. His books are many and written in a very scholarly manner. In this book he has commented on the *Sunan* of Baihaqî and has discussed those points wherein Baihaqî, as a partisan of the Shafa'ite school has drawn illogical conclusions. The traditions under discussion have been given in full followed by a brilliant criticism in support of the Hanafite school.

The MS. was taken from Al-Madînah and after its transcription was verified by another manuscript from the Rampûr Library.

(15) شرح السیر الکبیر (*Sharah-as-Sir-ul-Kabir*) by Imâm Muhammad (born 132 A.H. died 187 A.H.).

The author of the original text was the renowned pupil and advocate of the great Imâm, Abû Hanîfa. He was himself an Imâm and leader of Muslim jurisprudence. The eminent Shafa'i was amongst his pupils. The Hanafî jurisprudence spread in the world much owing to his efforts. His total works comprise 990 volumes—a remarkable evidence of his extensive knowledge and zeal. Indeed the work accomplished by him singly in a limited period could hardly have been completed by a whole community.

At first Imâm Muhammad wrote As-Sîr-us-Saghîr in which the life and wars of the Prophet were narrated. Imâm Awzâ'î (الاوزاعی) the famous jurist's verdict with regard to this book was that, as the Companions and their associates never settled in Mesopotamia, natives of that country were scarcely qualified to describe the life and wars of the Prophet. Hearing this criticism, Imâm Muhammad commenced to write *As-Sir-ul-Kabir* on a larger scale. Altogether 60 volumes were compiled and sent to

the Caliph Hârûn-ar-Rashîd on a cart. The Caliph was struck by this huge work and thought it one of the wonders of his reign ; while Awzâ'î was forced to admit the authenticity of the great work as well as the marvellous learning of its author. The peculiarity of the book is that solutions of problems of jurisprudence have been deduced from the wars of the Prophet. Regulations concerning *Jihad*, the conduct of Muslims towards non-Muslims and their mutual treatment have been discussed in the light of the religious laws of Islâm. This is the most scholarly book on the subject. It shows what privileges Islâm confers on vanquished nations. Sarakhsî has written a very useful commentary on this book. The commentator, whose full name is Muhammad bin Ahmad Sarakhsî (died 483) was himself a great jurist, well-versed in discourse and rhetoric. His wonderful learning may be judged from this fact alone that when, owing to his fearless freedom of speech, he was imprisoned in a well or deep pit which served as a prison at the time he continued to deliver lectures to his pupils who used to throng daily to the mouth of the well and take notes of the lessons which their imprisoned master dictated without the aid of any book whatever. It was thus that 15 large volumes of his learned *Mabsut* were dictated and then the learned prisoner undertook the commentary under review, which, now printed by the Dâ'irah in 4 volumes, contains more than 1,200 pages.

(16) الصارم المسلول (*As-Sarim-ul-Maslul*) by Shaikh-ul-Islâm Ahmad bin 'Abdul-Halîm Ibn-i-Taimîa Harrânî (born 661 A.H. died 728 A.H.).

The author has shown what respect the holy Prophet deserves during his life as well after his passing away ; and that the person, whether Muslim or non-Muslim who insults him in any way should be punished with death. Twenty-seven ways of execution have been proved from the verses of the Qur'ân. How far in spite of treaties with non-Muslims, punishment should be meted out to a non-Muslim offender as well as some other aspects of this crime, are discussed in detail. The punishments when indignity were shown to the wives of the holy Prophet or the Companions are classified and some instances quoted from past history of how such offenders were treated. The book is an authority on this subject and the name of its great author Ibn-i-Taimîa is a sufficient guarantee for it.

Ibn-i-Taimîa is among the most brilliant 'Ulama of Al-Islâm. His extraordinary abilities as jurist, as

interpreter of the Qur'ân and narrator of traditions are unsurpassed. The Islamic world may well be proud of him. He acquired learning from more than two hundred masters and was regarded as a prodigy when at the age of 10 he distinguished himself in almost every branch of Islamic or Arabic literature and had also committed the holy Qur'ân to memory. He was only 17 years old when he began to give decrees (فتاوی) and to write books. He has excelled particularly in his interpretation of the Qur'ân. With all these remarkable endowments he was well-known for his piety and contentment as well as for his soldierly zeal in the cause of Islâm. He was imprisoned several times—the total period of imprisonment extending to seven or eight years. He bore patiently all his troubles but never flinched from saying what he considered right, and wrote several books in prison. The last time he was thrown into the Fort of Damascus and was not even allowed pen and ink. He passed those days in devotion to God, and died in prison.

The book under review is published in average size, pages 600.

Rijal. (Biography).

(17) استیعاب (Istia'âb) by Hâfiz Yûsuf bin 'Abdullah known commonly as Ibn-i-'Abdul Bar (born 368 A.H. died 463 A.H.)

The life of the Prophet is first dealt with briefly. Then follows an account of 3,500 Companions in their alphabetical order. Mention is also made of the *Sahabiat* (women contemporaries of the Prophet) at the end. The book is a very valuable contribution to this subject. The need of a comprehensive and authentic work of this kind was strongly felt and the Dâ'irah by its publication with careful editing has rendered a real service.

The author of ' Istia'âb ' Ibn-i-'Abdul Bar is a scholar of great reputation coming from Spain. He was well-versed in tradition, history and genealogy. Twenty other works of his are known, one of which named *Al-Kafi* alone consists of 15 large volumes.

Large size, 2 volumes, pages 388 and 784 respectively. Contents given at the end of the 2nd volume in 100 pages.

(18) تجرید اسماء الصحابہ (*Tajrid-e-Asma'-us-Sahabah*) by 'Alî bin Athîr-ul-Juzrî.

The author ranked very high among the Muslim theologians of North Africa ; but he is more renowned for his great history. It was his biographical encyclopædia, named *Usud-ul-Ghabah* which has been abridged by Zahabî under the above name who has made some useful additions to the original collection. The book now contains 8,000 names of the Companions and serves as an index to the *Usud-ul-Ghabah.*

Medium size in 2 volumes, pages 463 and 363 respectively.

(19) تذكرة الحفاظ (*Tazkirat-ul-Huffaz*) by Shamsuddîn Zahabi (born 670 A.H. died 746 A.H.)

The author is a well-known Islamic historian and traditionist. He distinguished himself by his researches and learned writings on historical subjects. His great History of Islam in 20 volumes and *Tarikh-ul-Bilad* in 10 volumes are well-known, but the work under review, which deals with the most renowned traditionists from the time of the Companions to the beginning of the 7th century Hijra, may well be regarded his masterpiece. The importance of this book cannot be overrated. Some traditionists are mentioned here whose zeal to commit to memory all traditions of the holy Prophet has rendered everlasting service to Islâm. To quote a few marvellous instances, Imâm Ahmed bin Hanbal had committed to memory about a million traditions, while he himself acknowledged the superiority of Yahya bin Mu'în who is said to have written more than a million traditions with his own hand, copying each of them 50 times so that he might never forget them.

The book commands great popularity among Muslim scholars. The Dâ'irah has published it in 4 volumes of about 325 pages each. A list of names according to each volume has been given alphabetically at the end of the last volume. The period is given against each name. A second list has also been prepared with regard to different periods and under each period the traditionists of that period have been enumerated. This is a very useful work and has been published a second time.

(20) الجمع بين رجال الصحيحين (*Al-Jama' baina Rijal-as-Sahihain*) by Abu'l Fadl Muhammed bin Tâhir Al-Muqaddasî (born 448 A.H. died 507 A.H.)

Considering the reliability of Bukhârî and Muslim, Shaikh Abû Nasr-al Kalâbâzi and Shaikh Abû Bakr Al-

Isfahânî had written separate biographies of their narrators. Our author has made an abridgment and arranged the narrators in their alphabetical order leaving out the repetitions.

Moqaddasî was a traditionist and Hâfiz. Samanî says about him : I do not know any one who has travelled more than he has for the sake of knowledge. He travelled throughout Egypt, Syria, Hijâz, 'Irâq, Khurasân, Persia and other countries, always on foot with books on his back. He would walk 17 miles in one night. Once he travelled in one night from Tûs to Isfahân for one Hadîth. At one time he had not sufficient money and passed three foodless days with this dilemma before him : whether to buy bread or paper. Many strange stories are related about him. His books have been known to number 75, some consisting of no less than 10 volumes. He was specially well versed in tradition and biography. His hand-writing was neat and he wrote fast.

Medium size in two volumes, pages 638.

