

1-1908



THE
FAITH OF ISLĀM

BY THE

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"ESSAYS ON ISLĀM," "ISLĀM: ITS RISE AND PROGRESS"

THIRD EDITION

REVISED AND ENLARGED

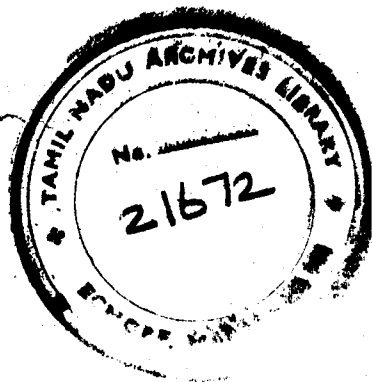


MADRAS: S. P. C. K. DEPÔT

1907.

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PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

THIS edition has been considerably enlarged and improved and some errors in the last one which friendly critics pointed out have been corrected. I have also made a much larger use of Baidāwī's Commentary. The references are to the edition edited by Fleischer, published in two volumes at Leipsic in 1848. I have added a list of the verses cited from the Qur'ān and a table showing the approximate chronological order of the Sūras in the Qur'ān. In the transliteration of Arabic names and terms, I have followed the rules laid down by the Royal Asiatic Society, namely,

th	for	ث	t	for	ط
h	"	ح	z	"	ظ
kh	"	خ	'	"	ع
dh	"	ذ	gh	"	غ
s	"	ص	q	"	ق
d	"	د	,	"	ف

E. S.

MADRAS, July 1, 1907.

PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION

THIS edition is the result of another fifteen years' study of Islām, and of further intercourse with Musālmāns. It deals with certain phases of modern Muslim thought in India and in Persia which found no place in the first edition. The result is that a considerable amount of fresh matter has been added, though the general form of the book has not been altered. The Arabic editions of the *Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī* and of the *al-Milāl wa'n-Niḥāl* of Shahrastānī have been freely used, and many extracts from these important works have been made. I have also added two appendices, one of which enters into a technical and detailed account of the art of reading the Qur'ān, and of its peculiar spelling, and also gives illustrations in Arabic of the "various readings;" the other, on the law of jihād, I have inserted in order to show the most recent method adopted by a liberal-minded Musalmān of dealing with this very important subject.

The criticisms on the first edition of this work were highly favourable, and the general conclusions arrived at in it have not been controverted by any competent Muslim authority, except on the questions of the finality of the Muḥammadan Law and of the present use of *ijtihād*, on which subjects the late Maulavi Cherāgh 'Alī differs from me; but in Chapter iv I have dealt with the objections of the modern rationalistic school in

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India to the views held by orthodox Muslims and expounded by European Oriental scholars. I have seen nothing yet from any authoritative source in Islām which leads me to depart from the conclusions arrived at on these and other points in the former edition. On the contrary, recent events in Turkey show how hopeless it is to expect religious liberty, freedom of thought, security of life and property, and all that is involved in the term "modern progress" in a purely Muḥammadan State.

E. S.

LONDON, *June* 1, 1896.

PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION

THE following pages embody a study of Islām during a residence of fifteen years in India, the greater part of which time I have been in daily intercourse with Musalmāns. I have given in the footnotes the authorities from which I quote. I was not able to procure in Madras a copy of the Arabic edition of Ibn Khaldūn's great work, but the French translation by Baron M. de Slane, to which I so frequently refer, is thoroughly reliable. The quotations from the Qur'ān are made from Rodwell's translation. The original has been consulted when necessary.

E. S.

MADRAS, *December* 1, 1880.



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INTRODUCTION

It is necessary to enter into some explanation as regards the contents of this work. It does not fall in with its plan to enter into an account either of the life of Muḥammad or of the wide and rapid spread of the system founded by him. The first has been done by able writers in England, France, and Germany. The political growth of Muslim nations has also been set forth in various ways.¹

It seems to me that the more important study at this time is that of the religious system which has grown out of the Prophet's teaching, and of its effect upon the individual and the community. What the Church in her missionary enterprise has to deal with, what European Governments in the political world have to do with, is Islām as it is, and as it now influences those who rule and those who are ruled under it.

I have, therefore, tried to show, from authentic sources and from a practical knowledge of it, what the Faith of Islām really is, and how it influences men and nations in the present day. I think that recent fatwās

¹ I have dealt to some extent with these subjects in my *Historical Development of the Qur'ān*, *Essays on Islām*, and *Islām: its rise and progress*.

delivered by the 'Ulamá in Constantinople show how firmly a Muslim State is bound in the fetters of an unchangeable Law, whilst the present practice of orthodox Muslims all the world over is a constant carrying out of the precepts given in the Qur'án and the Sunnat, and an illustration of the principles I have shown to belong to Islám. On this subject it is not too much to say that there is, except amongst Oriental scholars, much misconception.

Again, much that is written on Islám is written either in ignorant prejudice or from an ideal standpoint. To understand it aright, one should know its literature and live amongst its people. I have tried faithfully to prove every statement I have made; and when I have quoted European authors, it is only by way of illustration. I rest my case entirely upon Musalmán authorities themselves. Still more, I have ascertained from living witnesses that the principles I have tried to show as existing in Islám are really at work now, and are as potent as at any previous period.

I have thus traced up from the very foundations the rise and development of the system, seeking wherever possible to link the past with the present. In order not to interfere with this unity of plan, I have had to leave many subjects untouched, such as those connected with the civil law, with polygamy, concubinage, slavery, and divorce. A good digest of Muhammadan Law will give all necessary information on these points.¹ The basis of the Law which determines

¹ A very good account is given of these subjects in the *Religion of Islám* by Klein, pp. 178—226.

these questions is what I have described in my first chapter. Ijtihád, for example, rules quite as effectually in a question of domestic economy or political jurisprudence as on points of dogma. It was not, therefore, necessary for me to go into details on these points.

When I have drawn any conclusion from data which Muhammadan literature and the present practice of Muslims have afforded me, I have striven to give what seems to me a just and right one. Still, I gladly take this opportunity of stating that I have found many Muslims better than their creed, men with whom it is a pleasure to associate, and whom I respect for many virtues and esteem as friends. I judge the system, not any individual in it.

In India there are a number of enlightened Muhammadans, ornaments to Indian society, useful servants of the State, men who show a laudable zeal in all social reforms, so far as is consistent with a reputation for orthodoxy. Their number is far too few, and they do not, in many cases, represent orthodox Islám, nor do I believe their counterpart would be found amongst the 'Ulamá of an independent Muslim State. The fact is, that the wave of scepticism which has passed over Europe has not left the East untouched. Hindu and Muslim alike have felt its influence, but to judge of either the one system or the other from the very liberal utterances of a few men who expound their views before English audiences is to yield oneself up to delusion on the subject.

Islám in India has also felt the influence of contact with other races and creeds, though, theologically speaking, the Imán and the Dín, the faith and the

practice, are unchanged, and remain as I have described them in chapters iv. and v. If Islám in India has lost some of its original fierceness, it has also adopted many superstitious practices, such as those against which the Wahábís protest. The great mass of the Musalmán people are quite as superstitious, if not more so, than their Hindu neighbours. Still the manliness, the suavity of manner, the deep learning, after an Oriental fashion, of many Indian Musalmáns, render them a very attractive people. It is true there is a darker side—much bigotry, pride of race, scorn of other creeds, and, speaking generally, a tendency to inertness.

Looking at the subject from a wider standpoint, I think the Church has hardly yet realised how great a barrier this system of Islám is to her onward march in the East. Surely special men with special training are required for such an enterprise as that of meeting Islám in its own strongholds. No better pioneers of the Christian Faith could be found in the East than men won from the Crescent to the Cross.

All who are engaged in such an enterprise will perhaps find some help in this volume, and I am not without hope that it may also throw some light on the political questions of the day.

THE FAITH OF ISLÁM

CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDATIONS OF ISLÁM

THE creed of Islám—"Lá iláha illa'lláhu: Muḥammad Rasúlu'lláh"—There is no god but God, and Muḥammad is the Apostle of God is very short, but the system itself is a very dogmatic one. Such statements as: "The Qur'án is an all-embracing and sufficient code, regulating everything," "The Qur'án contains the entire code of Islám—that is, it is not a book of religious precepts merely, but it governs all that a Muslim does," "The Qur'án contains the whole religion of Muḥammad," "The Qur'án which contains the whole Gospel of Islám," are not simply misleading, they are erroneous. So far from the Qur'án alone being the sole rule of faith and practice to Muslims, there is not one single sect amongst them whose faith and practice is based on it alone. No Musalmán ever disputes its authority or casts any doubt upon its genuineness. Its voice is supreme in all that it concerns, but its exegesis, the whole system of legal jurisprudence and of theological science, is largely founded on the Traditions. Amongst the orthodox Musalmáns, the foundations of Islám are considered to be four in number, the Qur'án, Sunnat, Ijmá', and Qiyás. The fact that all the sects do not agree with the orthodox—

the Sunnis—in this matter illustrates another important fact in Islām—the want of unity amongst its followers.

1. THE QUR'ĀN.—The question of the inspiration will be fully discussed, and an account of the laws of the exegesis of the Qur'ān will be given in the next chapter. It is sufficient now to state that this book is held in the highest veneration by Muslims of every sect. When being read, it is kept on a stand elevated above the floor, and no one must read or touch it without first making a legal ablution. "Let none touch it but the purified" (lvi. 78). It is not translated unless there is the most urgent necessity, and even then the Arabic text is printed with the translation. The more bigoted Muhammadans say that it should not be taught to any one but Muslims, and that a Maulavi who teaches a Christian to read it becomes thereby a Kāfir. In the year 1884 the Sunni Qādi and a number of Madras Maulavis issued a fatvá to this effect. This, however, is contrary to the Law, for Qādi Khān says: "The Harbí, or the Dhimmí, when they desire to read the Qur'ān, may be taught, and so also with the fiqh and the ahkams. It may be hoped that they will find the road to the truth. But until they have washed, they must not touch the Qur'ān; after they have done this, they are not to be hindered."¹ It is said that God chose the sacred month of Ramaḍān in which to give all the revelations that in the form of books have been vouchsafed to mankind. Thus on the first night of that month the books of Abraham came down from heaven; on the sixth, the books of Moses; on the thirteenth, the Injil, or Gospel; and on the twenty-seventh, the Qur'ān.² On that night, the Laylatu'l-Qadr, or "night of power," the whole Qur'ān is said to have descended to the lowest of

¹ *Fatāwa-i-Qādi Khān*, chapter on Qir'ātu'l-Qur'ān.

² The Prophet said: "Certainly Laylatu'l-Qadr was revealed to me, but I have forgotten (its date), but search for it in the last ten days and on one of the odd days." (*Sahih'u'l-Bukhari*).

the seven heavens, from whence it was brought piecemeal to Muhammad as occasion required.¹ "Verily We have caused it (the Qur'ān) to descend on the night of power" (xcvii. 1). "The Qur'ān," says Ibn Khaldūn, "was sent from heaven in the Arab tongue, and in a style conformable to that in which the Arabs were wont to express their thoughts. . . . It was revealed phrase by phrase, verse by verse, as it was needed, whether for manifesting the doctrine of the unity of God, or for expounding the obligations to which men ought to submit in this world. In the one case we have the proclamation of the dogmas of faith, in the other the prescriptions which regulate the actions of men."² The night on which it descended is called the blessed night, the night better than a thousand months, the night when angels came down by the permission of their Lord, the night which bringeth peace and blessings till the rosy dawn. Twice on that night, in the solitude of the cave of Hirá, the voice called; twice, though pressed sore "as if a fearful weight had been laid upon him," the Prophet struggled against its influence. The third time he heard the words:—

"Recite thou, in the name of thy Lord who created—
Created man from clots of blood." (xcvi. 1.)³

¹ "It was certainly an admirable and politic contrivance of his to bring down the whole Qur'ān at once to the lowest heaven only, and not to the earth, as a bungling prophet would have done; for if the whole had been published at once, innumerable objections might have been made, which it would have been very hard, if not impossible, for him to solve; but as he pretended to receive it by parcels, as God saw proper that they should be published for the conversion and instruction of the people, he had a sure way to answer all emergencies, and to extricate himself with honour from any difficulty which might occur." (Sale, *Preliminary Discourse*, Section III.)

² *Les Préliminaires* d'Ibn Khaldūn, (de Slane's translation) vol. ii. p. 458.

³ It is said by some that the words, "warn thy relatives of nearer kin," (xxvi. 214) contain the first call to preach; but the objections to this are that the context "kindly lower thy wing over the faithful who follow thee" (215), and the words, "Who seeth thee when thou standest in

"When the voice had ceased to speak, telling how from minutest beginnings man had been called into existence, and lifted up by understanding and knowledge of the Lord, who is most beneficent, and who by the pen had revealed that which man did not know, Muḥammad woke up from his trance and felt as if 'a book had been written in his heart.'" He was much alarmed. Tradition records that he went hastily to his wife and said, "O Khadīja! what has happened to me?" He lay down and she watched by him. When he recovered from his paroxysm, he said, "O Khadīja! he of whom one would not have believed (i.e., himself) has now become either a soothsayer (*kāhin*) or mad." She replied, "God is my protection, O Abū'l-Qāsim. He will surely not let such a thing happen unto thee, for thou speakest the truth, dost not return evil for evil, keepest faith, art of a good life, and art kind to thy relatives and friends, and neither art thou a talker abroad in the bazaars. What has befallen thee? Hast thou seen aught terrible?" Muḥammad replied, "Yes." And he told her what he had seen. Whereupon she answered and said, "Rejoice, O dear husband, and be of good cheer. He in whose hands stands Khadīja's life is my witness that thou wilt be the Prophet of this people."¹ After this there seems to have been an intermission, called the *fatra*. It is generally acknowledged to have lasted about three years, and it was at this time that the Prophet gained some knowledge of the Jewish and the Christian histories. "The accounts, however," says Muir, "are throughout confused, if not contradictory; and we can only gather with certainty that there was a time during which his mind

prayer and thy demeanour among those who worship" (218-9) pre-suppose the existence of a small Muslim community; that the style of this *Sūra* is not that of the earliest period, and that combinations found in it, such as *al-'Azīz*—*r-Raḥīm*—the Mighty, the Merciful: *ash-Shamī'u*—*l-'Alīm*—He heareth, He knoweth, are not found in the earlier *Sūras*.