(21) قرة العين فى ضبط اسماء رجال الصحيحين (*Qurrat-ul-'Ain Fi-Zabt-i-Asma-i-Rijal-as-Sahihain*) by 'Abdul Mughnî Buhrânî Shafa'î.

As the status of the *Sahihain* with regard to their validity and authenticity is very high in Hadîth literature, many eminent 'Ulama have written books on them. The names of narrators are rather puzzling and lead to errors. Some names are similar while others are alike in writing but their pronunciation is different. These complications lead one to assign a Hadîth wrongly to some other traditionist. Mughnî has, therefore, taken pains to correct them very minutely. Valuable information has also been supplied in the introduction and at the end of the book with regard to principles of narrating traditions. The treatise is very useful as far as the authenticity of traditionists is concerned. It was written by the author in 1174 A.H.

Medium size, pages 60.

(22) تهذيب التهذيب (*Tahdhib-ut-Tahdhib*) by Hâfiz Ibn-i-Hajr Asqalânî (born 773 H. died 852 H.)

The Hâfiz made journeys to several countries for the acquisition of learning and was the pupil of renowned 'Ulama. He is a master in Hadîth. No one has equalled him in his learning. He is the author of *Fathu'l Bari*, the most famous commentary on Bukhârî. His extensive knowledge in biography and his numerous books on that

subject need no commendation. He has written altogether 105 volumes, of which 35 are on biography while others deal with other branches of Muslim theology, history and poetry. His teachers included women also and this fact shows that they also took part along with men in the attainment of learning and that 'Ulama of great repute were among their pupils.

This book is an abridgment of *Tahdhib-ul-Kamal* by Hâfiz Jamâluddîn Yûsuf Al-Ma'azzi. Unnecessary details with regard to traditionists and biographers have been omitted, and important information added. A feature of the book is that the traditionists have been criticized with regard to their authenticity, and opinions of scholars about them quoted. Information is also supplied under separate headings at the end of the book concerning the narrators who are known in genealogy, epithets, patronymic appellations, etc. Women narrators are dealt with separately. The arrangement is made alphabetically. A remarkable work altogether, which has now been made available to the scholars by its publication by the Dâ'irah.

The MS. was obtained from Lucknow.

Average size in 12 volumes. Each volume consisting of about 300 pages.

(23) لسان المیزان (*Lisan-ul-Mizan*) by Hâfiz Ibn-î-Hajar Asqalânî.

The book deals with those narrators from the 1st century to the 8th century of the Hijrah who have been recognised as un-authentic and unreliable, or eminent scholars of Hadîth have found fault with them. The narrators who are already discussed in *Tahdhib-ut--Tahdhib* are noted down in a separate chapter in the last volume, so that, if necessary, they may be referred to in the *Tahdhib*, and thus repetition has been avoided. Narrators known for genealogy appellations, etc., have been treated separately in the last part. Alphabetical order is preserved. The narrators mentioned in the current books of Hadîth are thus known to the reader through these two books and he has no need of any other reference book on the subject. These useful books on biography were rare. The Dâ'irah by its laudable exertions has presented them to the world in a new form.

MSS. were collected from the Asafîah Library, Hyderabad, Bihâr, Madras and Lucknow.

Medium size in 6 volumes, each volume having about 500 pages.

(24) تعجيل المنفعة (*Ta'jilu'l-Manfa'at*) by Hâfiz Ibn-i-Hajr Asqalânî.

Traditionists quoted by the four great Imâms of Muslim jurisprudence have been dealt with. As these founders of different schools have formulated the Islamic laws, the author has taken great pains in handling the material and correcting the errors committed by other biographers. The names which had already appeared in the *Tahdhib-ut-Tahdhib* have been purposely left out but otherwise all traditionists up to the 3rd century who had been regarded as authorities in Hadîth in earlier periods could be found out from this book. It is invaluable with regard to the validity of narrators and its own arrangement.

Average size, one volume, pages 570.

(25) كتاب الكنى والاسماء (*Kitab-ul-Kuna-wal-Asma'*) by Abû Bashar Muhammad bin Ahmad Ad-Daulabî Hanafî (born 224 A. H. died 310 A.H.).

The surnames and names of traditionists from the 1st century to the 3rd century of the Hijrah are dealt with in this book. There are many narrators who are known only by their surnames. The author has revealed their full names, quoting his authorities. It is, thus, of great help in tracing out the names of the traditionists whose detailed biographies may afterwards be found elsewhere. Names are arranged in their alphabetical order.

The author, Abû Bashar Muhammad bin Ahmad is a master in Hadîth. Eminent persons such as Tibrânî and Abû Hâtim Bustî were his pupils. He has written many books on history and Tabaqât too.

Scholars rely on his authority and quote from him in their works. Daulab was a village in Rai where he lived.

Large size in 2 volumes. Volume 1 containing pp. 202, Vol : 2, pp. 171, Index 94 pages.

(26) جواهر مضية (*Jawahir Mudhiya*) by Shaikh 'Abdûl Qâdir Qarashî (696–775).

This deals with the learned men of the Hanafite school in chronological order. The author has compiled a number of other books but this is the first of its kind. It deals first with the names of God, then follow the names of the Prophet and the benefits which may be derived from their reading ; then comes the eulogy of Imâm A'zam. After this, the Tabaqât are mentioned alphabetically. A short

narrative of each person and his works and the period in which he lived is given. Interesting particulars are added in biographical notes of some traditionists. Some useful hints are also given at the end. Women are narrated after men. One MS. of this work was taken from the Asafîa Library, Hyderabad, and the other from the Dâru'l-'Ulûm Library, Deoband.

Average size in two volumes comprising 1,000 pages in all.

(27) مجموعہ اسانید خمسہ (*Majmu'a-i-Asanid-i-Khamsah*).

This little collection shows how the Muslims of those times travelled, in spite of hardships, for acquiring knowledge; how they gained learning from various 'Ulama; what interesting discourses they had with their masters, etc. In short this gives quite a vivid picture of the culture, educational institutions and masters of that age.

The collection consists of the following 5 volumes :

(1) الامم الایقاظ الہمم (*Al-Umam l-Iqazi'l-Himam*) by Shaikh Burhânuddîn Ibrâhîm bin Hasan-al-Kurdî. (1025-1102).

The author has recounted his teachers and the teachers' teachers until his authority for tradition terminates in great Imâms and well-known masters. Mention is made of 105 books which he had read for taking his degree. Besides, 80 authors have been enumerated whose works he had perused. This was generally the course of study which a student used to go through before he became a writer.

Shaikh Kurdî is a great *Sufi* as well as an accomplished writer and has written books on traditions, jurisprudence and other branches of religion. Pages 134.

(2) بغیۃ الطالبین (*Baghyat-ut-Talibin*) by Shaikh Ahmad-an-Nakhlî-al-Makkî.

The treatise was written in 1113 A. H. Its author mentions several schools of masters of secular and spiritual learning, and thus has given an account of a number of famous Sûfîs and 'Ulama.

Medium size, pages 84.

(3) کتاب الامداد (*Kitab-ul-Imdad*) by Salîm.

The author has compiled the authorities and the work of his father Shaikh Jamâluddîn 'Abdullah al-Basrî-al-Makkî (died in 1134 A.H.) The Shaikh was a great traditionist and man of letters in the later line of 'Ulamas; acquired distinction in every branch of learning and wrote

many books; gave lessons on Bukhârî in the Haram, which renowned men and high officials of the time used to attend; later he gave lessons on the *Masnad* of Hanbal for a long time in Al-Madînah, before the shrine of the holy Prophet.

Average size, pages 92.

(4) قطف الثمر (*Qatf-uth-thamar*) by Hâfiz Sâlih bin Muhammad Al-Maghrabî, (died 1218 A.H.)

The author has here collected all the testimonials which he received from his teachers.

Average size, pages 76.

(5) اتحاف الاكابر (*Ittihaf-ul-Akabir*) by Muhammad bin 'Alî Ash-Showkânî (died 1255 A.H.).

This is a compilation of certificates, and of the books (in alphabetical order) which the author has learnt from his teachers.

He is recognised as a great scholar among the later 'Ulama. His investigations and his learning have been acknowledged by all judges. There are 10 books by him, besides a number of smaller works. His zeal for learning, and how he undertook long journeys and bore sufferings to attain his end, is shown in this book. We also know how one used to acquire knowledge in those days from many 'Ulama in various places, and in what a short period of time he would peruse numerous books. His interesting discourses are also given in this book.

Average size, pages 119.

The MSS. of this collection were taken from Patna, the Asafia Library at Hyderabad, and a private gentleman of Hyderabad. The Patna MS. was more authentic and older. These MSS. were either written by the compilers or by their pupils.

Biography and Encomium.

(30) مناقب امام اعظم (*Manaqib-i-Imam-i-A'zam*) by Abû'l Mo'ayyad Muwaffiq bin Ahmad Al-Makkî (born 484 A.H. died 568 A.H.)

The name of Imâm A'zam Abû Hanîfah needs no comment. He is a great authority on ethics and religion and a master-jurist of Islâm. His immense learning and attainments have made him a pillar of Islâm, whose adherents are spread all over the world. Great 'Ulama have bowed their heads before his extensive knowledge and

unitedly accept him as their master. Shaf'ai has truly said of him that all 'Ulama are descendants of Abû Hanîfah in jurisprudence.

The book is a biography and panegyric of the great Imâm. No statement in the book is given without authority and this enhances its value. Details with regard to his moral and spiritual accomplishments, his extraordinary genius in jurisprudence which his enemies and partisans alike acknowledged, and his learned discussions and discourses are narrated in an interesting manner. A separate chapter is given to his researches in Hadîth.

The author was Khâtîb in Khwarizm and a pupil of Zamakhshari. The work of Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Shahâb Al-Kurdî Hanafî, commonly known as Ibn-al-Bazzâz (died in 827 A.H.), author of *Fataw-al-Bazzaziah* is published with this book. Ibn-al-Bazzâz has omitted the sources of his traditions and retained their substance only. He has given a very scholarly and lengthy introduction at the beginning, in which he has shown the ways of deducing religious laws from Hadîth ; other useful questions are also dealt with in this connection. The followers of Abû Hanîfah, who took part in spreading his creed are mentioned in alphabetical order at the end, with the specification of cities where they prospered. The followers' zeal and the wide circulation of the creed are traced from the facts contained therein. This collection, dealing with all particulars of the great Imâm, was extremely rare and is invaluable in this respect.

The MS. through which corrections were made was a copy of the original written by the author himself.

Large size in two volumes. Contents given separately. Pages 272 and 246 respectively.

(28) دلیل النبوۃ (*Dalil-un-Nubuwat*) by Abû Na'îm Ahmad bin 'Abdullah Isbahanî (born 336 A.H. died 430 A.H.)

The characteristics of the holy Prophet are described in so fluent and interesting a manner that one is much impressed by their perusal. For example, those verses of the Qur'ân have been quoted in a separate chapter wherein God has addressed the Prophet and compared with the messages of God to other prophets, proving the Prophet's superiority and greatness over them. Evidences and arguments have been collected with regard to the authenticity of Islâm and one is forced to admit the truth of the religion when one reads the facts and phenomena concerning

the life of the holy Prophet and his divine message. The author is a master and Hâfiz of Hadîth. Khatîb Baghdâdî says of him :

" I do not know any one with the exception of Abû Na'îm and Abû Hâzim who could be cited for the remembrance of Hadîth among their contemporaries."

Owing to his extraordinary knowledge, renowned 'Ulama would come from distant lands to learn traditions from him and when their thirst was not quenched in the lecture-room, they would follow him in hundreds on the road. Teaching had become his sole occupation and pupils thronged around him all the time. His work is an authority among scholars and very popular.

The book is worthy of perusal. Large size in one volume, pages 233.

(29) خصائص الكبرى (*Khasa'is-ul-Kubra*) by 'Abdu'r-Rahmân bin Kamâluddîn surnamed Jalâluddîn Siyûtî (born 849 A.H. died 911 A.H.)

The distinguishing features of the life of the holy Prophet are described in this book. The predictions by priests and sacred books of his advent, his miracles and his virtues are dealt with in the light of verses of the Qur'ân, tradition and history. The work owing to its remarkable theme is worthy of great esteem and it is through this work that we can realise the fine traits of the character of the Prophet.

Siyûtî is a famous scholar and traditionist. His work is spread over 500 volumes, besides books which he wrote and destroyed. There is hardly a subject which he did not write about. What was omitted by others was dealt with by him. He ranks after Hâfiz Ibn Hajar in tradition and may be said to be the last of the traditionists. He memorized the whole Qur'ân at the age of 8 and travelled through Syria, Hijâz, Egypt and India to gain experience and knowledge of the world and of Islâm. His high position in mysticism is proved by the following anecdote : Some one wanted to see the Prime Minister through him. Siyûtî had no objection to this, but told him that as he used to attend upon the holy Prophet for the investigation of Hadîth, he would be deprived of this privilege if he were to see men of the world. He himself says that he used to read his books to the spirit of the holy Prophet who would listen to him eagerly.

Large size in two volumes, pp. 286 and 304 respectively.

DOGMAS.

(31) فقہ ا کبر (*Fiqh-i-Akbar*) by Imâm A'zam Abû Hanîfah.

The dogmas of Islâm have been briefly described in this book and, as its authorship is attributed to the great Abû Hanîfah, no other written work by whom is extant, the book has naturally acquired importance and is prescribed in the course of religious studies.

(32) مجموعہ کتب عقائد (*Majmu'a-i-Kutub-i-'Aqa'id*).

(1) شرح ا لفقہ ا لا کبر (*Sharh-ul-Fiqh-ul-Akbar*) by Muhammad bin Muhammad Abû'l Mansûr Al-Matridî (died 332 A.H.).

The author is a master in dogma pertaining to Sunnism and particulary to Hanafism. He rendered great service to Islâm, when it was being furiously attacked by various parties of Mutazilites and other heretics, by his exposition of the right dogmas in such a manner that it has become a science in itself.

The treatise is an exhaustive commentary of *Fiqh-i-Akbar* as well.

Average size, 32 pages.

(2) شرح ا لفقہ ا لاکبر (*Sharh-ul-Fiqh-ul-Akbar*) by Shaikh Abû'l Muntahî Ahmad bin Muhammad Al Moghnisavî.

This is also a commentary of *Fiqh-i-Akbar*, the important problems of which are dealt with in detail. Pages 48.

(3) الجوھرۃ ا لمنیفۃ (*Al-Jowharat-ul-Munifah*).

The beliefs of Abû Hanîfah with regard to Resurrection and Day of Judgment have been compiled and commented upon. Some important notes in connection with natural phenomena are discussed at the end. Pages 32.

(4) کتاب ا لا بانہ (*Kitab-ul-Ibanah*) by Shaikh Abû'l-Hasan 'Alî bin Isma'îl Al-Ash'arî (260-330).

The author is a contemporary of Abû Mansûr Maturidî and equally talented ; he holds a high place among the metaphysicians and dogmatists of his time ; was thoroughly acquainted with other religions, refuted false doctrines, and wrote strongly in support of orthodoxy. He has rendered a great service to religion by the diffusion of true doctrines at a time of much schism and heresy. Abû Mansûr and Abû'l Hasan are masters of doctrine and many Shafi'ites and Muslims of other sects are their followers.

The author has, first described the true doctrines of the Sunnî sect with those of the schismatics and then refuted the latter by arguments based on the holy Qur'ân.

Two treatises of Maulvî 'Inâyat 'Alî of Hyderabad in which the book is reviewed and the creed of Imâm A'zam is expounded, are added at the end of the book.

(5) رسالة فی الذب (*Risalatun-Fi'dh-dhabb*) by Abû'l Qâsim 'Abdul Malik bin 'Isa.

The controversies raised by the critics against Asha'rî are here answered and his position made clear.

The MS. was obtained from the late Maulâna Anwaru'llâh at Hyderabad.

Large size in pages 187.

(33) Nine essays by Siyûtî.

Some of these essays deal with the beliefs of Muslims with regard to the parents of the Prophet. Their high position and distinctive rank have been demonstrated from the Qur'ân, traditions, and the opinions of 'Ulama ; and the contentions of opponents have been refuted in the best manner. The essays have been favourably commented upon by the 'Ulama. They are as follows :

(1) مسالک الحنفاء (*Masalik-ul-Hunafa*), 64 pages.

(2) الدرج المنیفہ (*Ad-Durj-ul Munifah*), 16 pages.

(3) المقامات السندسیہ (*Al-Muqamat-us-Sundusiyah*).

The last-named contains the genealogy of the Prophet, also the distinguishing features of his ancestors and their adherence to the religion of Abraham as proved by Tradition and other authorities. 24 pages.

(4) التعظیم والمنۃ (*At-Ta'zim wa'l-Minnat*).