¹ *Literary Remains of Emmanuel Deutsch*, p. 77.

hung in suspense and doubted the divine mission." It is not absolutely certain when the *fatra* commenced. Most commentators acknowledge that the first five verses of the *Súratu'l-'Alaq* (xcvi.) form the first revelation; but according to 'Alī, the *Súratu'l-Fātiḥa* is the first, and Jābir, a Companion, maintains that the *Súratu'l-Muddaththir* (lxxiv.) preceded all others.¹ These varying statements are thus reconciled: the *Súratu'l-'Alaq* was the first real revelation; the *Súratu'l-Fātiḥa* was the first one revealed for purposes of worship; the *Súratu'l-Muddaththir* was the first of a continued series. Henceforth there was no intermission.² It is said that after the descent of the *Súratu'l-'Alaq* (xcvi.), called also the *Súratu'l-Iqra*, the Prophet longed for a further revelation, but the *waḥī* (inspiration) came not. This *fatra* was a cause of much grief to him. Indeed one day he started from his home with the intention of committing suicide; but when staggering along, borne down with sorrow, a voice from heaven sounded in his ears. Then, as Bukhārī relates it, he looked up and saw the angel who had appeared to him on a former occasion. The angel sat on a throne suspended midway between heaven and earth. Muḥammad, much agitated, hastened home and said, "Cover me with a cloth." Then God revealed to him the *Súratu'l-Muddaththir*, which commences thus: "O thou, enwrapped in thy mantle! arise and warn."³ Bukhārī also adds that the steady and regular flow of the revelation of the *Qur'án* then commenced, or, as he puts it, "inspiration became warm" (*Faḥamiya al-waḥī*).⁴

¹ This is the opinion of Nöldeke, who considers that the internal evidence supports it, especially the command to preach and be pious. This *Sūra*, however, seems to be composite. The words "a trump on the trumpet" are words not used in late *Sūras*, whereas vv. 31-4 are evidently *Madīna* ones as they are directed against the Jews. Muir places this *Sūra* in the second period of Meccan ones, but this is very doubtful.

² *Faiḍu'l-Bukhārī*, p. 61.

³ *Faiḍu'l-Bukhārī*, p. 58.

⁴ *Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī*, (ed. Leyde, 1862) vol. i. p. 6.

Gabriel is believed to have been the medium of communication. This fact, however, is only once stated in the Qur'ān:—"Say, whose is the enemy of Gabriel—For he it is who by God's leave hath caused the Qur'ān to descend on thy heart" (ii. 91). This Sūra was revealed some years after the Prophet's flight to Madīna. The other references to the revelation of the Qur'ān are:—"Verily from the Lord of the worlds hath this book come down; the Faithful Spirit (Rūḥu'l-Āmīn) hath come down with it" (xxvi. 193). "The Qur'ān is no other than a revelation revealed to him, one terrible in power (Shadīdu'l-Qawā) taught it him" (liii. 5). "The Holy Spirit (Rūḥn'l-Quds) hath brought it down with truth from the Lord" (xvi. 104). These latter passages do not state clearly that Gabriel was the medium of communication, but the belief that he was is almost, if not entirely, universal,¹ and the commentators² say that the terms "Rūḥu'l-Āmīn," "Shadīdu'l-Qawā," and "Rūḥu'l-Quds," refer to no other angel or spirit. The use of the word "taught" in the quotation from Sūra liii., and the following expression in Sūra lxxv. 18: "When we have recited it, then follow thou

¹ Bukhārī states, on the authority of 'A'isha, that Khadija, after the Prophet had received the command to "recite," took him to Waraqa bin Naufal. He was a man, so says Bukhārī, who had been a Nazarene in the days of ignorance. Now he was old and blind. Khadija said, "O cousin, listen to thy nephew (Muḥammad) and hear what he is saying." Waraqa replied, "O my brother's son, what hast thou seen?" Then Muḥammad told him what had happened. Waraqa then said, "This is the Nāmūs which God sent down upon Moses." The commentators on the Traditions say that this Nāmūs, which means the possessor of a secret, is "none other than Gabriel." (*Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī* on Sūra xcvi. vol. iii. p. 181.)

² The principal commentators are Muḥammad Fakhrū'd-dīn Rāzī (606 A. H.) az-Zamakhsharī (604 A. H.) al-Baghāwī (506 A. H.) al-Baidāwī (685 A. H.) Jalālū'd-dīn (864 A. H.) these are in Arabic. The *Tafsīr-i-Husainī* is an excellent commentary in Persian. The *Khalāṣatu'l-Tafsīr* is a large collection of opinions from many sources. It is published in Urdu.

the recital," show that the Qur'ān is entirely an objective revelation, and that Muḥammad was only a passive medium of communication. The Muḥammadan historian, Ibn Khaldūn, says on this point: "Of all the divine books, the Qur'ān is the only one of which the text, words and phrases have been communicated to a prophet by an audible voice. It is otherwise with the Pentateuch, the Gospel and the other divine books: the prophets received them under the form of ideas."¹ This expresses the universal belief on this point—a belief which reveals the essentially mechanical nature of Islām.

The Qur'ān thus revealed is now looked upon as the standing miracle of Islām. Other divine books, it is admitted, were revelations received under the form of ideas, but the Qur'ān is far superior to them all, for the actual text was revealed to the ear of the Prophet. Thus we read.

"Move not thy tongue in haste to follow and master this revelation,

• For We will see to the collecting and recital of it;
But when We have recited it, then follow thou the recital;
And verily it shall be Ours to make it clear to thee."

(lxxv. 16-19).

The Qur'ān is, then, believed to be a miraculous revelation² of divine eloquence, as regards both *form* and *substance*, arrangement of words, and its revelation of sacred things. It is asserted that each well-accredited prophet performed miracles in that particular department of human skill or science most flourishing in his age. Thus in the days of Moses magic exercised a

¹ *Les Prolégomènes* d'Ibn Khaldūn, (ed. Paris, 1863) vol. i. p. 195. As I shall often refer to Ibn Khaldūn, it may be well to state what Stanley Lane-Poole says of him as an authority: "He stands at the head of the Arab historians, and comes nearest to European notions of a philosophical historian." (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, vol. ii. p. 332.)

² See also Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, p. 58 and MacDonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 146.

wide influence, but all the magicians of Pharaoh's court had to submit to the superior skill of the Hebrew prophet. In the days of Jesus the science of medicine flourished. Men possessed great skill in the art of healing; but no physician could equal the skill of Jesus, who not only healed the sick, but raised the dead. In the days of Muḥammad the special and most striking feature of the age was the wonderful power of the Arabs in the art of poetry. Muḥammadu'd-Dámiri says: "Wisdom hath alighted on three things—the brain of the Franks, the hands of the Chinese, and the tongue of the Arabs." They were unrivalled for their eloquence, for the skill with which they arranged their material and gave expression to their thoughts. It is in this very particular that superior excellence is claimed for the Qur'án. It is to the Muḥammadan mind a sure evidence of its miraculous origin that it should excel in this respect. Muslims say that miracles have followed the revelations given to other prophets in order to confirm the divine message. In this case the Qur'án is both a revelation and a miracle. Muḥammad himself said: "Each prophet has received manifest signs which carried conviction to men, but that which I have received is the revelation. So I hope to have a larger following on the day of resurrection than any other prophet has." Ibn Khaldún says that "by this the Prophet means that such a wonderful miracle as the Qur'án, which is also a revelation, should carry conviction to a very large number."¹ To a Muslim the fact is quite clear, and so to him the Qur'án is far superior to all the preceding books. Muḥammad is said to have convinced a rival, Lebid, a poet-laureate, of the truth of his mission by reciting to him a portion of the now second Súra.² "Unquestionably it is one of the

¹ Ibn Khaldún, vol. i. p. 194.

² There is some difference of opinion as to the exact nature of the superiority of the Qur'án. "Some hold the proof to lie simply in the

very grandest specimens of Qur'anic or Arabic diction. . . . But even descriptions of this kind, grand as they be, are not sufficient to kindle and preserve the enthusiasm and the faith and the hope of a nation like the Arabs. . . . The poets before him had sung of valour and generosity, of love and strife and revenge . . . of early graves, upon which weeps the morning cloud, and of the fleeting nature of life, which comes and goes as the waves of the desert sands, as the tents of a caravan, as a flower that shoots up and dies away. Or they shoot their bitter arrows of satire right into the enemy's own soul. Muḥammad sang of none of these. No love-minstrelsy his: not the joys of the world, nor sword, nor camel, nor jealousy, nor human vengeance; not the glories of tribe or ancestor. He preached Islám." The very fierceness with which this is done, the swearing¹ such as Arab orator, proficient though he may have been in the art, had never made, the dogmatic certainty with which the Prophet proclaimed his message, have tended, equally with the passionate grandeur of his utterances, to hold the Muslim world spell-bound to the letter and imbued with all the narrowness of the book.

So sacred is the text supposed to be, that only the Companions² of the Prophet are deemed worthy of being commentators on it. The work of learned divines since then has been to learn the Qur'án by heart and to master

eloquence; others, in the revelation of the Unseen; others, in the absence of discrepancies. Others, again, disagreeing as to the perfect eloquence of the revelation, hold to the doctrine of 'prevention,' or inability to produce the like, owing to divine intervention." (Muir, *Beacon of Truth*, p. 26.)

¹ "He swears by the most varied things, by whatever comes uppermost in his mind, and so the oaths often appear strange and incongruous." (Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*, ed. Göttingen, 1861, p. 61.)

² Those who were in constant intercourse with the Prophet are called Asháb (Companions); their disciples are named Tábi'ín (Followers); their disciples are known as Tabá'u't-Tábi'ín (Followers of the Followers). One of the most famous of the Companions was Ibn 'Abbás who is called by Syúfi the "Father of the exegesis of the Qur'án."

the Traditions, with the writings of the earliest commentators thereon. The revelation itself is never made a subject of investigation or tried by the ordinary rules of criticism. If only the isnād, or chain of authorities for any interpretation, is good, that interpretation is unhesitatingly accepted as the correct one. It is a fundamental article of belief that no other book in the world can possibly approach near to it in thought or expression.¹ It deals with positive precepts rather than with principles. Its decrees are held to be binding not in the spirit merely, but in the very letter on all men, at all times, and under every circumstance of life. This follows as a natural consequence from the belief in its eternal nature.

The various portions recited by the Prophet during the twenty-three years of his prophetic career were committed to writing by some of his followers, or treasured up in their memories. As the recital of the Qur'ān formed a part of every act of public worship, and as such recital was an act of great religious merit, every Muslim tried to remember as much as he could. He who could do so best was entitled to the highest honour, and was often the recipient of a substantial reward.² The Arab love for poetry facilitated the exercise of this faculty. When the Prophet died the revelation ceased. There was no distinct copy of the whole, nothing to show what was of transitory importance, what of permanent value. There is nothing which proves that the Prophet took any special care of any portions. There seems to have been no definite order in which, when the book was compiled, the various Sūras were arranged, for the

¹ The Mu'tazilas hold that, if God allowed it, men could produce a Sūrah like it in eloquence and arrangement. (Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa'n-Nihal* p. 39.) See also Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qurans*, p. 44.

² "Thus, after the usual distribution of the spoils taken on the field of Cadesia (A.H. 14), the residue was divided among those who knew most of the Qur'ān." (Muir, *Life of Muhammad*, ed. London, 1861, vol. i. p. 5.)

Qur'ān, as it now exists, is utterly devoid of all historical or logical sequence. For a year after the Prophet's death nothing seems to have been done; but then the battle of Yemana took place, in which a very large number of the best Qur'ān reciters were slain. 'Umar took fright at this, and addressing the Khalīfa Abū Bakr, said, "The slaughter may again wax hot amongst the repeaters of the Qur'ān in other fields of battle, and much may be lost therefrom. Now, therefore, my advice is that thou shouldest give speedy orders for the collection of the Qur'ān." Abū Bakr agreed, and said to Zaid bin Thābit, who had been an amanuensis of the Prophet, "Thou art a young man, and wise, against whom no one amongst us can cast an imputation; and thou wert wont to write down the inspired revelations of the Prophet of the Lord, wherefore now search out the Qur'ān and bring it all together." Zaid being at length pressed to undertake the task, proceeded to gather the Qur'ān together from "date leaves and tablets of white stone, and from the hearts of men." In course of time it was all compiled in the order in which the book is now arranged. This was the authorised text for some twenty-three years after the death of Muḥammad. Owing, however, either to different modes of recitation, or to differences of expression in the sources from which Zaid's first recension was made, a variety of different readings crept into the copies in use. Hudhaifa bin al-Yaman, one of the early warriors, observing the difference between the readings of the Muslim Syrians and the men of 'Irāq, became alarmed and warned the Khalīfa to interpose, "before they should differ (regarding their scriptures) as did the Jews and the Christians." The Faithful became alarmed, and the Khalīfa 'Uthmān was persuaded to put a stop to such a danger. He appointed Zaid, with three of the leading men of the Quraish as assistants, to go over the whole work again. A careful recension was made of the whole book, which

was then assimilated to the Meccan dialect, the purest in Arabia.¹ After this all other copies of the Qur'ān were burnt by order of the Khalifa, and new transcripts were made of the revised edition, which was now the only authorised copy. As it is a fundamental tenet of Islām that the Qur'ān is incorruptible and absolutely free from error, no little difficulty has been felt in explaining the need of 'Uthmān's new and revised edition, and of the circumstances under which it took place; but, as usual, a Tradition has been handed down which makes it lawful to read the Qur'ān in seven dialects. On the authority of Ibn 'Abbās the following tradition is recorded: "Gabriel taught me to read the Qur'ān in one dialect, and when I recited it he taught me to recite it in another, and so on until the number of dialects amounted to seven." These dialects, known as the Qirā'ātu's-sab'at or, in Persian, Haft Qirā'āt, were the seven chief ones of Arabia. The members of these several tribes used to recite the Qur'ān in their respective dialects until 'Uthmān's Qur'ān was issued, when only one dialect was allowed.

The book in its present form may be accepted as a genuine reproduction of Abū Bakr's edition with authoritative corrections. We may rest assured that we have in the Qur'ān now in use the record of what Muḥammad said. It thus becomes a fundamental basis of Islām. It was a common practice of the early Muslims when speaking of the Prophet to say, "His character is the Qur'ān." When people curious to know details of the life of their beloved master asked 'Āysha, one of his widows, about him, she used to reply, "Thou hast the Qur'ān, art thou not an Arab and readest the Arab tongue? Why dost thou ask me? for the Prophet's disposition is no other than the Qur'ān."

¹ For a full account, see my *Essays on Islām*, pp. 218-241 (Simpkin Marshall and Co., London: S. P. C. K., Madras).

Whether Muḥammad would have arranged the Qur'ān as we now have it is a subject on which it is impossible to form an opinion. There are Traditions which seem to show that he had some doubts as to its completeness. I give the following account on the authority of M. Caussin de Percival. When Muḥammad felt his end draw near he said, "Bring ink and paper: I wish to write to you a book to preserve you always from error." But it was too late. He could not write or dictate, and so he said, "May the Qur'ān always be your guide. Perform what it commands you: avoid what it prohibits." The genuineness of the first part of this Tradition is, I think, very doubtful; the latter is quite in accordance with the Prophet's claim for his teaching. The letter of the book became, as Muḥammad intended it should become, a despotic influence in the Muslim world, a barrier to freethinking on the part of all the orthodox, an obstacle to innovation in all spheres—political, social, intellectual and moral. "Unlike the Decemviral code which was compiled in a business-like way for the guidance of magistrates and litigants, and which made no pretence of finality, the Qur'ān is a religious miscellany with some legislative matter embodied in it which would never have been put forward to do duty as a code, but for the belief, common to rulers and ruled, that every word and every syllable came direct from heaven, and which, having been put forward in that belief, cannot be abrogated or altered in the smallest particular until a new messenger shall present himself with equally good credentials."¹

There are many topics connected with the Qur'ān which can be better explained in the next chapter. All that has now to be here stated is that the Qur'ān is the first foundation of Islām. It is an error to suppose it is the only one: an error which more than anything else has

¹ Sir R. K. Wilson, *Anglo-Muḥammadan Law*, p. 22.

led persons away from the only position in which they could obtain a true idea of the great system of Islám. Stanley Lane-Poole well says: "A large part of what Muslims now believe is not to be found in the Qur'án at all. We do not mean to say that the Traditions of Muḥammad are not as good authority as the Qur'án; indeed, except that in the latter case, the Prophet professed to speak the words of God, and in the former he did not so profess, there is little to choose between them. Nor do we assert that the early doctors of the Law displayed no imaginative faculty in drawing their inferences and analogies, though we have our suspicions; all we would insist on is that it is a mistake to call the Qur'án either the theological compendium or the corpus legis of Islám."¹

The Shi'ahs maintain, without good reason, that the following verses favourable to the claims of 'Alí and of the Shi'ah faction were omitted in 'Uthman's recension²:—

"O believers! believe in the two Lights (Muḥammad and 'Alí).

"'Alí is of the number of the pious; We shall give him his right in the day of judgment; We are not ignorant of the injustice done to him. We have honoured him above all this family. He and his family are very patient. Their enemy (Mu'āwiyah) is the chief of sinners.

"We have announced to thee a race of just men, men³

¹ *Studies in a Mosque*, p. 167.

² There are other cases, such as these, 'Umar said: "some of you say, 'I possess the whole Qur'án, but how can he know what is the whole Qur'án, since a part of it has disappeared. Let him rather say, 'I possess of it what is still extant.'" 'Āyesha said that Súra xxxiii originally had two hundred verses, it now has only seventy-three. It used to contain the verse of the stoning "If the old man and the old woman commit adultery, stone them." 'Umar believed that this was so and said; "If I were not afraid that people would say 'Umar has added some thing to the Book of God, I should write it in the Qur'án." Syúfí quoted in Klein's *Religion of Islám*, pp. 17-18 (Kegan Paul and Co.)

³ The twelve Imáms.

who will not oppose our orders. My mercy and peace are on them, living¹ or dead.

"As to those who walk in their way, my mercy is on them; they will certainly gain the mansions of Paradise."²

The orthodox can reply to this claim by quoting a tradition recorded by Bukhārī: "The Prophet left nothing but what is within the two covers (of the Qur'án)."

There is no evidence that Muḥammad had any practical acquaintance with the Old and New Testament Scriptures.³ There is only one quotation in the Qur'án from the Old Testament, and that is a passage from Psalm xxxvii. 29, which is quoted in Súra xxi. 105: "Since the Law was given, we have written in the Psalms that 'my servants, the righteous, shall inherit the earth.'" There are a few apparent references to the New Testament, such as in the words, "Nor shall they enter Paradise until the camel passeth through the eye of the needle." (vii. 38); and in "Jesus, the Son of Mary, said: 'O children of Israel! of a truth I am God's Apostle to you to confirm the Law which was given before Me, and to announce an Apostle that shall come after Me, whose name shall be Ahmad'" (lxi. 6). This no doubt refers to St. John xvi. 7: "If I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send Him unto you." Muḥammad seems to have misunderstood the word *παράκλητος*, and imagined it to be the same as *περικλυτός*, which has somewhat the same meaning as Ahmad, from which word the name

¹ Al-Mahdí is supposed to be still alive.

² These verses are taken from a chapter, Súratu'n-Núrain, the chapter of the two Lights, said to have been omitted from the Qur'án as it now exists. The full Súra is given in Arabic and in French in the *Journal Asiatique*, December, 1843; and in Arabic and in English in my *Essays on Islám*. The question of the genuineness of the Súra is there discussed, pp. 233-8.

³ Muḥammad is called in Súra vii. 156, the al-Nabí'l-Ummi, which Muḥammadans generally translate as the "unlettered Prophet," and say he could not read or write. This is used as an argument to show

Muhammad is formed. The poetical parts of the Qur'ān are the Prophet's own creation; for the rest he was indebted to the Jewish Traditions based on the Talmud. The Babylonian Gemara was finished about the year 530 A.D.; the Jerusalem Gemara in 430 A.D., and the Mishna about 220 A.D. All of these, therefore, were available. Other portions of the Qur'ān are derived from stories found in the Apocryphal Gospels, Christian legends, and Zoroastrian tales, to which latter reference seems to be made in—"The unbelievers say, 'Of old have we been promised this, we and our sires of old; it is but tales of the Ancients'" (xxvii. 70). Many also of Muhammad's friends were acquainted with the Bible, and some of them became Christians. There were also Jewish tribes in Arabia, with whom the Prophet came into contact, and with whom he was for a while friendly and from whom he learned much. Muhammad, however, claimed to have received all such information direct from God. Thus, when describing the dispute amongst the angels concerning the creation of man, he said:—Verily, it hath been revealed to me only because I am a public preacher" (xxxviii. 70). The stories which he learned from the Jews he claimed to have received by inspiration and adduces this as a fact to prove the reality of his prophetic office. Apart from the general conception of the Unity of God and other dogmas which Islām has borrowed from Judaism,¹ many of the less important

that he could not have composed so eloquent a book as the Qur'ān, and that, therefore, it must be the words of God. But the term more probably means "the Prophet of the Gentiles," as distinguished from a prophet belonging to the "people of the Book," i.e., Jews or Christians, and is meant to show that he was not acquainted with the books of preceding prophets. His ignorance is shown by the confused order in which he places them. He seems to have felt his weakness in this respect, for God is represented as saying:—"Of some apostles We have told thee before; of other apostles We have not told thee." *Sūratu'n-Nisā'* (iv. 162).

¹ Geiger in *Judaism and Islām*, pp. 31-44 (Simpkin, Marshall and Co., London: S.P.O.K., Madras), shows how much Muhammad borrowed from

matters of belief are clearly taken from Talmudic sources, such as the story of the angels Hārūt and Mārūt (ii. 96); the seven heavens and hells (xvii. 46, xv. 44); the position of the throne of God at the creation (xi. 9); al-A'rāf or the partition between heaven and hell (vii. 44). The following also may be traced to Zoroastrian sources: the Mi'rāj (xvii. 1); the Jinn or Genii (vi. 100); the Houris, which are identical with the Parikas of the Avesta and the Peris of modern Persia, beings, "endowed with seductive beauty, dwelling in the air, and attaching themselves to the stars and light;" the angel of death and the bridge (*Širāt*). The teaching about the Nūr-i-Muhammadi and the teaching generally about evil spirits is derived from the same source.¹ In fact, the early adversaries of the Prophet accused him of having confederates, and spoke of his revelations as a collection of fables and mere poetical utterances. Thus, "The infidels say: 'This Qur'ān is a mere fraud of his own devising, and others have helped him with it. . . . Tales of the Ancients that he hath put in writing, and they were dictated to him morn and eve'" (xxv. 5, 6).² The Qur'ān itself bears internal evidence of the great skill with which Muhammad formed the eclectic system of Islām,³ which has been well described as "a corrupt form of late Judaism with which

Judaism. This accounts for the introduction of Rabbinical terms into the Qur'ān. See also foot-note in *Islām: its rise and progress*, p. 49 (Simpkin, Marshall and Co., London: S. P. C. K., Madras).

¹ This is all given in full detail in *The Sources of the Qur'ān* by Dr. St. Clair Tisdall (S. P. C. K.). Syed Amir 'Alī also speaks of the "eclectic faith of Muhammad" and of the "Zoroastrian origin of the Houris" and of the "Talmudic ideas of hell." (*Spirit of Islām*, pp. 387, 394). The idea that another person was substituted for Christ at the crucifixion (iv. 156) was borrowed from the Manichæans.

² Muhammad rebuts the charge of being a mere poet in the *Sūratu'sh-Shu'arā'* (xxvi. 224) and in *Sūratu Yā Sin* (xxxvi. 69) and the imputation of forgery in *Sūras* lii. 33-4, 41, 47; lxix. 38-47; lxxxi. 15-22; lvi. 74-8; xxv. 5-7, 22; xxxii. 2.

³ The way in which the Qur'ān grew and how its gradual formation

ideas and practices derived from Arabian and Persian heathenism, and in one or two instances from heretical books, have been mingled."

2. THE SUNNAT.—The second foundation of Islám is based on the Hadīth (plural ahādīth) or Tradition. Commands from God given in the Qur'án are called "fard" and "wájib."¹ A command given by the Prophet or an example set by him is called "sunnat," a word meaning a rule. It is then technically applied to the basis of religious faith and practice, which is founded on traditional accounts of the sayings and acts of Muḥammad.² It is the belief common to all Musalmáns, that the Prophet in all that he *did*, and in all that he *said*, was supernaturally guided, and that his words and acts are to all time and to all his followers a divine rule of faith and practice. "We should know that God Almighty has given commands and prohibitions to his servants, either by means of the Qur'án, or by the mouth of His Prophet." Al-Ghazáli, a most distinguished theologian, writes: "Neither is the faith according to His will complete by the testimony to the Unity alone, that is, by simply saying, 'There is but one God,' without the addition of the further testimony to the Apostle, that is, the statement, 'Muḥammad is the apostle of God.'" This belief in the Prophet must extend to all that he has said concerning the present and the future life, for, says the same author, "A man's faith is not accepted till he is fully persuaded of those things which the Prophet hath affirmed shall be after death." In the *Mishkát*³ (Book i.

was determined by the events of the Prophet's life are shown in Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qorans*, and in my *Historical Development of the Qur'án* (S. P. C. K., London and Madras).

¹ For a definition of these terms, see the first page of chapter v.

² These are called (1) *Sunnatu'l-Fi'l*, that which Muḥammad himself did. (2) *Sunnatu'l-Qaul*, that which he said should be practised. (3) *Sunnatu't-Taqrir*, that which was done in his presence and which he did not forbid.

³ Known as the *Mishkátu'l-Masábil*.

chapter vi.) the following Traditions on this point are recorded: "That which the Prophet of God hath made unlawful is like that which God Himself hath made so." "Verily the best word is the word of God, and the best rule of life is that delivered by Muḥammad." "I have left you two things, and you will not stray as long as you hold them fast. The one is the word of God, and the other the law (sunnat) of His Prophet." "I am no more than a man, but when I order anything respecting religion, receive it, and when I order anything about the affairs of the world, then I am nothing more than a man."

It is often said that the Wahhábis reject Tradition. In the ordinary sense of the word Tradition they may; but in Muslim theology the term Hadīth, which we translate Tradition, has a special meaning. It is applied only to the sayings of the Prophet, not to those of some uninspired divine or teacher. The Wahhábis reject the Traditions handed down by men who lived after the time of the Companions, but the Hadīth, embodying the sayings of the Prophet, they, in common with all Muslim sects, hold to be an inspired revelation of God's will to men. It would be as reasonable to say that Protestants reject the four Gospels as to say that the Wahhábis reject Tradition.¹ An orthodox Muslim places the Gospels in the same rank as the Hadīth, that is, he looks upon them as a record handed down to us by His Companions of what Jesus said and did. "In the same way as other Prophets received their books under the form of ideas, so our Prophet has in the same way received a great number of communications which are found in the collections of

¹ The great Wahhábí preacher Muḥammad Ismá'il, of whom some account will be given later on, says in the *Taqwíatu'l-Imán*: "The best of all ways is to have for principles the words (holy writings) of God and of His Apostle; to hold them alone as precedents, and not to allow our own opinion to be exercised." Baiḍáwí explains "that which God and His Apostle have forbidden" (ix. 29) as that which is forbidden in the Qur'án and the Sunnat. (vol. i, p. 383.)

the Traditions" (aḥādīth).¹ This shows that the Sunnat must be placed on a level with the Jewish and Christian Scriptures; whilst the Qur'ān is a revelation superior to them all. To no sect of Musalmāns is the Qur'ān alone the rule of faith. The Shī'ahs, it is true, reject the Sunnat, but they have in their own collection of Traditions an exact equivalent.

The nature of the inspiration of the Sunnat and its authoritative value are questions of the first importance, whether Islām is viewed from a theological or a political standpoint.

"Muḥammad said that seventy-three sects would arise, of whom only one would be worthy of Paradise. The Companions inquired which sect would be so highly favoured. The Prophet replied, 'The one which remains firm in my way and in that of my friends.' It is certain that this must refer to the Ahlu's-sunnat wa'l-jamā'at."²

It is laid down as a preliminary religious duty that obedience should be rendered to the Sunnat of the Prophet. Thus "Obey God and obey the apostle" (viii. 20).³ "We have not sent any apostle but that he might be obeyed by the permission of God." Again, "A noble pattern have ye in God's apostle, for all who hope in God and the latter day" (xxxiii. 21). The Tafsīr-i-ibn 'Abbās explains "noble pattern" as "noble sunnat" (sunnatan ḥasanatan). From these and similar passages the following doctrine is deduced: "It is plain that the Prophet (on whom and on whose descendants be the mercy and peace of God) is free from sin in what he ordered to be done, and in what he prohibited, in all his words and acts; for were it otherwise, how could obedience rendered to him be accounted as obedience paid to

God?"¹ Believers are exhorted to render obedience to God by witnessing to His divinity, and to the Prophet by bearing witness to his prophetship; this is a sign of love, and love is the cause of nearness to God. The Prophet himself is reported to have said, "Obey me, that God may regard you as friends." From this statement the conclusion is drawn that "the love of God (to man) is conditional on obedience to the Prophet." Belief in and obedience to the Prophet are essential elements of the true faith, and he who possesses not both of these is in error.²

In order to show the necessity of this obedience, God is said to have appointed Muḥammad as the Mediator between Himself and man. In a lower sense, believers are to follow the "Sunnat" of the four Khalīfas, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī, who are true guides to men.

To the Muslim all that the Prophet did was perfectly in accord with the will of God. Moral laws have a different application when applied to him. His jealousy, his severe treatment of the Jewish tribes,³ his domestic life, his bold assertion of equality with God as regards his commands,⁴ his every act and word are sinless and a

¹ *Mudārrijū'n-Nabuwat*, p. 285.

² "The doctors of the Law are unanimously agreed as to the obligation of conforming one's actions to the precepts laid down in the Traditions attributed to the Prophet." (Ibn Khaldūn, vol. ii., p. 465.)

³ "O believers! take not the Jews or Christians as friends. They are but one another's friends. If any of you taketh them for his friends he is surely one of them. God will not guide the evil-doers. (v. 56.) See also *Islām: its rise and progress*, pp. 22-7.

⁴ "O true believers, obey God and His apostle and turn not back from him" (viii. 20). The words "from him" have given much trouble to the commentators. Do they refer to God or to the Apostle? The *Tafsīr-i-Ḥusaini* says:—"From jihād or from order of God, or the not turning away from the Prophet." The *Tafsīr-i-Ibn 'Abbās* says:—"From the order of God and of His apostle." Baidāwī says:—"From the Prophet." Other verses are "Obey God and the Apostle. When God and His

¹ Ibn Khaldūn, vol. i., p. 195.

² *Takmilu'l-Imān*, p. 16.