Sayings and revelations of the Prophet are quoted to prove that his parents believed in God and would go to heaven. Pages 51.

(5) نشر العلمین (*Nashru'l 'ilmain*).

This essay shows that the parents of the Prophet followed the religion of Abraham and as they did not receive the teachings of the holy Prophet, their old belief would save them.

Pages 16.

(6) السبل الجلیہ (*As-Subl-ul-Jaliah*).

Another short essay on the above topic.

(7) انباہ الذکیا (*Anbah-ul-Azkia*).

It is generally believed that Prophets do not die but are alive in their graves and that the earth cannot consume their bodies. The author has proved this from genuine traditions and narrations of 'Ulama and also the fact that the history of his followers up to the last day was laid bare before the holy Prophet. Interesting facts have been related in this connection. Pages 16.

(8) تنزیہ الانبیا (*Tanzih-ul-Anbia*).

Reliable statements are given to prove that the prophets are not like other men and should not therefore be compared with them.

(9) تبیض الصحیفہ (*Tabed-us-Sahifah*).

Abû Hanîfah's life is described in this essay. The Prophet's prophecy of him and the traditionists' opinions with regard to him are quoted and his eminent position in Islâm is discussed. The names of those traditionists from whom he narrated and who narrated from him are also given.

Average size, 48 pages.

METAPHYSICS.

(34) کتاب الروح (*Kitab-ur-Ruh*) by Hâfiz, Shamsu'ddîn Abû 'Abdullâh Muhammad, surnamed, Ibn-ul-Qayyâm Al-Jauzî-Ad-Damishqî (d. 751 A.H.)

The author is a renowned pupil and successor of Shaikh Ibn-i-Taimîyah. He lived with the Shaikh for 12 years and benefited by his company. He had great reverence for his teacher and took pains to popularise his books. For this reason, he had to share those misfortunes which befell the Shaikh and was imprisoned with him. He was well-versed in various branches of learning; was a good speaker and bold in speech as well as writing. Renowned scholars such as Hâfiz Ibn Hajar Asqalânî, Hâfiz Ibn Kathir, and Ibn Rajab Hanbalî consider him to have surpassed his contemporaries as a scholar. Like his master, he was well acquainted with other religions and wrote voluminous books in refutation of schismatics. According to Ibn Khalikan, we do not need any other book in order to have a comprehensive and deep understanding of religious truths so long as we possess the works of Ibn Qayyâm and his great master. Altogether 41 books were penned by Ibn Qayyâm and almost all of them are worth studying. He has written 4 bulky volumes on the philosophy of Divine worship alone, which shows his deep knowledge of the subject.

Three main points are discussed in the book :

(1) The nature of dream ; its various forms and what they indicate. The author has disclosed many important and interesting secrets of the phenomena of the world above.

(2) The interval between death and Resurrection ; the torments in the grave and the transformation of the deeds of this world in the other world together with the reasons of the various changes.

(3) Enquiry with regard to the soul.

A great portion of the book deals with traditional facts and experiences, but new theories have also been formulated in discussing these problems on rational lines.

The controversy regarding the existence of the soul, before which great philosophers have laid down their pens, has been exquisitely handled by the Shaikh. He has explained it by arguments based on religious traditions and by the interpretation of the dreams of saintly persons narrated on unimpeachable authority. The book deserves careful study.

The MS. was obtained from Patna.

Average size in one volume, pages 448.

(35) الذخيرة (*Az-Zakhirah*) by 'Alau'ddîn 'Alî Tûsî who died in 887 A.H. and was a philosopher and man of letters. Sultân Muhammad, the conqueror of Constantinople, had great regard for him and appointed him Principal and professor of various colleges at a handsome salary and granted a Jâgir to him. Once when he was lecturing, Sultân Muhammad visited him with his prime Minister and they sat down one on each side of him. The professor lectured on *Sharh-ul-adhudia* by Sayyid Sharîf Jurgânî, by the order of the Sultân. It was a discourse which delighted the Sultân, who ordered 10,000 dirhams to be given to the lecturer and 500 to each of the students. He also invited Tûsî to write on *Tehafat-ul-Falasifah*, by Ghazzâlî (in which he has confuted the Greek philosophy) and give judgment on controversial subjects. Thereupon Tûsî wrote *Az-Zakhirah* in 6 months and got a handsome reward.

Tûsî is a philosopher of eminent reputation and has written many books of research on traditional matters besides commentaries on the works of famous doctors.

The author has first described the subject matter of Tehâfah—important metaphysical problems, such as eter-

nity, the existence of God and His unity, the Resurrection, the angels, the soul and matter,—and then sets forth the opinions and arguments of the philosophers and teachers, and Islamic doctrines and reasonings in connection with them. Where the philosophers have erred, or where their conclusions agree with religion, or where the disagreement is due to faulty expression, has been pointed out. The author has also demonstrated that divine truths cannot be discovered without the aid of divine inspiration.

Medium size, pages 272.

(36) الروضتم البهيم (*Ar-Rowdat-ul-Bahiyah*) by Husain bin 'Abdul Muhsin Abû Azbah.

This book deals with those Islamic dogmas concerning which Imâms Asha'rî and Maturidî held conflicting opinions. The differences have been stated with the conclusion that they do not affect the main principles of the Sunnis, and that the contentions are due to outward form only and, as such, both are justified and either of them may be followed.

Average size, pages 187.

(37) استحسان الخوض (*Istihsan-ul-Khaud*) by Asha'rî.

Some 'Ulama held the opinion that discussions in subtle metaphysical question like the attributes of God, were innovations and that such matters should not be brought into debate. Plain and simple doctrines are sufficient for our beliefs. The author has proved from the Qur'ân and sayings of the Prophet that discussions in these problems with a view to investigate the truth cannot be regarded as heterodox innovations.

A MS. of the book was obtained for corrections from Bombay.

12 pages.

(38) مباحث مشرقيم (*Mobahith-i-Mashraqiyah*) by Shaikh-ul-Islâm Fakhruddin Râzî (born 544 A.H. died 606 A.H.)

The author is among the most eminent scholars of Islâm and a great authority on metaphysical and traditional subjects. His commentary of the Qur'ân in nine volumes is unsurpassed and contains information on every branch of learning. He has written about 30 books on different subjects. His work is very popular with scholars and the general public. He was an eloquent preacher and spoke fluently in Arabic as well as Persian. He was some-

times overpoweerd by ecstasy and a flood of tears while preaching. People of different creeds and religions used to hold discussions with him on various questions which he explained. Sultâns, noblemen and 'Ulama would throng to his lectures. 300 students used to follow him during his ride. He had several learned discourses with the schismatics in the courts of Sultâns and is said to have vanquished them completely. The consequence was that a great many people turned back from heresy and adopted the true dogmas. He was a man of dominating personality and great wealth too.

Mobahith-e-Mashraqia (Eastern Discussions) is a remarkable book on metaphysics. No such book existed before, nor has been written by the later writers. The author has put forward all important and conflicting opinions of various philosophers delivering his reasoned judgments at the end of each discussion. General principles, and theological and ethical problems have been treated with exceptional ability. Nowhere would be found material of such a comprehensive nature.

A copy of the manuscript was supplied by Nawab Sadr Yar Jung Bahadur and the other was taken from the library of Bankipur.

Average size in 2 volumes of 680 and 532 pages respectively besides the contents.

Mysticism.

(39) السمط المجيد (As-Simt-ul-Majeed) by Shaikh Safiuddin Ahmad Bin Muhammed Al-Ansâri Madani, surnamed, Qashâshi (b. 991 A. H. d. 1071 A. H.).

The necessity of discipleship, its origin, its ways of performance, and the origin of religious robes have been described very scholarlily. Other important problems concerning mysticism have been also discussed in this connection by which the book has been rendered invaluable.

The author was proficient in secular and religious learning and was a great mystic reported to have possessed miraculous powers. He has written many books on traditions and mysticism among which 50 have been known. All his work is scholarly and well-written. He travelled throughout Arabia and gained learning from many 'Ulama.

One MS. was obtained from a gentleman in Hyderabad and another from Patna.

Average size, pages 184,

(40) شفاء السقام (Shafâ'us-Saqâm) by Taqî-ud-dîn 'Alî bin 'Abdul Kâfî As-Sabakî Shafa'î (born 683 A.H. died 756 A.H.)

The author has described on the authority of sound traditions, the advantages of the visit to the Prophet's tomb ; the rules of etiquette as to how one should go there and what he should perform. In this connection, the sayings of great 'Ulama and events of importance have been also appended. The question with regard to the eternal existence of prophets is also discussed.