³ See also Sūras lxiv, 8; viii, 13, 48; lxvii, 35; lvii, 7, 8; xxxiii, 22. *Historical Development of the Qur'ān*, pp. 224-230.

guide to men as long as the world shall last. His actions cannot, therefore, be justified by comparison with the actions of other men. They belong to a different category. All apologies for Muḥammad based on the fact that other leaders, religious or secular, have done similar deeds are beside the question altogether. It is easy for an apologist for Muḥammad to say that this view of the Sunnat is an accretion, something which engrafted itself on to a simpler system. It is no such thing. It is rather one of the essential parts of the system. Let Muḥammad be his own witness:—"He who loves not my Sunnat is not my follower." "He who revives my Sunnat revives me, and will be with me in Paradise." "He who in distress holds fast to the Sunnat will receive the reward of a hundred martyrs." When asked who would be his successors, he replied, "Those who report my sayings (*aḥādīth*) and instruct men in the same." Thus the morality of Islām in the nineteenth century is the morality of Arabia in the seventh. Muḥammad fulfilled the moral requirements of a perfect Arab: he is the ideal of the standard of ethics as he regulated it in his own day; and as this national standard of ethics is supposed to be divine and authoritative, it has fixed for ever the standard for all Muslim lands; but it is too limited. Muḥammad fails as the ideal embodiment of a "Son of Man," one common to all humanity. As might be expected, the setting up of his own acts and words as an infallible and unvarying rule of faith accounts more than anything else for the immobility of the Muḥammadan world, for it must be always remembered that in Islām Church and State are one. The Arab proverb, "al-mulk wa'd-din tawāman" (country

Apostle . . . have decreed a matter . . . whosoever disobeyeth God and His Apostle erreth with a palpable error. . . . Verily they who affront God and His Apostle, the curse of God is on them in this world and in the world to come." (xxxiii. 33, 36, 57.)

and religion are twins),¹ is the popular form of expressing the unity of Church and State. To the mind of the Musalmān the rule of the one is the rule of the other—a truth sometimes forgotten by politicians who look hopefully on the reform of Turkey or the regeneration of the House of 'Uthmān. The Sunnat, as much as the Qur'ān, covers all law, whether political, social, moral, or religious. A modern writer who has an intimate acquaintance with Islām says: "If Islām is to be a power for good in the future, it is imperatively necessary to cut off the social system from the religion. The difficulty lies in the close connection between the religious and social ordinances in the Qur'ān; the two are so intermingled that it is hard to see how they can be disentangled without destroying both."² I believe this to be impossible, and the case becomes still more hopeless when we remember that the same remark would apply to the Sunnat. When the Khalifa 'Uthmān was in danger, he was advised by 'Abdu'llāh bin 'Umar not to give in to the rebels, but to refer them to the "Book of Allāh and to the Sunnat of the Prophet." This shows how very early in Islām the Sunnat was recognised as a co-ordinate authority.³ To forget this is to go astray, for Ibn Khaldūn distinctly speaks of "the Law derived from the Qur'ān and the Sunnat,"⁴ of the "maxims of Musalmān Law based on the text of the Qur'ān and the teaching of the Traditions."⁵ Al-Junaid,

¹ This is explained by the author of the *Anwār-i-Suhaylī* to mean,
"In reason's code the Prophet and the King,
Are but two jewels in the self-same ring."

² Stanley Lane-Poole, *Selections from the Qur'ān*, p. xcv.

³ Mirkhond, *Raudatu's-Safa*, (ed. London, 1893) Part ii, vol. iii, p. 175.

⁴ Ibn Khaldūn, vol. ii, p. 477.

⁵ In June 1877 A.D. Sultān Maḥmūd issued a manifesto protesting against interference in the affairs of the Ottoman Empire, "the affairs of which are conducted upon the principles of *sacred legislation*, and all the regulations of which are strictly connected with principles of religion." These principles still remain in force, for the famous fatwā given by

a famous theological teacher of the third century A.H., says: "Our system of doctrine is firmly bound up with the dogmas of faith and the Qur'ān and the Sunnat."¹

The Prophet had a great dread of all innovation. The technical term for anything new is "bid'at," and of it it is said, "Bid'at is the changer of sunnat."² In other words, if men seek after things new—if fresh forms of thought arise, and the changing condition of society demands new modes of expression for the Faith, or new laws to regulate the community—if, in internals or externals, any new thing (bid'at) is introduced, it is to be shunned. The law, as revealed in the Qur'ān and the Sunnat, is perfect. Everything not in accordance with the precepts therein contained is innovation, and all innovation is heresy. Meanwhile some "bid'at" is allowable, such as the teaching of etymology and syntax, the establishment of schools, guest-houses, &c., which things did not exist in the time of the Prophet; but it is distinctly and clearly laid down that compliance with the least sunnat (i.e., the obeying the least of the orders of the Prophet, however trivial) is far better than doing some new thing, however advantageous and desirable it may be.

There are many stories which illustrate the importance the Companions of the Prophet attached to the Sunnat. "The Khalīfa 'Umar looked towards the black stone at Mecca, and said, 'By God, I know that thou art only a stone, and canst grant no benefit, canst do no harm. If I had not known that the Prophet kissed thee, I would

the Council of the 'Ulamā in July 1879, anent Khairu'd-din's proposed reforms, speaks of "the unalterable principles of the Sheri," or Law.

¹ Ibn Khallikān, *Biographical Dictionary* (de Slane's translation, ed. Paris, 1868), vol. i, p. 338.

² The words "who have purchased error at the price of true direction" (il. 15) are interpreted as meaning "purchased bid'at for sunnat." *Tafsir-i-Husaini*, vol. 1, p. 5. For the co-ordinate nature of the Qur'ān and the Sunnat, see *Khalasatu't-Tafsir*, vol. 1, p. 21.

not have done so, but on account of that I do it.' " 'Abdu'llāh ibn 'Umar was seen riding his camel round and round a certain place. In answer to an inquiry as to his reason for so doing he said, "I know not, only I have seen the Prophet do so here." Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, one of the four great Imāms, and the founder of the Ḥanbalī school of interpretation, is said to have been appointed on account of the care with which he observed the Sunnat. One day when sitting in an assembly he alone of all present observed some formal custom authorised by the practice of the Prophet. Gabriel at once appeared and informed him that now, and on account of his act, he was appointed an Imām.¹ In short, it is distinctly laid down that the best of all works is the following of the practice of Muḥammad. The essence of religion has been stated by a learned theologian to consist of three things: first, to follow the Prophet in morals and in acts; secondly, to eat only lawful food; thirdly, to be sincere in all actions.

The Sunnat is now known to Musalmāns through the collections of Traditions gathered together by the men whose names they now bear. The whole are called Ṣiḥāḥu's-Sitta, or "six correct books." Not one of these collectors flourished until the third century of the Hījra, and so, as may be easily supposed, their work has not passed unchallenged. There is by no means an absolute consensus of opinion among the Sunnis as to the exact value of each Tradition, yet all admit that a "genuine Tradition" must be obeyed. Whether the Prophet spoke what in the Traditions is recorded as spoken by him

¹ "The respect which modern Muslims pay to their Prophet is almost idolatrous. The Imām ibn Ḥanbal would not even eat water-melons because, although he knew the Prophet ate them, he could not learn whether he ate them with or without the rind, or whether he broke, bit, or cut them; and he forbade a woman, who questioned him as to the propriety of the act, to spin by the light of torches passing in the streets by night, because the Prophet had not mentioned that it was lawful to do so." (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, vol. i, p. 354.)

under the influence of the highest kind of inspiration is, as will be shown in the next chapter, a disputed point; but it matters little. Whatever may have been the degree, it was according to Muslim belief a real inspiration, and thus his every act and word became a law as binding upon his followers as the example of Christ is upon Christians.

The Šhī'ahs do not acknowledge the Šihāḥu's-Sitta, the six correct books of the Sunnīs, but it by no means follows that they reject Tradition. They have five books of Traditions, the earliest of which was compiled by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad A.H. 329, a century later than the Šahīḥu'l-Bukhārī, the most trustworthy of the Sunnī set. Thus all Musalmān sects accept the first and second ground of the faith—the Qur'ān and the Sunnat—as the inspired will of God; the Shī'ahs substituting, in the place of the Traditions on which the Sunnat is based, a collection of their own. What it is important to maintain is this, that the Qur'ān alone is to no Musalmān an all-sufficient guide.

3. IJMĀ'.¹—The third foundation of the Faith is called Ijmā', a word signifying to be collected or assembled. Technically it means the unanimous consent of the leading theologians, or what in Christian theology would be called the "unanimous consent of the Fathers."² Practically it is a collection of the opinions of the

¹ "In the Qur'ān and the Traditions we have respectively the undoubted and the probable teaching of the Prophet, each equally binding upon his followers. But the Muslim has something more than this to guide him, and this last is what Western students of Islām are apt to underestimate. Christians would call it the "general consent of the Fathers," and possibly reject it. Muhammadans call it Ijmā' and implicitly obey it." (Stanley Lane-Poole, *Studies in a Mosque*, p. 319.)

² There is (1) agreement of word (ittifāqu'l-qawl); (2) agreement of practice (ittifāqu'l-fi'l); (3) agreement of silence (ittifāqu's-sakūt) or tacit assent by silence or non-interference; (4) composed agreement (ijmā'u'l-murakkab) agreement as to the matter, but difference as to the cause ('illat); (5) simple agreement (ijmā' ghairu'l-murakkab), or absolute agreement in everything.

Companions, the Ṭābi'ūn and the Ṭaba'u't-Ṭābi'in. "The Law," says Ibn Khaldūn, "is grounded on the general accord of the Companions and their followers." Ibn Abū Dā'ūd says: "A schismatic once came to al-Māmūn, who said to him, 'Why didst thou oppose us?' He replied, 'A verse of the book of God.' 'Which?' 'The words of the Most High—whoso judgeth not according to what God has revealed, they are infidels.' The Khalifa then wished to know whether he had any certain knowledge that this had been revealed, and what his proof was. He answered thus—'The consensus of the people', to which al-Māmūn rejoined, 'As thou art content with their agreement concerning the revelation, be content with their unanimity in the interpretation thereof.' The man then said, 'Thou hast spoken truly; peace be to thee, O Prince of the Faithful.'"¹ Baiḍāwī quotes the following text: "Ye were the best nation produced to men; ye enjoined right and forbade wrong, and believed in God" (iii. 106), and says that it is used to prove that the agreements of believers is a source of Law, for this verse makes it certain that they enjoined everything right and forbade everything wrong. (vol. i, p. 170). There is a Tradition which says: "My people will never agree on error or wrong."² The election of Abū Bakr to the Khalifate is called Ijmā'u'l-ummat, the unanimous consent of the whole sect. The Companions of the Prophet had special knowledge of the various circumstances under which special revelations had been made; they alone knew which verses of the Qur'ān abrogated others, and which verses were thus abrogated. The knowledge of these matters and many other details they handed on to their successors, the Ṭābi'ūn, who passed the information on to their followers, the Ṭaba'u't-Ṭābi'in. Some of the Mu'tazilas seem to reject Ijmā' altogether,³ and

¹ Jalālu'd-dīn as-Syūfī, *History of the Khalifas*, p. 335.

² امتی لا تجتمع على ملة لا تجتمع امتی على ملة

³ Shahrastāni, *al-Milal wa'n-Nihal*, p. 87.

some Muslims, the Wahhābīs for example, accept only the Ijmā' of the Companions, and by all sects that is placed in the first rank as regards authority; others accept that of the "Fugitives" who dwelt at Madīna; and there are some amongst the orthodox who allow, as a matter of theory, that Ijmā' may be collected at any time, but that practically it is not done because there are now no Mujtahids. The highest rank a Muslim Theologian could reach was that of a Mujtahid, or one who could make an *ijtihād*—a word which, derived from the same root as *jihād* (a crescentade), means in its technical sense a logical deduction. It is defined as the "attaining to a certain degree of authority in searching into the principles of jurisprudence." The origin of *ijtihād* was as follows:—Muḥammad wished to send a man named Mu'ādh to Yaman to receive some money collected for alms, which he was then to distribute to the poor. On appointing him he said, "O Mu'ādh, by what rule will you act?" He replied, "By the law of the Qur'ān." "But if you find no direction therein?" "Then I will act according to the Sunnat of the Prophet." "But what if that fails?" "Then I will make an *ijtihād* and act on that." The Prophet raised his hands and said, "Praise be to God, who guides the messenger of His Prophet in what He pleases."¹ This is considered a proof of the authority of *ijtihād*, for the Prophet clearly sanctioned it.

When the Prophet was alive, men could go to him with their doubts and fears; an infallible authority was always present, ready to give an inspired direction. They knew by experience that for each new case as it arose, that for each new emergency, Gabriel would bring some message direct from heaven, or that Muḥammad would be rightly-guided in the orders he gave. The Khalīfas who succeeded the Prophet had only to administer the

Law according to the opinions which they knew Muḥammad had held. They were busily engaged in carrying on the work of conquest; they neither attempted any new legislation, nor did they depart from the practice of him whom they revered. "In the first days of Islām the knowledge of the Law was purely traditional. In forming their judgments, they had no recourse either to speculation, to private opinion, or to arguments founded upon analogy."¹ The duty of the religious teachers was, according to Ibn Khaldūn, "to communicate to others the orders which they had heard from the mouth of the Legislator."² "The Prophet charged the principal men amongst his Companions to teach the (Arab) people the precepts of the Law which he had brought to men. This mission was at first confided to ten of the chief Companions, afterwards to others of lower rank. When Islām was firmly established and its foundations strengthened, the more distant people received it by means of their adherents; but after a while that teaching suffered modification, and they had to deduce from the sacred writings maxims to apply to the numerous cases which constantly came before the tribunals."³ Thus, as the Empire grew, new conditions of life arose, giving rise to questions concerning which Muḥammad had given no explicit direction. This necessitated the use of *ijtihād*. During the Khalīfates of Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī—the Khulafā'u'r-Rāshidūn, or the Khalīfas who could guide men in the right way—the custom was for the Faithful to consult them as to the course of action to be pursued under some new development of circumstances; for they knew as none other did the Prophet's sayings and deeds; they could recall to their memories a saying or an act from which a decision could be deduced. In this way all Muslims could feel that in following their judgments and guidance they were

¹ Ibn Khaldūn, vol. ii, p. 469.

² Ibid., vol. i, p. 60.

³ Ibid., vol. i, p. 61.

¹ *Mudārīju'n-Nabuwat*, p. 1009.

walking in the right path. But after the death of 'Alī, the fourth Khalīfa, civil war and hostile factions imperilled the continuance of the Faith in its purity. At Madīna, where Muḥammad's career as a recognised Prophet was best known, devout men commenced to learn by heart the Qur'ān, the Sunnat, and the analogical judgments (ijtihād) of the four Khalīfas. These men were looked up to as authorities, and their decisions were afterwards known as the "Customs of Madīna."

It is not difficult to see that a system which sought to regulate all departments of life, all developments of men's ideas and energies, by the Sunnat and analogical deductions therefrom was one which not only gave every temptation a system could give to the manufacture of Tradition, but one which would soon become too cumbersome to be of practical use. Hence, it was absolutely necessary to systematise all this incoherent mass of Tradition, of judgments given by Khalīfas and Mujtahids. The transformation of precedents into dogma is familiar to students of Canon Law. In Islām unfortunately the whole structure is canonical. Thus arose the systems of jurisprudence, founded by the four orthodox Imāms, to one or other of which all Muslims, except the Shi'ahs, belong. The Muslim, free to choose his own school of law (madhhab), must, after he has made his choice, abide by its decisions and rules in every respect. These Imāms, Abū Ḥanīfa, Ibn Mālik, ash-Shāfi'ī and Ibn Ḥanbal, were all Mujtahids of the highest rank. It is the orthodox belief that after them there has been no Mujtahid. Thus in a standard theological book much used in India it is written: "Ijmā' is this, that it is not lawful to follow any other than the four Imāms." "In these days the Qādi must make no order, the Muftī give no fatwā (i.e., a legal decision), contrary to the opinion of the four Imāms." "To follow any other is not lawful." "To act contrary to the Ijmā' is unlawful."¹ So far,

¹ *Dawābiṭu'l-Furqān*, p. 17.

then, as orthodoxy is concerned, change and progress are impossible.

Imām Abū Ḥanīfa was born at Baṣra (A.H. 80), but he spent the greater part of his life at Kūfa, and died at Baghdād in the year 150 A.H. He had two disciples, famous in the legal world, Muḥammad and Abū Yūsuf.¹ He was the founder and teacher of the body of legists known as "the jurists of 'Irāq." His system differs considerably from that of the Imām Mālik, who, living at Madīna, confined himself chiefly to Tradition as the basis of his judgments. Madīna was full of the memories of the sayings and acts of the Prophet; Kūfa, the home of Ḥanīfa, on the contrary, was not founded till after the Prophet's death, and so possessed none of his memories. Islām there came into contact with other races of men, but from them it had nothing to learn. If these men became Muslims, well and good: if not, the one law for them as for the Faithful was the teaching of Muḥammad. Various texts of the Qur'ān are adduced to prove the correctness of this position. "For to thee have we sent down the book which cleareth up everything" (xvi. 91). "Nothing have we passed over in the book" (vi. 38). "Neither is there a grain in the darkness of the earth, nor a thing green or sere, but it is noted in a distinct writing" (vi. 59). These texts were held to prove that all law was provided for by anticipation in the Qur'ān. If a verse could not be found bearing on any given question, analogical deduction was resorted to. Thus: "He it is who created *for you* all that is on earth" (ii. 27). According to the Ḥanīfite jurists, this is a deed of gift which annuls all other rights of property. The "you" refers to Muslims. The earth² may be classified under three heads: (1) land which never had an owner; (2)

¹ Imām Muḥammad wrote the *Jāmi'u'l-Kabir* and the *Jāmi'u's-sāghir*. Imām Abū Yūsuf wrote the *Adābu'l-Qādi*, a work on the duties of a judge.

² *Journal Asiatique*, 4me Série, tome xii.

land which had an owner and has been abandoned; (3) the person and property of the Infidels. From the last division the same legists deduce the lawfulness of slavery, piracy, and constant war against the unbelievers. "Abū Ḥanīfa was esteemed a great master in the art of qiyās. The following story on this point is related by 'Alī Ibn 'Asun. I went to visit Abū Ḥanīfa, and found with him a barber about to cut his hair. 'Cut away only the parts which are white,' said Abū Ḥanīfa. To which the barber replied, 'Do not insist on that.' 'Why not?' 'Because thou wilt increase their whiteness.' 'Well,' said Abū Ḥanīfa, 'cut away those that are black, that may *perhaps* increase their blackness.' 'Alī Ibn 'Asun continues the story thus: I told Shauq about this. He laughed and said, 'If ever Abū Ḥanīfa gave up his system of qiyās he did so with the barber. That is, he used the word *perhaps*, and did not draw an absolute conclusion.'"¹ Abū Ḥanīfa admitted very few Traditions as authoritative in his system,² which claims to be a logical development from the Qur'ān. "The merit of logical fearlessness cannot be denied to it. The wants and wishes of men, the previous history of a country—all those considerations, in fact, which are held in the West to be the governing principles of legislation, are set aside by the legists of 'Irāq as being of no account whatever. Legislation is not a science inductive and experimental, but logical and deductive."³

¹ Ibn Khalkān, vol. iii, p. 559.

² "The Traditions which Abū Ḥanīfa has reported are few in number, because before he admitted the exactness and the probity of the persons who had collected them, he rigorously exacted that all the conditions of authenticity should be perfectly fulfilled. That which has proved him to be one of the greatest and most conscientious collectors of Tradition is the great authority which his system rightly enjoys amongst the Musalmāns, and the confidence which they place in the author and in his opinions. After his death his disciples relaxed the rigour of their master's conditions, and published Traditions wholesale." (Ibn Khaldūn, vol. ii, p. 478.)

³ Osborn, *Islam under the Khalifs*, p. 29.

Imām Ibn Mālik was born at Madīna in the year 93 A.H. and died there at the age of eighty-two. His system of jurisprudence is founded, as might be expected from his connection with the sacred city, on the "Customs of Madīna." His business was to arrange and systematise the Traditions current in Madīna, and to form out of them and the "Customs" a system of jurisprudence embracing the whole sphere of life. The treatise composed by him was called the "Muwaṭṭā'" or "The Beaten Path." The greater part of its contents are legal maxims and opinions delivered by the Companions. His system of jurisprudence, therefore, has been described as historical and traditional. His followers are chiefly to be found in the northern parts of Africa. In an elegy on his death by Abū Muḥammad Ja'far it is said: "His Traditions were of the greatest authority; his gravity was impressive; and when he delivered them, all his auditors were plunged in admiration."¹ The Traditions were his great delight. "I delight," said he, "in testifying my profound respect for the sayings of the Prophet of God, and I never repeat one unless I feel myself in a state of perfect purity"² (i.e., after performing a legal ablution). As death approached, his one fear was lest he should have exercised his private judgment in delivering any legal opinion. In his last illness a friend went to visit him, and inquiring why he wept, received the following answer: "Why should I not weep, and who has more right to weep than I? By Allāh! I wish I had been flogged and reflogged for every question of law on which I pronounced an opinion founded on my own private judgment."³

Imām ash-Shāfi'ī, a member of the Quraish tribe, was born in Palestine, A.H. 150. He passed his youth at Mecca, but finally settled in Cairo, where he died (A.H. 204). His two chief disciples were Imāms Aḥmad and

¹ Ibn Khalkān, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. ii, p. 594.

² *Ibid.*, p. 546.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 594.

az-Zuhairī. Ibn Khallikān relates of him that he was unrivalled for his knowledge of the Qur'ān, the Sunnat, and the sayings of the Companions. "Never," said Imām Ibn Ḥanbal, "have I passed a night without praying for God's mercy and blessing upon ash-Shāfi'ī." "Whosoever pretends," said Abū Thaurī, "that he saw the like of ash-Shāfi'ī for learning is a liar." Having carefully studied the systems of the two preceding Imāms, he then proceeded on an eclectic system to form his own. It was a reaction against the system of Abū Ḥanifa. Ash-Shāfi'ī follows rather the traditional plan of Ibn Mālik who is called the Nāsiru'l-Ḥadīth, the protector of Tradition. The Ḥanīfite will be satisfied if, in the absence of a clear and a direct statement, he finds one passage in the Qur'ān or one Tradition from which the required judgment may be deduced. The Shāfi'ite in the same circumstances, if tradition is the source of his deduction, will require a considerable number of Traditions from which to make it.

Imām Ibn Ḥanbal was the last of the four orthodox Imāms. He was born at Baghdād (A.H. 164). His system is a distinct return to traditionalism. "For him theological truth could not be reached by reasoning ('aql); tradition (naql) from the fathers was the only ground on which the dubious words of the Qur'ān could be explained."¹ He lived at Baghdād during the reign of the Khalifa al-Māmūn, when orthodox Islām seemed in danger of being lost amid the rationalistic speculations (that is, from an orthodox Muslim stand-point) and licentious practices of the Court. The jurists most in favour at Court were followers of Abū Ḥanifa. They carried the principle of analogical deduction to dangerous lengths in order to satisfy the latitudinarianism of the Khalifa. Human speculation seemed to be weakening all the essentials of the Faith. Ibn Ḥanbal met the difficulty

¹ Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 157.

by discarding altogether the principle of analogical deduction. At the same time he saw that the Mālikī system, founded as it was on the "Customs of Madina," was ill suited to meet the wants of a great and growing Empire. It needed to be supplemented. What better, what surer ground could he go upon than the Traditions? These at least were inspired, and thus formed a safer foundation on which to build a system of jurisprudence than the analogical deductions of Abū Ḥanifa did. The system of Ibn Ḥanbal has almost ceased to exist. There is now no Mufti of this sect at Mecca, though the other three are represented there.¹ Still his influence is felt to this day in the importance he attached to Tradition.

The distinction between the four Imāms has been put in this way. Abū Ḥanifa exercised his own judgment, though this has not had much permanent influence on his system.² Mālik and Ḥanbal preferred authority and precedent. Ash-Shāfi'ī entirely repudiated reason. They differ, too, as regards the value of certain Traditions, but to each of them an authentic Tradition is an incontestable authority. Their opinion on points of doctrine and practice forms the third basis of the Faith. A Muslim must belong to one or other of these schools of law, though he ought not to consider a believer who belongs to a school different from his own as a heretic. A Tradition, probably framed to meet this case, says: "the disagreement of my people is a mercy from God."

¹ The approximate number of the followers of these four Imāms has been stated thus: Ḥanīfis 180 millions, Shāfi'is 58 millions, Mālikis 16 millions, Ḥanbalis 6 millions.

² "The advantages possessed by the Hanīfis through their partial recognition of natural reason counted for less and less as the centuries wore on. Not only were their teachers, from Abū Yūsuf downwards, ambitious of displaying their acquaintance with the Traditions, and of using them in support of their views whenever they could, thereby debarring themselves from repudiating such as told against them, but the authority of the earlier teachers was invoked to fetter the liberty of their successors." (Sir R. K. Wilson, *Anglo-Muhammadian Law*, p. 40).

The Ijmá' of the four Imáms¹ is a binding law upon all Sunnis. It might be supposed that, as the growing needs of the Empire led to the formation of these schools of interpretation, so now the requirements of modern social and political life might be met by fresh Imáms making new analogical deductions. This is not the case. The orthodox belief is, that since the time of the four Imáms there has been no Mujtahid who could do as they did. If circumstances should arise which absolutely require some decision to be arrived at, it must be given in full accordance with the "madhhab," or school of interpretation, to which the person framing the decision belongs. This effectually prevents all change and by excluding innovation, whether good or bad, keeps Islám stationary. Legislation is now purely deductive. Nothing must be done contrary to the principles contained in the jurisprudence of the four Imáms. "Thus, in any Muḥammadan State legislative reforms are simply impossible. There exists no initiative. The Sultán or Khalifa can claim the allegiance of his people only so long as he remains the exact executor of the prescriptions of the Law."

The question then as regards the politics of the "Eastern Question" is not whether Muḥammad was a deceiver or self-deceived, an apostle or an impostor; whether the Qur'án is on the whole good or bad; whether Arabia was the better or the worse for the change Muḥammad wrought; but what Islám as a religious and political system has become and is, how it now works, what orthodox Muslims believe and how they act in that belief. The essence of that belief is, that the system as taught by Prophet, Khalifas, and Imáms is absolutely perfect. The following statement by the author of the

¹ They are agreed on all fundamental doctrines of Islám, and only differ on the minor questions of rites and ceremonies and on certain laws of jurisprudence. Their authority is great for they belong to the class of Mujtahid fi'l-Shari'.

Akhlaq-i-Jalálí, a book held in very great esteem, is most important. He says: "Authority becomes sacred because sanctioned by Heaven. Despotism, being the first form of consolidated political authority, is thus rendered unchangeable and identical in fact with government at large." "Supreme government has four stages: (1) where the absolute prince (Muḥammad) is among them, concentrating in his own person the four cardinal virtues, and this we call the reign of wisdom; (2) where the prince appears no longer, neither do these virtues centre in any single person, but are found in four (Abú Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmán and 'Alí), who govern in concert with each other, as if they were one, and this we call the reign of the pious; (3) where none of these is to be found any longer, but a chief (Khalifa) arises with a knowledge of the rules propounded by the previous ones, and with judgment enough to apply and explain them, and this we call the reign of the Sunnat; (4) where these latter qualities, again, are not to be met with in a single person, but only in a variety who govern in concert; and this we call the reign of the Sunnat-followers." "A bad king is like a bad season. The next may bring improvement, or, if his rule is wholly intolerable, he can be deposed. Under a bad constitution no such change is possible. It can be ended only by a revolution." But in Islám innovation is worse than a mistake: it is a crime, a sin. This completeness, this finality of his system of religion and polity, is the very pride and glory of a true Muslim. To look for an increase of light in the knowledge of his relation to God and the unseen world in the laws which regulate Islám on earth is to admit that Muḥammad's revelation was incomplete, and that admission no Muslim will make. In fact, so hopeless has the attempt to reform Islám from within been felt, that the most recent

¹ Akhlaq-i-Jalálí, pp. 374, 378.

reformers, the Bábis of Persia, gave up the idea and recognised the fact that freedom could be gained only by substituting for Muḥammad's revelation a still later one, which claims not only to be suited to present needs, but to be of equal, if not even superior, authority.

It has been stated on high authority that all that is required for the reform of Turkey is that the Qānūns, or orders of the Sultān, should take the place of the Shari'at or law of Islām. Precisely so; if this could be done Turkey might be reformed; but Islām would cease to be the religion of the State. That the law as formulated by the Imām Abū Ḥanifa ill suits the conditions of modern life is more than probable; but it is the very function of the Khalifa of Islām, which the Sultān claims to be, to maintain it.¹ He is no Mujtahid, for such there are not now amongst the Sunnis, to which sect the Turks belong. If through stress of circumstances some new law must be made, orthodoxy demands that it should be strictly in accordance with the opinions of the Imāms. Ibn Khaldūn lays great stress on the fact that the legists were not to use their own judgment. He says: "As the opinion of each Imām formed, for those who followed it, the subject of a special science, and as it did not permit them to decide new questions by reason, or by the conscientious employment of their own judgment (ijtihād) they were obliged, in every doubtful case, to search for points of similarity, or of difference which would permit them to connect it with

¹ "The 'general trust' with which the Khalifas are invested implies no legislative but only administrative powers. All questions of dogma, private right and rites are entirely without their competency. The prohibition of free criticism and exegesis has become a fundamental dogma of Islāmic orthodoxy. Neither the Khalifa nor the Shaikhul-Islām may deviate by a hair's-breadth from the jurisprudence established by Abū Ḥanifa and the Imāms, Muḥammad and Abū Yūsuf. Thus the reforming Hatts in the "eye of Muslim orthodoxy have no value." (*A Study in Turkish Reform*, by a Turkish Patriot in the *Fortnightly Review*, May 1897, p. 649.)

a question already settled, or from which they could entirely distinguish it. In so doing, they were obliged to commence by resting on the principles which the founder of the system had established; and, in order to accomplish this, it was necessary to have acquired in a substantial manner the faculty of using these points of assimilation and distinction well, by following, as much as possible, the opinion of their Imām."¹

The Shī'ahs, in opposition to the Sunnis, hold that there are still Mujtahids, but this opinion arises from their peculiar doctrine of the Imāmat, a subject we shall discuss a little later on. At first sight it would seem that, if there can be Mujtahids who are now able to give authoritative opinions, there may be some hope of enlightened progress amongst Shī'ah people—the Persians, for example. There is doubtless amongst them more religious unrest, more mysticism, more heresy, but they are no further on the road of progress than their neighbours; and the apparent advantage of the presence of a Mujtahid is quite nullified by the fact that all his decisions must be strictly in accordance with the Qur'ān and the Sunnat, or rather with what to the Shī'ah stands in the place of the Sunnat. The Shī'ah, as well as the Sunni, must base all legislation on the fossilised system of the past, not on the living needs of the present. Precedent rules both with an iron sway. "It is not to the Shāh, but to the trained and certificated interpreters of the Shari'at—a different Shari'at from that of the Sunni, but built up on the same Qur'ānic foundations, by similar methods and with analogous though different materials—that the faithful are supposed to look for guidance to their consciences, for determinations in points of law. In this and in similar ways the Shari'at is pretty effectually secured against modification by the (Persian) Government of the day."² There is a sort of unwritten

¹ Ibn Khaldūn, vol. iii, p. 15.