The author was a doctor in jurisprudence, metaphysics and literature. His teachers had great respect for him and treated him on equal terms, while kings and noblemen did obeisance to him.

His extraordinary attainments are shown by the fact that he knew even the most trivial details concerning the differences of the jurists. He had committed to memory books on Tradition, jurisprudence, poetry and lexicography so that his contemporaries wondered at his remarkable powers of memory. His work consists of 28 large volumes and 75 books of ordinary size. Some scholars have ranked him next to Imâm Ghazzâli. Learned men like Dhahabî and Ibn Taimîyah have lavished praises on him. Besides learning, he was endowed with piety and devotion. He would teach during the day and pray during the night. The author of Tabaqât-ush-Shafai'yah has written 75 pages on his life and attainments.

Average size, pages 187.

(41) فتح المتعال (Fathu'l-Muta'âl) by Ahmad bin Muhammad al-Maghrabî (died in 1041 A.H.).

The book deals in a fascinating manner with the sandals of the Prophet. The way in which the Prophet used to wear them and other particulars have been described on sound authority. The places where the original drawings of the sandals exist are also mentioned, and the drawings of various sandals reproduced.

A number of verses in praise of the holy Prophet by men of various nationalities and periods also appear in the text and the whole book is a living testimony to the passionate love and reverence which the Muslims have always cherished for their Prophet. Even the laces of his sandals had importance in their eyes and they have carefully noted their peculiarities and when and how the

Prophet used to wear them. Altogether a rare book on a rare subject.

The author was well-versed in metaphysics, commentary, tradition and Arabic literature. He wrote useful and interesting books. He lectured in Hijâz, Jerusalem, Syria, Egypt and elsewhere and gave lessons on Bukhârî in the mosque at Damascus for a long time, which most of the 'Ulama and scholars attended. An interesting description of the Shaikh has been preserved at the end of his yearly course of lectures on Bukhârî, when large crowds gathered, and the chair of the Shaikh was placed in the middle of the courtyard and he would preach in tones full of pathos and tenderness. On his concluding the sermon and coming down from his high seat, people jostled each other to kiss his hand. No one of his contemporaries rose to such distinction. The author of *Khulasat-ul-Athar* has written 16 pages on the Shaikh.

Average size, p. 414.

The contents are given at the end of the book, together with the reviews of renowned 'Ulama of Egypt, Hijâz and Cairo.

(42) عمل ا ليوم و ا لليلة ('Amal-ul-Yaum wa'l-Lailah) by Hâfiz Ahmad Dainûrî surnamed Ibnu's-Sana.

The author was renowned for piety, devotion and learning. He was writing Hadîth when he suddenly put down the pen and raised his hands for prayer and died. He is classed among the great traditionists and writers. He was over eighty when he died.

The book contains the traditions which deal with the daily acts of the Prophet. Particular hours for particular prayers have been described in detail and arranged in chapters. Every phase of human life has been reviewed. Matters relating to social manners, behaviour, way of speaking, performance of business, general etiquette, and so on, which a man has to face in everyday life have been handled on the basis of the holy *Sunnah.*

This invaluable book shows how the teachings of the holy Prophet include every moment of human life.

The MS. was obtained from a gentleman of Hyderabad.

Average size, pp. 248.

(43) ا لمنهتم ا لسر ا (Al-Minhat-us-Sara) by Maulâna Muhammad Irtaza 'Alî Khân Bahâdur Gopamoi (Madras) (born 1198 A.H. died 1270 A.H.).

The author is a famous Indian scholar in metaphysical and traditional subjects. He acquired learning from the renowned teachers of the age, who acknowledged his ability and accomplishments. He was appointed Muftî of the Karnatic and afterwards Qâzi of Madras by the Muslim rulers of that province. His contemporaries were proud of him. He has written many books, most of which deal with logic and philosophy. His remarkable and popularly appreciated work consists of 18 books and many pamphlets. Great noblemen and ministers of the day were his pupils. His attainments in mysticism were also conspicuous, and he had disciples in this line.

In this book, the author has shown the meanings and influences of the various names of God. The rules with regard to their recital and the ways of contemplation of God are laid down. Likewise the names of the Prophet have been treated. The various prayers, to be used in connection with the interview with the Prophet in dreams have been disclosed.

The MS. was obtained from a gentleman of Hyderabad.

Average size, p. 144.

HISTORY.

(44) دول الاسلام (*Dawalu'l-Islam*) by Shamsuddîn Dhahabî.

The author first wrote *Al-Kabir* known generally as "The history of Islâm" in ten volumes. *Mutawassit* was an abridgment of that work by the author. A further abridgment followed which was named '*Dawalu'l-Islam.*' Historical events have been narrated with reference to dates from the time of the Prophet to the end of 744 A.H. in a concise form, with short notes on important events of each year. In this way it may be said to be an index and summary of the history of more than seven hundred years of the world of Islam. The name of the author is a sufficient guarantee for its reliability.

Only one MS. was available, from the Asafia library, while the enlarged MS. of *Al-Kabir* by the same author was taken from the library of Madras for comparison.

(45) مرآة الجنان (*Miratu'l-Jinan*) by Abû Muhammad 'Abdullâh bin Asad Yafai (b. 797 A.H. d. 868 A.H.).

The events from the 1st to the middle of the 8th century are described with dates. Important incidents and

revolutions of every year have been collected from trustworthy sources, such as the histories of Imâm Bukhârî, Ibn Khalikân, Dhahabî and others. Miracles and supernatural acts attributed to well-known saints are examined in the light of history at the end.

The author was a great mystic, renowned for piety. He has written many books on mysticism and the principles of religion and a long and learned poem (قصيدة) by him is also preserved.

Average size in 4 vols.

(46) كتاب التيجان (*Kitabu't-Tijan*) by Abû Muhammad Abdul Malik bin Hishâm.

The author is a well-known historian and genealogist. His Sîrah is especially famous.

The Kitâbu't-Tîjân deals with the genealogy of ancient Himyarite kings of Yaman, enquiry into their origin, language, civilisation, national poetry and other matters. Particulars of other nations whom God punished for their sins, together with the story of the prophets are included. Some facts seem to have been taken from the Qur'ân, wherein a detailed account of them is given, for instance, the story of Soloman and Bilqis and the destruction of the peoples of Noah, Aad and Thamud. An account of the amazing manufactures of Yaman has also been given. Some sections describe the pre-historic period and narrate highly interesting, if often quite incredible, features of the primitive inhabitants of Yaman. This is perhaps the oldest Arabic book on the ancient and primeval history and full of information and interest.*

Three manuscripts of this book were received : one from the Government library of Hyderabad and two others from the libraries of London and Berlin. The Berlin manuscript was the oldest.

Paper and printing superior, pp. 496.

LEXICONS.

(47) الفائق (*Al-Fa'iq*) by Mahmûd bin 'Omar Al-Khwarizmî Az-Zamakhsharî (born 467 H. died 538 H.).

The author is well-known in Arabic literature. He is ranked as an *Imam* in exegesis, syntax, lexicography and rhetoric. His Tafsîr Kashshâf (a commentary on the

* A precis of this work by Dr. Krenkow, who verified the text for he Dâ'irat-ul-Ma'ârif appeared in *Islamic Culture*—Editor.

Qur'ân) surpasses all others. He is an authority on literary subjects and his opinions are quoted by all later writers. In this lexicon, he has collected those traditions which contain difficult words and then explained them. The arrangement has been made alphabetically according to the first and second letter.

MSS. were obtained from the Asafîa Library, Hyderabad ; Patna ; and Aligarh.

Large size in 2 vols. of about 350 pp. in each.

(48) المغرب (*Al-Maghrib*) by Abû'l Fath Nâsir bin Abd-us-Sayyid Al-Mutarzî Khwarizmî (born 538 A.H. died 610 A.H.).

The author is a scholar of Zamakhsharî and Muwaffiq bin Ahmad, and well-versed in jurisprudence, syntax, etc. He travelled to many countries and endured hardships for the sake of learning. No one of his contemporaries equalled him in the knowledge of idioms, Arabic poetry and literature. He had extraordinary knowledge in jurisprudence and its principles, and was a good orator and rhetorician.

The book is a lexicon of Arabic idioms. A special feature of the book is that difficult words and technical expressions which have been used by the Hanafî jurists have been exhaustively explained and commented upon. As a lexicon of jurisprudence, therefore, it ranks with Azharî's *Tahdhib-ul-Lughat* and *al-Misbah-al-Munir*, written for the Shafa'ites. Attached to this book is a treatise called *Dhail al-Maghrib* by the same author in which important notes on lexicography, literature and syntax have been added. The book is clear, concise and learned. The arrangement is in alphabetical order according to the first and second letter.