² Sir R. K. Wilson, *Anglo-Muḥammadan Law*, pp. 69—70.

law, called 'Urf,¹ which the secular ruler administers through his own civil officers; but in any conflict between the 'Urf and the Shari'at the former has to give way. It is the province of the Mujtahids to declare when such opposition arises, and so the chance of any reforms being initiated, or, if proposed by others, accepted by the Mujtahids of Persia, is very remote indeed.² As a matter of practical fact, they are opposed to any sound measures of reform. It is here that the conflict of the future will lie. In a Muslim state affected by modern political forces, a system of law, based on custom grows up. The orthodox theologian, however, looks upon this as wrong and so it becomes very difficult to introduce modern ideas, or civil liberty into a Muslim country. This difficulty is increased in Turkey, for, as the Sultan claims to be the Khalifa, he becomes, so far as he can maintain this claim, the conservator of Muslim Law and Tradition.

The Wahhābis reject all Ijmā' except that of the

¹ "Like the common law of England it is the result of gradual growth from common necessities—a code of precedents." Benjamin, *Persia and the Persians*, p. 342.

² I have recently submitted this passage to gentlemen who have lived long in Persia, and have enquired of them whether, owing to recent political changes in that country, I should modify the opinions stated in it. They have all advised me not to alter them in the least.

The *Spectator* (London), January 5, 1907, also says: "For ourselves we are unable to believe that the reform will be successful. The Persians are very bright, but they have no training whatever in self-government, and the reform they want is a good dynasty instead of a bad one. It is nearly impossible to give them improved legislation, for in a Musalman State legislation must always agree with the sacred law. It is the Executive which ruins Persia, and Parliament will never permanently improve the Executive."

S. G. W. Benjamin, late Minister of the United States in Persia, says: "The 'Urf can never go against the Shari'at; and in case of appeal the final decision rests with the Shari'at, its canons in difficult questions being expounded by the Head of the Priesthood, called in Persia, the chief Mujtahid." (*Persia and the Persians*, p. 342. For a full account of the 'Urf, see the same book, chapter xv.)

Companions, but that they accept, so when they are called the Puritans of Islām, it must be remembered that they accept as a rule of faith not only the Qur'ān, but the Sunnat and some Ijmā'.

In order to make Ijmā' binding, it is necessary that the Mujtahids should have been unanimous in their opinion or in their practice.

The whole subject of ijtihād is one of the most important in connection with the possibility of reforms in a Muslim state. A modern Muhammadan writer,¹ seeking to show that Islām does possess a capacity for progress, and that so far from being a hard and fast system, it is able to adapt itself to new circumstances, because the Prophet ushered in "an age of active principles," uses the story I have already related when describing the origin of ijtihād to prove the accuracy of his statement. He states that Mu'adh said: "I will look first to the Qur'ān, then to precedents of the Prophet, and lastly rely upon my own judgment." It is true that ijtihād literally means "great effort;" it is true that the Companions and Mujtahids of the first class had the power of exercising their judgment in doubtful cases, and of deciding them according to their sense of the fitness of things, provided always that their decision contravened no law of the Qur'ān or the Sunnat; but this in no way proves that Islām has any capacity for progress, or that "an age of active principles" was ushered in by Muhammad, or that his "words breathe energy and force, and infuse new life into the dormant heart of humanity." For though the term ijtihād might, in reference to the men I have mentioned, be somewhat freely translated as "one's own judgment," it is now a purely technical term, and its use, and only use, is to express the "referring of a difficult case to some analogy drawn from the Qur'ān and the Sunnat." But even

¹ Syed Amīr 'Alī, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 289.

were the meaning not thus restricted, even though it meant now, as it sometimes meant at first, "one's own judgment," still this position would remain to be proved; for, since the days of the four Imáms, the orthodox believe that there has been no Mujtahid of the first class, and to none but men of this rank has such power ever been accorded; and Ibn Khaldún has most clearly shown that the followers of the Imáms are not to decide "new questions by reason, or by the conscientious employment of their own judgment." Thus granting, for the sake of argument, that the suggested translation is grammatically and technically correct, all that results from it is that the "age of active principles" lasted only for two centuries. I do not admit that there ever was such an age in Islám, and certainly neither its theological development nor its political growth negative the opposite assertion, viz., that Muḥammad gave precepts rather than principles. The Turks are included in "the dormant heart of humanity," but it is difficult to see what "energy and force" is breathed, what "new life is infused" into them by the "wonderful words" of the Prophet, or what lasting good the "age of active principles" has produced. The author, whose words I have just quoted, practically admits that the explanation I have given of the orthodox position is historically correct, when he speaks of "the idea which has taken possession of the legists that the exercise of private judgment stopped in the third century of the Hġira."¹

4. QIYÁS is the fourth foundation of Islám.² The word literally means reasoning, comparing. It is in common use in Hindustani and Persian in the sense of guessing, considering, &c. Technically, it means the analogical reasoning of the learned with regard to the teaching of the Qur'án, the Sunnat, and the Ijmá'. For

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, September 1895, p. 375.

² The Nizámiah sect, a branch of the Mu'tazilas, reject both ijma' and qiyas. (Shahrastáni, *al-Milal wa'n-Nihal*, p. 39).

example, the Qur'án says: "Honour thy father and thy mother, and be not a cause of displeasure to them." It is evident from this that disobedience to parents is prohibited, and prohibition implies punishment if the order is disobeyed. Again, if the Qur'án and the Sunnat hold children responsible, according to their means, for the debts of their father, does it not follow that the elder ones ought to fulfil for their parents all those obligations which for some reason or other the parents may not be able to perform, such as the pilgrimage to Mecca, &c.? It is said in the Qur'án that "the maintenance of a woman who suckles an infant rests upon him to whom the child is born." From this the opinion is deduced that the maintenance of the infant also falls upon the father. A Tradition said to come from the Companions runs thus: "One day a woman came to the Prophet and said, 'My father died without making the Pilgrimage.' The Prophet said, 'If thy father had left a debt what wouldest thou do?' 'I would pay the debt.' 'Good, then pay this debt also.'" The Qur'án forbids the use of khamr, an intoxicating substance, and so it is argued that wine and opium are unlawful, though not forbidden by name. The Wahhábis would extend the prohibition to the use of tobacco.

From cases such as these, many jurisconsults hold that the Mujtahids of the earliest age established this fourth foundation of the faith which they call Qiyás. It is also called I'tibárul-Amthál, or "imitation of an example." The idea is taken from the verse:¹ "Profit by this example, ye who are men of insight" (lix. 2). There are strict rules laid down which regulate Qiyás, of which the most important is, that in all cases it must be based on the Qur'án, the Sunnat, and the Ijmá'.² In fact,

¹ Baidáwi, on Suratu'l-Hashr (lix. 2).

² (1) The practice or precept on which it is founded must be of general and not of special application.

(2) The cause of the injunction must be known.

the fundamental idea of Islām is that a perfect law has been given, even unto details, of social and political life. The teaching of Muḥammad contains the solution of every difficulty that can arise. Every law not provided by the Prophet must be deduced analogically. This produces uniformity after a fashion, but only because intellectual activity in higher pursuits ceases and moral stagnation follows.¹ Thus all who come within the range of this system are bound down to political servitude. Whatever in feeling or conviction goes beyond the limits of an outworn set of laws is swept away. There is a wonderful family likeness in the decay of all Musalman States, which seems to point to a common cause. All first principles are contained in the Qur'ān and the Sunnat; all that does not coincide with them must be wrong. They are above all criticism.²

Qiyās, then, affords no hope of enlightened progress, removes no fetter of the past, for in it there must be no divergence in principle from a legislation imperfect in its relation to modern life and stationary in its essence. "The laws of Islām, taken in the lump, the only way which their alleged sacred origin allowed them to be taken, and chiefly because they could only be so taken, were bad anywhere and for any community, and became

(3) The decision must be based on the Qur'ān, the Sunnat and the Ijmā'.

(4) The decision must not contravene any statement in the Qur'ān or the Traditions.

¹ In a comment on this aspect of Islam, Kuenen says:—"That which is no longer susceptible of change may continue to exist, but it has ceased to live. And religion must live, must enter into new combinations and bear fresh fruits, if it is to answer to its destiny, if, refusing to crystallize into formulæ and usages, it is to work like the leaven, is to console, to inspire and to strengthen." (*Hibbert Lectures*, 1882, p. 296.)

² "To make Islām rational, you must throw over the entire system of authority that has been elaborately built up and accepted for thirteen hundred years; and once authority is cast aside, the sanction of the creed disappears." (Stanley Lane-Poole, *Islām*, p. 55.)

worse and worse the farther they were transplanted from their original surroundings; worse under the Khalifate of Baghdād than at Madina under the "rightly directed" Khalifas and worse for the Hindus of the seventeenth century than for Baghdād in the ninth." In the *Nihāyatul-Murād* it is written: "We are shut up to following the four Imāms." In the *Tafsir-i-Aḥmadi* we read: "To follow any other than the four Imāms is unlawful." An objector may say that such respect is like the reverence the heathen pay to their ancestors. To this an answer is given in the preface to the *Tarjuma-i-Sharḥ-i-Waqāyah*. The writer there says that it is nothing of the kind. "The Mujtahids are not the source of the orders of the Law, but they are the medium by which we obtain the Law. Thus Imām Abū Ḥanifa said, 'We select first from the Qur'ān, then from the Traditions, then from the decrees of the Companions; we act on what the Companions agreed upon; where they doubt, we doubt.' The Commentator Jalālud-din Mahli says, 'The common people and others who have not reached the rank of a Mujtahid must follow one of the four Imāms.' Then when he enters one madhhab (sect) he must not change. Again, it may be objected that God gave no order about the appointment of four Imāms. Now, it is recorded in a Tradition that the Prophet said, 'Follow the way of the great company; whosoever departs from it will enter hell.' The followers of the Imāms are a great company." It is, moreover, the unanimous opinion, the "Ijmā'u'l-Ummat," that the Imāms rightly occupy the position accorded to them. It is a great blessing, as we read in the *Tafsir-i-Aḥmadi*: "It is of the grace of God that we are shut up to these four Imāms. God approves of this, and into this matter proofs and explanations do not enter." Should any one further object that, in the days of the Prophet, there were no Mujtahids, that each man acted on a "saying" as he

¹ Sir R. W. Wilson, *Anglo-Muḥammadan Law*, p. 87.

heard it, that he did not confine his belief or conduct to the deductions made by some "appointed Companion," he may be answered thus: "For a long time after the death of the Prophet many Companions were alive, and consequently the Traditions then current were trustworthy; but now it is not so, hence the need for the Imāms and their systems."¹

These four foundations—the QUR'ĀN, the SUNNAT, IJMĀ', and QIYĀS—form in orthodox Muslim opinion and belief a perfect basis of a perfect religion and polity. They secure the permanence of the system, but they repress an intelligent growth. The bearing of all this on modern politics is very plain. Take again the case of Turkey. The constitution of the Government is theocratic. The germs of freedom are wanting there as they have never been wanting in any other country in Europe. The ruling power desires no change; originality of thought, independence of judgment is repressed. "Some Musalmān conquerors produced types of civilisation more or less permanent in India and in Spain. Turkish conquerors, in the full tide of might and energy, have overspread and extirpated; nowhere have they planted." Nothing good has the Turk ever done for the world. His rule has been one continued display of brute force unrelieved by any of the reflected glory which shone for a while in Cordova and in Baghdād. No nation can possibly progress the foundations of whose legal and theocratic system are what has been described in this chapter.

"A religion that has the misfortune to be identified with the State is on this very account brought into

¹ A modern Muslim writer, who strives to show that Islām is progressive, is yet obliged to admit that "the Sunnis base their doctrines on the entirety of the Traditions. They regard the concordant decisions of the successive Khalifs and of the General Assembly (Ijmā'u'l-ummat) as supplementing the Qur'ānic rules and regulations, and as almost equal in authority to them." (Syed Amir 'Ali, *Personal Law of the Muham-madans*, p. 9).

trouble with the latter, whilst the State is on all sides restricted by the religion. The State has on it a divine stamp, and as the whole of its constitution, as well as its individual laws, possesses a character absolutely sacred, it is evident that mere human institutions, calculated only for a certain degree of culture, will be considered as being of divine authority, and hence unchangeable. Thus very soon the State will become an unmovable, petrified, death-like mass, and, if its end be not hastened from without in a beneficent manner, will entomb itself in its own corruption. The State, then, is in a most dangerous position when it is surrounded by other nations who, having been civilised by a higher religion, possess a freer and more movable form, and are therefore capable, without any particular restriction, of approaching nearer and nearer to perfection. But should those who administer the government perceive the necessity of radical reforms and commence new plans, then the State annihilates its religious basis: violent antagonistic principles are developed, and internal destructive dissension becomes inevitable."¹

"If in Christendom the attempt has often been made to weave into one inextricable woof the kingdom of God and the kingdom of Cæsar, yet, as we thankfully own, in the end it has always failed. In Islām it has completely succeeded, and succeeded not as a perversion and defeat of the intentions with which Muḥammadanism was founded, but as the broad realization of all which it was intended to be. The despotisms of the East are not accidents, but the legitimate results of the Qur'ān, and so long as this exists as the authoritative book nothing better can come in its stead."²

When brought into diplomatic and commercial intercourse with States possessing the energy and vigour of

¹ Dr. J. A. Moehler, *The Relation of Islam to the Gospel*.

² Trench, *Lectures on Medieval Church History*, pp. 55-6.

a national life and liberal constitution, Muslim kingdoms must, in the long run, fail and pass away. It has been well said that "Spain is the only instance of a country once thoroughly infused with Roman civilisation which has been actually severed from the Empire; and even then the severance, though of long duration, was but partial and temporary. After a struggle of nearly eight centuries, the higher form of social organisation triumphed over the lower, and the usurping power of Islām was expelled." So it ought to be, and so indeed it must ever be, for despotism must give way to freedom; the life latent in the subject Christian communities must sooner or later cast off the yoke of an alien rule, which even at its best is petrified and so is incapable of progress. However low a Christian community may have fallen, there is always the possibility of its rising again, for a lofty ideal is placed before it. All its most cherished beliefs point forward and upward. In Islām there is no regenerative power. Its golden age was in the past. When the work of conquest is done, when a Muhammadan nation has had to live by industry, intelligence, and thrift, it has always miserably failed.¹

In this chapter, which must now draw to a close, I have tried to prove from authentic and authoritative sources that the Qur'ān alone is to no Muslim the sole guide of life. The fetters of a dogmatic system fasten alike around the individual and the community. Islām is sterile, it gives no new birth to the spirit of a man, leads him not in search of new forms of truth, and so it can give no real life, no lasting vitality to a nation.²

¹ "The Muslim everywhere, after a brilliant passage of prosperity, seems to stagnate and wither, because there is nothing in his system or his belief which lifts him above the level of a servant, and on that level man's life in the long-run must not only stagnate but decay. The submissive servant of Allāh is the highest type of Moslem perfection; the Christian ideal is the Christ-like son." (*British Quarterly*, No. cxxx.)

² "Marvellously adapted alike to the climate, character, and occupation

NOTE TO CHAPTER I

IJTIHĀD

QUESTIONS connected with *ijtihād* are so important in Islām, that I give in this note a more technical account of it than I could do in the chapter just concluded. This account consists of extracts from an article in the *Journal Asiatique*, Quatrième Série, tome 15, on "Le Marche et les Progrès de la Jurisprudence parmi les Sectes orthodoxes Musalmanes," by Mirzā Kāsim Beg, Professor in the University of St. Petersburg. It entirely supports all that has been said in the chapter just concluded of the rigid character of Muhammadan law, of its fixed and final nature and of the immobility of systems founded thereon.

of those countries upon which it has laid its adamant grip, Islām holds its votary in complete thrall from the cradle to the grave. To him it is not only religion, it is government, philosophy, and science as well. The Muhammadan conception is not so much that of a State Church as, if the expression may be permitted, of a Church State. The undergirders with which society itself is warped round are not of civil but of ecclesiastical fabrication; and, warped in this superb if paralysing creed, the Musalman lives in contended surrender of all volition." (Hon. G. Carson, *Persia*, vol. i. p. 509.)

"Islam, reared by the genius of one man out of materials imported from elsewhere, enters this world as a rounded system, seems at first sight completely to answer to the wants of those to the level of whose capacity it was framed, shows itself even afterwards and up to the present time suited to the peoples and the individuals who have not risen above the standpoint of legalism; but misses the power so to transform itself, as to meet the requirements of a higher type of life which in its present form it cannot satisfy. At a given period, it becomes a hindrance to that development of the spirit which it must actually choke, if it be not strong enough to cast it off." (Kuenen, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1882, p. 293.)

Orthodox Musalmáns admit the following propositions as axioms:—

1. God, the only legislator, has shown the way of felicity to the people whom He has chosen, and in order to enable them to walk in that way He has shown to them the precepts which are found partly in the eternal Qur'án, and partly in the sayings of the Prophet, transmitted to posterity by the Companions and preserved in the Sunnat. That way is called the "Sharí'at." The rules thereof are called *ahkám*.

2. The Qur'án and the Sunnat, which since their manifestation are the primitive sources of the orders of the Law, form two branches of study, viz., 'ilmu't-tafsír, or the interpretation of the Qur'án, and 'ilmu'l-hadíth, or the study of Tradition.

3. All the orders of the Law have regard either to the actions (*dín*) or to the belief (*imán*) of the Mukallafs.¹

4. As the Qur'án and the Sunnat are the principal sources from whence the precepts of the Sharí'at have been drawn, so the rules recognised as the principal elements of actual jurisprudence are the subject of 'ilmu'l-fiqh, or the science of Law.

Fiqh in its root signifies conception, comprehension. Thus Muḥammad prayed for Ibn Mas'úd: "May God make him comprehend (*faqqihahu*), and make him know the interpretation of the Qur'án." Muhammad, in his quality of judge and chief of the Believers, decided, without appeal or contradiction, all the affairs of the people. His sayings served as a guide to the Companions. After the death of the Prophet the first *Khalíf*s acted on the authority of the Traditions. Meanwhile the Qur'án and the Sunnat, the principal elements of religion and legislation, became little by little the subject of controversy. It was then that men applied themselves vigorously to the task of learning by heart the Qur'án and the Traditions, and then that jurisprudence became a separate science. No science had as yet been systematically taught, and the early Musalmáns did not possess books which would serve for such teaching. A change soon, however, took place. In the

¹ A Mukallaf is one who is subject to the Law. The term Mukallaf is thus equivalent to a consistent Muslim, one who takes trouble (*taklîf*) in his religious duties.

year in which the great jurisconsult of Syria died (A.H. 80), Nu'mán bin Thábit, surnamed Abú Ḥanífa, was born. He is the most celebrated of the founders of the schools of jurisprudence, a science which ranks first in all Muslim seats of learning. Until that time and for thirty years later the Mufasssirs,¹ Muḥaddithún,² and the Fuqihá,³ had all their knowledge by heart, and those who possessed good memories were highly esteemed. Many of them knew by heart the whole Qur'án, with the comments made on it by the Prophet and by the Companions; they also knew the Traditions and their explanations, and all the commands (*ahkám*) which proceed from the Qur'án and the Sunnat. Such men enjoyed the right of Mujtahids. They transmitted their knowledge to their scholars orally. It was not till towards the middle of the second century A.H. that treatises on the different branches of the Law were written, after which six schools (*madhhabs*) of jurisprudence were formed. The founders, all Imáms of the first class, were Abú Ḥanífa, the Imámu A'zam or great Imám, Sufián az-Zaurí, Málík ash-Sháfi'í, Ḥanbal and Imám Dá'úd az-Zahiri.⁴ The two sects founded by Thaurí and Zahiri became extinct in the eighth century of the Hijra. The other four still remain. These men venerated one another. The younger ones speak with great respect of the elder. Thus Sháfi'í said: "No one in the world was so well versed in jurisprudence as Abú Ḥanífa was, and he who has read neither his works nor those of his disciples knows nothing of jurisprudence." Ḥanbal when sick wore a shirt which had belonged to Sháfi'í, in order that he might be cured of his malady; but all this did not prevent them starting schools of their own, for the right of *ijtihád* is granted to those who are real Mujtahids. There are three degrees of *ijtihád*:—

1. Al Ijtihád fi'l-Shari': independence in legislation.
2. Al Ijtihád fi'l-Madhhab: authority in the judicial systems founded by the Mujtahids of the first class.

¹ Commentators on the Qur'án.

² The Traditionists.

³ Plural of Faqih, a theologian.

⁴ Sufián ath-Thauri and Dá'úd az-Zahiri did not become founders of additional *madhhabs*, or school of theology and law.

3. Al Ijtihád fi'l-Masá'il: authority in cases existing not decided by the authors of the four madhhabs.

The first is called a complete and absolute authority; the second, relative; the third, special.

THE FIRST DEGREE OF IJTIHÁD.

Absolute independence in legislation is the gift of God. He to whom it is given when seeking to discover the meaning of the Divine Law is not bound to follow any other teacher. He can use his own judgment. This gift was bestowed on the jurisconsults of the first, and to some in the second and third centuries. The Companions, however, who were closely connected with the Prophet, having transmitted immediately to their posterity the treasures of legislation, are looked upon as Mujtahids of much higher authority than those of the second and third centuries. Thus Abú Hanífa says: "That which comes to us from the Companions is on our head and eyes (i.e., to be received with respect): as to that which comes from the Tábi'un, they are men and we are men."

Since the time of the Tábi'un this degree of ijtiḥád has only been conferred on the six great Imáms. Theoretically any Muslim can attain to this degree, but it is one of the principles of jurisprudence that the confirmation of this rank is dependent on many conditions, and so no one now gains the honour. These conditions are:—

1. The knowledge of the Qur'án and all that is related to it; that is to say, a complete knowledge of Arabic literature, a profound acquaintance with the orders of the Qur'án and all their subdivisions, their relationship to each other and their connection with the orders of the Sunnat. The candidate should know when and why each verse of the Qur'án was written, he should have a perfect acquaintance with the literal meaning of the words, the speciality or generality of each clause, the abrogating and abrogated sentences. He should be able to make clear the meaning of the "obscure" passages (mutashábih), to discriminate between the literal and the allegorical, the universal and the particular.

2. He must know the Qur'án by heart with all the Traditions and explanations.

3. He must have a perfect knowledge of the Traditions, or at least of three thousand of them.

He must know their source, history, object, and their connection with the laws of the Qur'án. He should know by heart the most important Traditions.

4. A pious and austere life.

5. A profound knowledge of all the sciences of the Law.

Should any one now aspire to such a degree another condition would be added, namely:—

6. A complete knowledge of the four madhhabs, or schools of jurisprudence.

The obstacles, then, are almost insurmountable. On the one hand, there is the severity of the 'Ulamá, which requires from the candidate things almost impossible; on the other hand, there is the attachment of the 'Ulamá to their own Imáms, for should such a man arise, no one is bound now to listen to him. Imám Ḥanbal said: "Draw your knowledge from whence the Imáms drew theirs, and do not content yourself with following others (i.e., modern Mujtahids), for that is certainly blindness of sight." Thus the schools of the four Imáms remain intact after a thousand years have passed, and so the 'Ulamá recognise since the time of these Imáms no Mujtahid of the first degree. Ibn Ḥanbal was the last.

The rights of the man who attained to this degree were very important. He was not bound to be a disciple of another; he was a mediator between the Law and his followers, for whom he established a system of legislation, without any one having the right to make any objection. He had the right to explain the Qur'án, the Sunnat, and the Ijmá' according as he understood them. He used the Prophet's words, whilst his disciples only used his. Should a disciple find some discrepancy between a decision of his own Imám and the Qur'án or Traditions, he must abide by the decision of the Imám. The Law does not permit him to interpret after his own fashion. When once the disciple has entered the sect of one Imám, he cannot leave it and join another. He loses

the right of private judgment, for only a Mujtahid of the first class can dispute the decision of one of the Imáms. Theoretically such Mujtahids may still arise; but, as we have already shown, practically they do not.

THE SECOND DEGREE OF IJTIHÁD.

This degree has been granted to the immediate disciples of the great Imáms who have elaborated the systems of their masters. They enjoyed the special consideration of the contemporary 'Ulamá and of their respective Imáms, who in some cases have allowed them to retain their own opinion. The most famous of these men are the two disciples of Abú Hanífa, Abú Yúsuf, and Muḥammad bin al-Ḥasan. In a secondary matter their opinion carries great weight. It is laid down as a rule that a Muftí may follow the unanimous opinion of these two even when it goes against that of Abú Hanífa.

THE THIRD DEGREE OF IJTIHÁD.

This is the degree of special independence. The candidates for it should have a perfect knowledge of all the branches of jurisprudence according to the four schools, and of the Arabic language and literature. They can solve cases which come before them, giving reasons for their judgment, or decide on cases which have not been settled by previous Mujtahids; but in either case their decisions must always be in absolute accordance with the opinions of the Mujtahids of the first and second classes, and with the principles which guided them. Many of these men attained great celebrity during their lifetime, but to most of them this rank is not accorded till after death. Imám Qāḍi Khān, who died in the year 592 A.H., closes the list of the most famous of the men whose works serve as a guide to the Muftis and jurisconsults of a later age. Others have since claimed this position, but it is not generally accorded to them by orthodox Sunnis.

There are three other inferior classes of jurists,¹ called Muqallidūn, or followers of the Mujtahids; but all that the

highest in rank amongst them can do is to explain obscure passages in the writings of the older jurisconsults. By some of the 'Ulamá they are considered to be equal to the Mujtahids of the third class. If there are several conflicting legal opinions on any point, they can select one opinion on which to base their decision. This a mere Qāḍi cannot do. In such a case he would have to refer to these men or to their writings for guidance. They seem to have written commentaries on the legal systems without originating anything new. The author of the *Hidāyah*, who lived at the end of the sixth century A.H., was a Muqallid.

Such is Mīrzá Kāzīm Beg's account. It shows how "the system, as a whole, rejects experience as a guide to deeper insight or wider knowledge; tramples upon the teaching of the past; pays no heed to differences of climate, character, or history; but regards itself as a body of absolute truth, one jot or tittle of which cannot be rejected without incurring the everlasting wrath of God."¹

¹ For a list of these, see Klein, *Religion of Islām*, p. 86.

¹ Osborn, *Islām under the Khalīfs*, p. 72.

CHAPTER II

EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ÁN AND THE
TRADITIONS

THE following account of this branch of Muslim theology, technically called *Ilmu'l-Uṣūl*, may be introduced by a few remarks on the nature of inspiration according to Islām, though that is not, strictly speaking, a portion of this study.

There are two terms used to express different degrees of inspiration, *wahī* and *ilhām*. The former is sometimes divided into *wahī ṣāhir* (external inspiration) and *wahī bāṭin* (internal inspiration), which is almost the same as *ilhām*. *Wahī* is the term applied to the inspiration of the Qur'án, and implies that the very words are the words of God. The whole book was prepared in heaven. Muḥammad, instructed by Gabriel, is simply the medium through which the revelation of *wahī ṣāhir* reaches man. The *wahī* Qur'án, or the *wahī ṣāhir*, the highest form of inspiration, always came to the ear of the Prophet through the instrumentality of Gabriel. In Muḥammadan theology this is the special work of Gabriel.¹ Thus in the Traditions it is related that he appeared to Adam twelve times, to Enoch four, to Noah fifty, to Abraham forty-two, to Moses four hundred, to Jesus ten times, to Muḥammad twenty-four thousand times.

¹The angel Gabriel, on account of his being considered the chief mediator of inspiration, is called the "Angel of inspiration"—ملك الروح. For further details, see Klein, *Religion of Islām*, p. 6.

There is a lower form of *wahī ṣāhir*, which is called *Isháratu'l-Malak*—the sign of the angel. This expresses what Muḥammad meant when he said, "The Holy Ghost has entered into my heart." He then received the inspiration through Gabriel, but not, as in the *wahī* of the Qur'án, by word of mouth.

Ilhām means the inspiration given to a saint or to a prophet when he, though rightly guided, delivers the subject-matter out of his own mind, and is not a mere machine to reproduce the messages of Gabriel.

Imám Ghazālī defines *ilhām* and *wahī* thus¹:—(1) The recipient receives information from an unknown source and in a way unknown. This is called the "breathing into the heart" (*nafakha fi qalb*). This is the inspiration of saints and Sūfīs. It is *ilhām*. (2) The recipient knows the medium by which he receives information, i.e., the angel appears to him. This is *wahī* and is the inspiration of prophets. (3) Between *ilhām* and *wahī* there is only this difference, namely, that in *wahī* the angel who is the medium of communication appears, and in *ilhām* does not.

It is said that, except when delivering the Qur'án, Muḥammad spoke by *ilhām*, and not by *wahī*. Some, however, believe that the words of the Prophet, as recorded in the Traditions, were *wahī* inspiration, and thus they come to be as authoritative as the Qur'án. Shahrastānī speaks of "the signs (sayings) of the Prophet which have the marks of *wahī*." They are also called *wahī ghairu'l-matlū* (unread revelations), i.e., uninspired records of inspired sayings of the Prophet. This opinion is said by some Muslim theologians to be supported by the text, "By the Star when it setteth; your companion Muḥammad erreth not, nor is he led astray, neither

¹ *Mudáḳqil-ʿArifin*, an Urdu translation of the *Thyāʿulūmu'd-dīn*, (ed. Lucknow 1873), vol. iii, p. 30.