Average size, in 2 vols.

(49) جمهرة اللغت (*Jamharatu'l-Lughat*) by Abû Bakr Muhammad bin Al-Hasan bin Duraid Basrî (b. 223 A.H. d. 321 A.H.).

The author is a renowned scholar in Arabic poetry, literature and lexicography. According to Khatîb Baghdâdî, his memory was developed to such an extent that he could easily remember poems read before him. For some time he held the wizârat of Persia, where he is said to have acquired great influence over his sovereign, by his ability, ready wit and eloquence.

He has written much poetry and his work extends to 25 volumes. But this lexicon has been regarded as his finest contribution to Arabic literature, much appreciated by the learned of every age.

The *Jamharah* is the first scholarly and authoritative lexicon in the Arabic language. It is the source of all the later dictionaries and the authority of all lexicographers. The Dâirat'ul-Ma'ârif took considerable pains to procure MSS. and have them corrected. The printing cost Rs. 22,000 altogether and represented the hard work of several years. Three MSS. were available in India. One bulky MS. was found in the Asafîa Library, Hyderabad, which was copied in 1078 H. and revised by Abû 'Ula Al-Ma'arrî and Ibn-Khalwia with the marginal notes of the former. The second and third MSS. were obtained from Bankipûr and were corrected by an Arabic scholar of India and later the famous orientalist Dr. F. Krenkow acquired some manuscripts from Europe and revised the whole book anew.

One MS. was found in London which proved to be very old and reliable, as it was corrected by Abû-Sa'îd-al-Hasan bin 'Abdullâh As-Sairafî who had read it before the author himself. Another old MS. was found in the British Museum, which was copied during the 4th century A.H. Some parts of it had been corrected on the authority of the author's pupil, Abû 'Alî Al-Qalî.

An abridgment of the *Jamharah* was also discovered and utilised for the work of comparison.

The book has been printed on excellent paper in 3 large volumes.

Grammar.

(50) الاشباه والنظائر (*Al-Ishbah-wa'n-Naza'ir*) by Jalâluddîn Siyûtî.

This is a voluminous and highly authoritative work on Syntax. The author omits minor details and only principles and laws are discussed on the basis of the Qur'ân and classical poetry. A separate chapter is devoted to learned discourses and debates between the scholars on various grammatical questions. The material has been compiled from trustworthy sources.

Average size, 4 vols., about 315 pages each.

(51) الاقتراح (*Al-Iqtirah*) by the same author.

The author has framed the principles of Syntax partly with the aid of books existing on the subject and partly by his own ingenuity. The state of Arabic literature before and after the coming of the Prophet, the difference in the Arabic dialects of various regions and the corruption due to intercourse with foreigners are described in detail. The status of the Qur'ân and other fundamental questions are discussed from the literary point of view. A picture of the ups and downs of Arabic literature and their causes has, thus, been preserved in this book. A perusal of it is essential for scholars interested in the subject. The MS. was obtained from the library of Bankipûr.

Average size, pp. 102.

(52) النفائس الارتضيه (*An-Nafai'su'l-Irtadiyah*) by Shâh 'Abdul 'Azîz of Delhi (b. 1195 A.H. d. 1249 A.H.).

The author is a renowned Indian scholar. He is a member of that family which propagated 'Tradition' in India at the time when the country was hardly acquainted with it. Maulvi Irtaza 'Alî Khân has explained and annotated each and every word of this treatise in the best possible manner. It is a book worthy of perusal, especially by students.

The MS. was obtained from Madras. It contained marginal notes by the author.

Average size, pp. 88.

(53) التحفة النظاميه (*At-Tuhfatu'n-Nizamiyah*) by Maulvi 'Alî Akbar bin Mustafa bin Mahmûd Sharwânî.

The book was written in 1310 A.H. Words and expressions which cannot be easily distinguished on account of their similarity of meanings have been collected and their subtle differences of meaning and proper use explained. Examples are given copiously from the works of famous authors to show the appropriate application of such words, which are arranged alphabetically.

A very useful book for learned men as well as students.

Average size, pp. 131, 2nd edition.

LITERATURE.

(54) حماسه *Hamasa Ibn-ush-Shajri* by Hibâtullâh-Ibn-ush-Shajrî (d. 542 A.H.).

The author is a renowned scholar of Arabic literature and a distinguished writer. Owing to his wide fame and

reputation, Zamakhshari, one of the gifted scholars of the time, paid him a visit. Zamakhshari was much pleased to see him and read two couplets in his praise, the purport of which is as follows :

" I had heard much of your attainments, but what the ears had heard was nothing as compared to what the eyes beheld, and the news heard before looks trivial now."

The author has compiled in this book like the *Hamasa* of Abî Tamâm, humorous, erudite and moral couplets from famous poets and traditionists. The verses compiled by Qâzî Arjânî have been added at the end. This is a distinct improvement on previous attempts and excels Hamâsah Abî Tamâm in comprehensiveness.

No MS. could be found in India. The corrections had to be made by Dr. Krenkow, who had to cope with enormous difficulties in performing the task of correction and annotation.

Average size, pp. 326.

(55) المجتنى (*Al-Mujtani*) by 'Allâmah Ibn-Duraid Basrî (d. 321 A.H.)

Sayings of the Prophet, which are concise, comprehensive and exquisite in their literary merit, are first given with elaborate annotation. Then follow remarkable sayings of the Companions of the Prophet and learned or wise men, including Greek philosophers such as Pythagoras, Aristotle Plato, and others. For literary excellence as well as moral, spiritual and social value, the book is a gem. No MS. could be traced in India. Copy and corrections were made by Dr. Krenkow from MSS. at Oxford and in the British Museum. Dr. Krenkow has also added important notes.

The Dâ'irah published it after a second revision.

Average size, pp. 92.

(56) كتاب الازمنة والامكنة (*Kitab-ul-Azminah wa'l-Amkinah*) by Abû 'Alî Marzuqî Isfehânî. (d. 421 A.H.)

Names of days, months, years, seasons, the sun, the moon, the stars, the skies and the earth ; the proper application of such names ; the conceptions of pre-Islamic Arabs with regard to these and their inferences from omens, are described in detail. We are thus able to understand the ideas, idioms, proverbs and beliefs of the ancient Arabs. The subject has not been treated in any other book of syntax and lexicography and hence it is a valuable contribution to Arabic literature.

Verses of the Qur'ân dealing with the causes and truth of things are quoted at the beginning of each chapter and explained on the authority of the Companions and Commentators. The author states his own theories based on Islamic teachings and refutes the arguments of unbelievers. The description of the beneficence of God to man with regard to things pertaining to space and time and their utility, together with the ideas of the ancient Arabs as shown by their poetry and language, make the book very interesting. Astronomy and geometry are also mentioned in connection with literature.

The author was a pupil of Abû 'Alî Farsî and was the tutor of the family of Banî Buyah.

Average size, 2 vols.

(57) مصدق الفضل (*Musaddaq-ul-Fadl*) by Shahâbuddîn Daulat Abadî (d. 849 A.H.).

The authorwas distinguished among his contemporaries for his great learning and was well-versed in grammar, rhetoric and literature ; wrote many books and held the title of *Malaku'l 'Ulama*. His Persian commentary of the holy Qur'ân, called ' Bahr-i-Mawwâj ' was much appreciated, in which he expounded the literary and rhetorical excellences of the Qur'ân. He has also written a commentary of the famous ' Qasîdah ' ' *Banat Su'ad* ' of Zuhair. Each couplet of the poem has been commented upon with regard to its etymology, syntax, prosody, rhyme and rhetoric under separate headings in detail, and the meanings explained, so that we require no other book of reference.

An authentic MS. was obtained from a private library in Hyderabad.

Average size, pp. 242.

Miscellaneous.

(58) مفتاح السعادة (*Miftah-us-Sa'adat*) by Maula Ahmad bin Mustafa Rûmî surnamed Tash Kubrazâda (b. 901 A.H. d. 968 A.H.).

The author's authority in tradition goes back to Hâfiz Ibn Hajar Asqalânî through two generations. *Shaqa'iq-e-Nu'maniyah* a narrative of the renowned scholars of Rûm and the Sultans of Turkey from 699 A.H. to 926 A.H. is another well-known work of his. At first a teacher in various colleges of Constantinople, he was afterwards

appointed Qâdi at Brûsa. During that time he wrote more than 30 books.

The author deals in this book with 316 different subjects, such as, importance of knowledge, ways of obtaining it, its accessories, methods of renowned Professors, description of various branches and systems of education, their founders, distinguished authors in each subject, etc.

The index of the subjects is given at the end in the alphabetical order.

What the acquisitions and discoveries of the Muslims had been, how far they attained perfection in various branches of the sciences which they developed or discovered, can be learnt from the book.

Average size, 2 vols., about pp. 500 each.

(59) دستور العلماء (*Dasturu'l-'Ulama*) by Qâdî 'Abd-un-Nabî of Ahmadnagar.

The author was the city Qâdi of Ahmednagar. He was a great scholar, Sûfî, author and commentator of many books.

The book under review bears witness to his scholarship. It was written in 1173 A.H.

Technical phrases and difficult words of the Arabic language and miscellaneous matters which perplex students of Arabic literature are dealt with in this book. It is a store of useful information.

The author has appended a history of his family in Persian.

Average size, 4 vols. about pp. 400 each.

رسائل فارابی (*Risa'il-Farabi*) by Shaikh Abû Nasr Muhammad bin Târ Khân Fârâbî.

The author is a famous philosopher of Islâm. Abû 'Alî Sîna is his pupil and Abû Bashar Miti Yûnus, the logician and lecturer on Aristotelian philosophy at Baghdad was his teacher.

Fârâbî studied Aristotle very assiduously and read his book on ' Mind ' alone a hundred times.

Himself a master of Arabic, he explained the Greek systems of philosophy. Once he completely surprised his audience at the court of Sultân Saif-ud-Daulah bin Hamdân by his learned discourse on miscellaneous subjects.

His accomplishments in music had reached to such perfection that once he arranged the strings of a musical instrument in the court of the said Sultân in such a way that, when he played on it, every one present at the court began to cry. Then he re-arranged it, so that sleep overtook them. This instrument was his own invention.

Fârâbî led a pious and contented life. Four Dirhams, equivalent to about one Rupee had been granted to him for his daily maintenance by the State, which he considered sufficient and a recompense of his services to learning. Died at Damascus 339 A.H.

The Dâ'irah has published the following smaller works of his :

(1) فضائل العلم والصناعة (*Fada'ilu'l-'ilm wa's-Sana'at* = Advantages of Science and Industry).

The treatise deals with the theoretical and technical classification of knowledge and industries and their importance. pp. 14.

(2) فصوص الحكم (*Fusus-ul-Hikm*).

The Islamic beliefs in the eternal existence of God, the soul and angels, the necessity of prophets, the truths with regard to the mind and its different aspects, metaphysical influences and reaction of human deeds, etc. have been rationally explained.

Pages 23.

(3) كتاب التنبيه (*Kitabu't-Tanbih*).

A philosophic essay on morals in which rational standards to distinguish between good and evil have been suggested. An excellent discourse follows on the influence of environment upon the human mind and the cultivation of good conduct. pp. 26.

(4) تحصيل السعادة (*Tahsil-us-Sa'adat*).

As physical phenomena reveal the hidden laws of nature, so the study of nature may guide a man to metaphysical and spiritual truths. The author illustrates his propositions by quoting the holy Qur'ân which everywhere appeals to the reader to study ordinary physical laws in order to understand the metaphysical, and shows the way to pass from the finite to the infinite. pp. 48.

(5) السياست المدنيه (*As-Siasat-ul-Madaniah*).

It is demonstrated that man, owing to his narrow view, is concerned only with the pleasures of the world and their attainment whereas there are higher truths and realities,

The necessity of a divine lawgiver, his training and intuition, the difference between him and an ordinary man, the purification of the soul, the individual and collective civilisation, etc., are philosophically discussed, and a civilisation which corrupts the human mind is condemned. pp. 76.

Apart from these treatises by Fârâbî, three other essays have been printed by the Dâ'irah in connection with his teachings. In one of these, the questions which had been put to the Shaikh on different problems and his answers have been collected in numerical order, such as, the truth concerning the jinn, the meaning of composition and decomposition of the universe, the nature of perception and conception, the definition of Mind, etc., pp. 24.

Another pamphlet called the *Ithbat Mufariqat* (اثبات مفارقات) deals with the existence of God and His purity from all material representation, the senses, the intellect, the higher perception and the elevation of man, etc. pp. 8.

Ta'liqat Farabi (تعليقات فارابی) is a collection of metaphysical questions made by the pupils of Fârâbî in which the existence of God, the necessity of the creation of the Universe and other things have been discussed. pp. 26.

These dissertations of Fârâbî, though brief, are very comprehensive and condensed. His sayings are always short but profound and to the point.

The MSS. were obtained from the Rampûr State Library.

BOOKS IN THE PRESS AND UNDER CORRECTION.

(حلیۃ الاولیا) *Hilyat-ul-Auliyah* by Abû Na'îm, Isbahânî.

The book deals with tradition and gives an authentic history of the Companions of the Prophet, their associates, great doctors of learning and holy men, describing their piety and saintliness, and recording their memorable sayings. According to the traditionist, Shâh 'Abdul 'Azîz Dehlawi, it supplied a want.

Large size, 4 vols. pp. about 1000.

Ad-Durar-ul-Kaminah (الدرر الکمینۃ) by Shihâbuddîn Hâfiz Ibn Hajar Asqalânî.

The life and work of Sultans, noblemen, poets, critics and men of letters of the 8th century A.H., are given in alphabetical order. The name of the book is well chosen

considering its theme. Large size, 3 vols. pp. about 1000.

One MS. was obtained from the Asafîyah Library, Hyderabad, and one from the Library of London (sic) which is older and more authentic and is written by a pupil of the author. A third MS. was obtained from Dr. Krenkow, which is written by a learned pupil of the author named Sakhawi and which has been corrected by the author. The book is under revision.

Tanqih-ul-Manazir (تنقيح المناظر) by Kamâluddîn Abû'l Hasan Farsî.

Perception varies with each man, and different forms and figures take shape when a thing is presented to the view. These perceptions would be correct in some cases, wrong in others. The book is a guide on the subject giving 212 optical diagrams. Optical laws are discussed scientifically. Muslims are supposed to have written little on the subject, but this book proves that they trode this field and made new discoveries in it. In fact, they founded the science, this being the first book on the subject. Photogravures of the figures are being carefully engraved.

The book is now under correction and will be published shortly.

The MSS. were obtained from Rampûr, Bankipûr and the British Museum.

pp. more than 1000.

Index of the Jamharah (فهرست جمهرة).

Only contents of chapter were given along with the text. The Dâ'irah has prepared indices with regard to etymology, prosody and rhyme, the arrangement of which has been entrusted to Dr. Krenkow. These will be published as a separate book.

Kitab-ul-Amali (كتاب الامالى) by Hibâtullâh bin-Ash-Shajrî.

The author is a great authority on lexicography, syntax and rhetoric. He has been already mentioned under *Hamasah.*

His pupils collected the lectures delivered by him on literature, lexicography, rhetoric and syntax in 84 sittings. A single verse or a formula is so exhaustively discussed as to fill a number of pages and bears testimony to the vast knowledge of the learned lecturer.

The book was completed in 544 A.H.

A defective MS. of this book written in 792 A.H. was

found in the Government Library of Hyderabad, while some complete MSS. were traced by Dr. Krenkow in Constantinople, and one in the library of Râghib Pasha which is authentic, having been copied from the original MS. in 584 A.H. It is written in a very neat hand on superfine paper and, after several centuries, is still unimpaired. The Dâ'irah proposed to get it photographed through Dr. Krenkow, and succeeded in obtaining photographic copies with difficulty and at great expense. Dr. Krenkow cannot be thanked and praised too much for the pains he took in making arrangements and overcoming successive obstacles.

Sunan-i-Kubra (سنن کبریٰ).

Two volumes of this work have been already published. The third is in the press and near completion. The rest are under revision and correction. There are altogether 10 volumes and it is hoped that, at the present rate of progress, the work will be finished within 6 years. The cost of production of each volume approximately amounts to Rs. 10,000.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS OF FARABI SELECTED FOR PUBLICATION :

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BOOKS AND AUTHORS

The Bombay Mural Paintings

As readers of " Islamic Culture " are aware, Captain Gladstone Solomon is an enthusiast for Indian art and Indian artists. There are many admirers of Indian art in the West, but they regard the art of India as a thing of the past, whereas Capt. Solomon regards it as a living thing, belonging to the past, the present and the future—above all, the future. So-called lovers of Indian art are found to argue that Indian art has limitations, and that Indian artists, in their education, therefor, must be strictly limited, must not be taught perspective nor be taught to draw the human form from life correctly. From the time of his appointment as Principal of the Bombay School Captain Solomon has been fighting, against heavy odds official and unofficial, for the right of Indian art students to receive the fullest and the best instruction obtainable in the age in which they live ; contending that the art which they produce after such training will still be Indian art possessed of special qualities to be found in the art of no other country and will moreover be real, living art, not imitation. Nor has he been content with arguing his opinion. He has practised what he preached ; he has actually trained a large number of Indian students to the practice of high art, and by their means has proved his case in a manner quite irrefutable. He has, in fact, in modern phrase " produced the goods ". The book before us* contains reproductions of mural paintings done by the students of the Sir J. J. School of Art for a Committee Room in the New Delhi secretariate, of which any artists in the world might well be proud. They are of great beauty and their beauty is essentially Indian. No other country's artists could have imagined or designed them. The work consists of eight winged figures for the dome symbolising periods in Indian Art : Sanchi, Gandhâra,

* Mural paintings of the Bombay School. By W. E. Gladstone Solomon, Bombay, *Times of India Press*.

Gupta, Ajantâ, Ellorâ, Jehângîr, Shâh Jehân, and Modern India; and seven lunettes representing the arts: Drama, Painting, Architecture, Music, Dancing, Sculpture, Poetry. The lunette "Architecture" is thus described by the student who designed and painted it.

"This is painted in Mahomedan style. The picture shows an interior scene of a harem in a Mahomedan palace. In the centre of the picture a female figure is made to sit in front of a door, on a plain carpet, resting on a cylindrical pillow. She is wearing a yellow silk gown which covers the whole body, and a thin silk shawl as her upper garment. A small model of a building is kept near her. The model is of the huge building named "Gol Ghumaz" the tomb of Mahomed Adil Shah, of Bijâpur. It is a plain and solid building crowned by an elegant dome about 125 feet in diameter —the biggest in the world and famous for its wonderful whispering gallery. In the foreground it is shown that two more figures are sitting and taking pleasure in seeing the architectural sketches. They are dressed in thin Dacca Muslin. In the right hand corner of the picture some papers of architectural sketches are lying about. An incense-burner is hung above, and incense is floating through the room. The whole architecture shown is purely Mahomedan, mostly from Ibrahim Rouza Bijâpur." In the same matter of fact way each of these beautiful lunettes is described by the man who painted it, and the painting, needless to say, in each case far surpasses the description. The lunettes called "Dancing", "Poetry" and "Painting" are unforgettable, and so is the winged figure symbolising the Gupta period. The letter-press by Captain Solomon provides a fitting introduction, telling the history of this revival of the art of mural painting, the methods and the media employed, the faith, endurance and enthusiasm which have led to such magnificent results. The book is handsomely printed and got up, the paintings and sketches being admirably reproduced. It marks an epoch in the history of the Indian Art revival.

M. P.

A Description of Islam in India

Dr. Murray T. Titus of the Methodist Episcopal church has written a clear, succinct and on the whole sympathetic account of the history, organisation and

divisions of the Indian Muslims*—a book singularly free from injustice save occasionally the unconscious, common one of judging past events by present standards. It is a surprise to find him writing of the arrogant and somewhat blasphemous aberration of the Emperor Akbar as if he thought it an advance on orthodox Islamic teaching, but that is probably a mere echo from the authorities he has consulted.

On page 32, we find the statement:

" Qutbuddin, whose reputation for destroying temples was almost as great as that of Mahmûd....must have frequently resorted to force as an incentive to conversion. One instance may be noted : when he approached Koil (Aligarh) in A. D. 1194. ' those of the garrison who were wise and acute were converted to Islam, the rest were slain with the sword. ' " Here, " must have frequently resorted to force as an incentive to conversion " is too strong a supposition, and the event mentioned does not fall into the category of what is usually called forcible conversion, nor does the anecdote of the old Brahman which follows it. A non-Muslim whose life was forfeit for some reason could always escape the penalty by accepting Islam, which was considered to be proof of true repentance.

Again (p. 35), " The day of forced conversions as a policy of religion has passed not only beyond the limits of practical possibility in Indian Islam, but well beyond the pale of respectable opinion." Dr. Titus evidently does not know that any annoying attempt to convert a *dhimmi* to Islam is a capital offence under the Sharî'ah. He regards the admission of Hindus to the status of *dhimmis* as a breach of Islamic Law forced by circumstances on the Muslims. We had always understood that there were from the first two opinions, one which regarded the Hindus as sheer heathens, and the other which ranked them with the People of the Scripture because of their possession of religious books ; and that the latter opinion prevailed as the more orthodox, the heathen being people only who possessed no sacred books. We differ entirely from the author's view of Sûfism as something quite detached from the Qur'ân and the Sunnah, but are aware that that opinion has become a cliché of a certain group

* *Indian Islam*, a Religious History of Islam in India by Murray T. Titus, Ph.D., D. D., Humphrey Milfred, Oxford University Press. The Religious Quest of India Series.

of Christian Orientalists. Among the legendary Saints Dr. Titus mentions Khwâja Khidr, no doubt the same whom Syrian and Egyptian peasants call "Al-Khidr Abû'l-Abbâs 'aleyhi's-salâm", and who is popularly identified with the messenger of God (an angel) who is mentioned as the guide of Moses in a well-known passage of the Qur'ân. The centre of Al-Khidr-worship is in Syria and Cappadocia. At every shrine in Syria where Al-Khidr is commemorated by the Muslims the Christians pay especial honour to St. George; and every one of those shrines is on the site, or close to the site of a temple of the God Tammûz (Adonis). It may be that Al-Khidr is no other than the patron saint of England in another garb. In his account of the progress made by Indian Muslims, Dr. Titus mentions the Osmania University, "the interesting experiment in higher education through the medium of Urdu, the Muslim national language of India, which is being carried out in Hyderabad, Deccan, under the patronage of His Exalted Highness the Nizam. The Osmania University, for such is its name, came into being in 1917, in accordance with a *firman* (order) issued by the Nizam, which sets forth the purpose of this unique experiment.... Modern scientific and historical books, suitable for higher education in Urdu, were not, however, available. Hence the first task of the university was to establish a Bureau of Translation, with a modern steam-lithographic press. The work of this bureau is deserving of the highest praise for the manner in which it is performing a most difficult task. The works translated from English include the whole range of university studies, such as history, philosophy, psychology, economics, mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology and law. It is too early yet to judge of the value of the experiment, but, should it have marked elements of success, it may be fairly assumed that other Muslim institutions of higher learning will be founded on the principle of the Osmania"—a false quantity by the way; it should be Osmânîya—"University; which should make not only for the deepening of a truly national consciousness, but, what is even more important, for the wider diffusion of true international science and culture."

A more intelligent and kindly appreciation could not be desired. The book is of a kind that can be read by Muslims without irritation, much less offence, though they will often differ from the author. There is nothing even to suggest that it is written by a missionary until we come to the last paragraph when, after courteous

criticism of what he calls the New Muslim Apologetic—it is not new, but in old days it was not predominant—and after mentioning the tendency of some modern Muslim writers to extol the personality of Muhammad (May God bless and keep him !) so as almost to rival the Christian adoration of Jesus Christ (on whom be peace), he has written :

" But it cannot be that honest, truth-seeking Muslims will continue indefinitely to refuse to face *all* the facts, and pursue a policy of evasion of the real issues of history and life, even though such investigation leads to the questioning and study of the very sources of revelation itself. There are still some who hold that Christians attempted such investigations at the peril of their faith. But it must be remembered by all lovers of truth that the truth itself is more important than any current interpretation thereof. God is constantly revealing more and more of His truth to men who *seek* for it " —Up to this point we can follow Dr. Titus. He goes on to say : " Consequently, after all the critical examination to which it has been subjected, the essential truth of Christianity is better attested and better understood today than ever before. The sum of it all is that the highest revelation of God to man is through a living personality. " If we rightly understand the author's meaning in the last two sentences, we must differ from it as Muslims for we believe that the highest revelation comes direct from God to whom He chooses and that God is in fact the only Living Personality. Polemical writers on both sides are apt to forget that men's religion may be, often is, not so much a matter of beliefs as of actual experience, in which case it is absurd to seek to alter it.

M. P.

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