² Quoted in the *Dabistān*, p. 214.

doth he *speak of his own will*. It is none other than a revelation which hath been revealed to him" (liii. 1). In any case, the inspiration of Muhammad is something quite different from the Christian idea of inspiration, which is to Musalmāns a very imperfect mode of transmitting a revelation of God's will.

That there should be a human as well as a divine side to inspiration is an idea not only foreign, but also quite repugnant to Muhammadans. The Qur'ān is not a book of principles; it is a book of directions. The Qur'ān describes the revelations given to Moses thus: "We wrote for him upon the tables a monition concerning every matter, and said, 'Receive them thyself with steadfastness, and command thy people to receive them for the observance of its most goodly precepts'" (vii. 142). It is such an inspiration as this the Qur'ān claims for itself. Muhammad's idea was ~~that~~ it should be a complete and final code of directions in every matter for all mankind. It is not the word of a prophet enlightened by God.¹ It proceeds immediately from God, and the word "say" or "speak," precedes, or is understood to precede, every sentence. This to a Muslim is the highest form of inspiration; this alone stamps a book as divine. It is acknowledged that the Injil—the Gospel—was given by Jesus; but as that, too, according to Muslim belief, was brought down from heaven² by the Angel Gabriel

¹ Some Maulavis have contended that the Prophet was 'Alimu'l-Ghaib, i.e., one who knows the secret world; by which they mean that by his own power he had knowledge of the secret things which he revealed. To such an opinion the orthodox, who hold that the term 'Alimu'l-Ghaib can be applied to God only, reply by quoting the verse,— "Say: I say not to you 'In my possession are the treasures of God,' neither say I 'I know things secret,' neither do I say to you 'I am an angel;' only what is revealed to me do I follow" (vi. 50). Both Baidāwī and Husain agree that this verse shows that the Prophet did not claim divine knowledge.

² Some portions are said to have been brought from the "Treasury of Mercy" below the throne of God, a privilege granted to no other prophet except Muhammad.

during the month of Ramaḍān, it is now asserted that it has been lost, and that the four Gospels of the New Testament are simply traditionary accounts of the acts and words of Jesus Christ, collected by the writers whose names they bear. Their value is, therefore, that of the second foundation of the Islāmic system.

The question next arises as to the exact way in which Gabriel made known his message to Muhammad. Though the Qur'ān is all of God, both as to matter and form, yet it was not all made known to the Prophet in one and the same manner. The Mudāriju'n-Nabuwat (pp. 508-510), a standard theological work, gives some details on this point. The following are some of the modes:—

1. It is recorded on the authority of 'Āyesha, that a brightness like the brightness of the morning came upon the Prophet. According to some commentators, this brightness remained six months. In some strange way Gabriel, through this brightness or vision, made known the will of God.

2. Gabriel appeared in the form of Duḥayya,¹ one of the Companions of the Prophet, renowned for his beauty and gracefulness. At times the angelic nature of Gabriel overcame Muhammad, who was then translated to the angelic world. This happened when the revelation was one of bad news, such as denunciations or predictions of woe. When the message brought by Gabriel was one of consolation and comfort, the human nature of the Prophet overcame the angelic nature of the angel, who, in such case, having assumed a human form, proceeded to deliver the message.²

¹ All the commentators bring this incident forward as an illustration of the verse: "And if We had appointed an angel, We should certainly have appointed one in the form of a man" (vi. 9).

² Khadija adopted a curious plan to discover the character of the angel and to test the genuineness of the revelation. See Ibn Hisham's account quoted by Klein, *Religion of Islām*, p. 6.

3. The Prophet heard at times the noise of the tinkling of a bell. He alone could distinguish it, and through it the words which Gabriel wished him to understand. When his ear caught the sound his whole frame became agitated. On the coldest day, the perspiration, like beads of silver, would roll down his face. The glorious brightness of his countenance gave place to a ghastly hue, whilst the way in which he bent down his head showed the intensity of the emotion through which he was passing. If riding, the camel on which he sat would fall to the ground. The Prophet one day, when reclining with his head in the lap of Zaid, heard the well-known sound. Zaid, too, knew that something unusual was happening, for so heavy became the head of Muḥammad that it was with the greatest difficulty he could support the weight. There is an *athr*,¹ or saying of a Companion, to the following effect: "Zaid bin Thābit, a Companion, said, 'One day when God sent wahī on the Prophet, his thigh was on mine, but it became so heavy that I feared mine would be broken.'"²

4. At the time of the mi'rāj, or night ascent into heaven, God spoke to the Prophet without the intervention of an angel. It is a disputed point whether the face of the Lord was veiled or not.

5. God sometimes appeared in a dream, and placing His hands on the Prophet's shoulders, made known His will.

6. Twice angels having each six hundred wings appeared and brought the message from God.

7. Gabriel, though not appearing in bodily form, so inspired the heart of the Prophet that the words he uttered under its influence were the words of God. This is technically called *ilqā'*, and is by some supposed to

¹ An *athr* is of less authority than a *Ḥadīth* or Tradition, though it more nearly answers to the meaning of our word tradition.

² *Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī*, Kitābu's-Salāt, vol. 1, p. 105.

be the degree of inspiration to which the Traditions belong.

If, by any chance, the Prophet had made a wrong deduction from any previous revelation, another was always sent to rectify it. This idea has been worked up to a science of abrogation, according to which some verses of the Qur'ān abrogate others. Muḥammad found it necessary to change his standpoint more than once, and thus it became necessary to annul earlier portions of his revelation.

Thus in various ways was the revelation made known to Muḥammad. At first there seems to have been a season of doubt, the dread lest, after all, it might be a mockery. But as years rolled on confidence in himself and in his mission came. At times, too, there is a joyousness in his utterances as he swears by heaven and earth, by God and man; but more often the visions were weird and terrible. At the moment of inspiration anxiety pressed upon the Prophet, and his countenance was troubled. Large drops of perspiration gathered on his forehead. Some strange power moved him, his fear was uncontrollable. Muḥammad ascribed his grey hairs to the terror caused him by the revelation of the "terrific Sūras" (*Suūru'n-nadhīra*). These were said to be the *Sūratu Hūd* (xi.) and its sisters, the *Sūratu'l-Wāqī'a* (lvi.) and the *Sūratu'l-Qāri'a* (ci.). Thus for twenty years or more the revelations came, a direction on things of heaven and of earth, to the Prophet as the spiritual guide of all men,¹ to the Warrior-Chief, as the founder of political unity among the Arab tribes.

A Muḥammadan student, after passing through a course of instruction in grammar, rhetoric, logic, law and dogmatics, at length reaches the stage when he is permitted to enter upon the study of "*Ilmu'l-uṣūl*," or the exegesis of the Qur'ān and the inspired sayings of the

¹ "It (the Qur'ān) is simply an instruction for all mankind" (xii. 104).

Prophet. This done, he can henceforth read the approved commentaries in order to learn what the Fathers of Islām have to say. This study in a way fits him to be a commentator, for the work of a Muslim divine now is, not to bring things "new and old" out of the sacred book, but to hand down to others the things old.

The greatest proficient in theology is the man who can repeat the Qur'ān by heart, who knows also and can reproduce at will what the early commentators have said; who can remember, and quote in the most apposite manner, the Prophet's sayings preserved in the Traditions handed down by the Companions, their followers, and their followers' followers; who can point out a flaw in the isnād (i.e., chain of narrators) of a Tradition quoted by an opponent, or maintain, by repeating the long list of names, the authority of the isnād of the Tradition he quotes himself. A good memory, not critical acumen, is the great desideratum in a Muslim theologian. The chief qualification of a *Hāfiz*, a man who can repeat the whole Qur'ān by heart, is that he shall be able to pronounce each word correctly. By men who are not Arabs by birth this is only to be attained after years of practice from childhood. In the early days of Islām, the great authorities on the question of the correct pronunciation of the Qur'ān were the *Khalīfas* Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, and 'Alī, and some of the Companions,¹ who learned from the Prophet himself the exact way in which Gabriel had spoken. The Arabic of heaven was the Arabic of Islām.

The effort, however, to preserve one uniform method of repeating the Qur'ān failed. Men of other lands could not acquire the pure intonation of Mecca, and so no less

¹ The ones highly commended by Muḥammad, were two of the *Muhājirīn* or Refugees—'Abdu'llāh bin Mas'ūd, and Sālim bin Ma'qal; and two of the *Anṣār*, or Helpers—Mu'adh bin Jabal and Uba'i ibn Ka'b. These and others transmitted the knowledge of the Qur'ān to the *Tābi'ūn*, or Followers. (*Itqān*, i. 88).

than seven different ways of reading the sacred book became current. Abū Ibn Ka'b, one of the Companions, had become so famous as a reader that the Prophet himself said, "Read the Qur'ān under Abū Ibn Ka'b." These men remembered that Abū Ibn Ka'b had stated that one day, when scandalised at man after man who entered the mosque repeating the Qur'ān in different ways, he spoke to Muḥammad about it. His Highness said, "O Abū Ibn Ka'b! intelligence was sent to me to read the Qur'ān in one dialect, and I was attentive to the Court of God, and said, 'Make easy the reading of the Qur'ān to my sects.' These instructions were sent to me a second time, saying, 'Read the Qur'ān in two dialects.' Then I turned myself to the Court of God, saying, 'Make easy the reading of the Qur'ān to my sects.' Then a voice was sent to me the third time, saying, 'Read the Qur'ān in seven dialects.'"

This removed all difficulty, and the foresight displayed by the Prophet in thus obtaining a divine sanction for the various ways of reading was looked upon as a proof of his inspiration. Thus arose the "*qirā'ātu's-sab'a*," or seven readings of the Qur'ān, now recognised.

In the Qur'ān compiled by the order of the *Khalīfa* 'Uthmān there were no vowel-points, but when men of other countries embraced Islām they found a difficulty in mastering Arabic. *Khalīd bin Aḥmad*, a great grammarian, then invented the short vowels and other diacritical marks. The seven famous "Readers" (*Qārīs*), whose names have been given to the various modes of reading, are Imām Nāfi' of Madīna, Imām Ibn Kathīr of Mecca, Imām Abū 'Umar of Baṣra, Imām Ḥamza of Kūfa, Imām Ibn 'Āmir of Syria, Imām 'Āṣim of Kūfa, Imām Kisā'i of Kūfa. These learned men affixed different vowel-points in many places in the Qur'ān, and thus, in some cases, slight differences of meaning arose. In many passages, however, the sense is not at all affected. In India the "*qirā'at*"—reading—of Ḥafṣ, a disciple of Imām 'Āṣim,

is followed by both Sunnis and Shī'ahs. Jalālu'd-dīn, in his famous commentary, follows the qirā'at of Imām Abū 'Umar. Those who belong to the madhhab, or sect of Imām ash-Shāfi', also prefer this qirā'at. Imām 'Āsim had two disciples. Their names are Abū Bakr and Ḥafṣ. They differ slightly between themselves, but the qirā'at of Ḥafṣ is the one in common use in India. The qirā'at of Nāfi' is preferred in Arabia, and is highly valued by theological writers. Each of the seven Qāris or Readers had two disciples, called Rāwīs, or narrators, from whose testimony the qirā'at approved by their master is known. They never give an opinion of their own on the text, but simply record that of their master.¹

There are three readings of lesser note allowable when reading the Qur'ān privately, but not when reading any part in a liturgical service. During the month of Ramadān the Qur'ān is repeated every night in the mosque, it being so arranged that a juz, a thirtieth part, shall be recited each night. The Imām of the mosque, or the public reader who commences according to one of the seven recognised readings, must keep to the same all the month. A good Ḥāfiẓ will know the whole seven varieties. The various readings thus introduced, though unimportant in their nature,² amount to about five hundred in number. The following are a few illustrations:—In the second Sūra, Abū 'Umar reads: "Nor shall ye be questioned concerning that which *they* have done;" but 'Āsim reads: "That which *ye* have done." Again, 'Āsim reads: "*Enter ye* the gates of hell" (xxxix. 72); but Nāfi' reads: "*Ye will be made to enter* hell,"—that is, by a slight change, the passive is substituted for the active voice. These are fair samples of the rest.

¹ Their names are given in the Appendix on 'Ilmu't-tajwīd.

² The opinion of Von Hammer, quoted by Sir W. Muir in his *Life of Muḥammad* (vol. i, p. 27), seems to be correct: "We may hold the Qur'ān to be as surely Muḥammad's words as the Muḥammadans hold it to be the word of God."

No doctrine, so far as I know, is touched, but the way in which Tradition records the Prophet's anticipation of the difficulty is instructive to the student of Islām. At times, too, fierce disputes have arisen between the followers of the seven famous Readers, whose names I have given above. In the year 323 A.H., Ibn Shanabud, a resident of Baghdād, ventured to introduce some different readings in his recital of the Qur'ān. The people of Baghdād, not knowing these, were furious, and the Khalifa was compelled to cast the offender into prison. A council of divines was called together, before whom the unhappy Ibn Shanabud was produced. For a while he maintained the correctness of his "readings," but after being whipped seven times he said, "I renounce my manner of reading, and in future I shall follow no other than that of the manuscript drawn up by the Khalifa 'Uṭhman, and that which is generally received."¹

When the first copy of the Qur'ān was written and presented to the Khalifa 'Uṭhman, he said, "There are faults of language in it; let the Arabs of the desert rectify them with their tongues."² The meaning of this order is that they were to learn to pronounce the words properly, but on no account to alter the writing or form in which the words were spelt. This accounts for the peculiar spelling of many words in the Qur'ān. In fact, there are special rules laid down for guidance of the copyist. They are technically known as the rasmu'l-khaṭṭ, or rules for writing.

As Islām spread, it became necessary to expound the Qur'ān to persons unacquainted with Arabic. The science of grammar then became an important branch of study, and the collection of Traditions a necessary duty. The Faithful were for a long time in doubt as to the lawfulness of applying the laws of grammar to so sacred a book. There was no command in the book itself to

¹ Ibn Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 16.

² Ibid, vol. ii, p. 401.

do so, nor had the Prophet given any directions on this point. It was, then, neither "fard" nor "sunnat"—that is, neither a command based on the Qur'án nor one based on any saying or act of the Prophet. The Traditions, however, solve the difficulty.

Al-Mámún, the distinguished though heretical Khalífa of Baghdád, was a patron of al-Farra, the chief of grammarians. A distinguished pupil of his, Abu'l 'Abbás Tálib, on his death-bed expressed his belief in the fact that the Qur'ánists, the Traditionists, and others had gained their heavenly reward; but he had been only a grammarian, and grammar after all was, in connection with the Qur'án, a science of doubtful legality. The friend to whom he told his doubts and fears went home and saw a vision that very night. He saw the blessed Prophet, who said to him, "Give my greeting to Abu'l 'Abbás Tálib, and say, 'Thou art master of the superior science.'" The Prophet had now spoken, and henceforth grammar became a lawful study in Islám. Muslims now quote the Qur'án as a perfect model of style; it may be well to remember that the rules have been made for it, and that therefore it is but natural that it should be perfect according to the present canons of Arabic grammar.¹

Towards the end of Muḥammad's stay at Mecca, this challenge is made to the doubtful. "If they shall say, 'the Qur'án is his own device,' then bring ten Súras like it of your own devising" (xi. 16). At Madína the challenge is repeated, "If ye be in doubt as to that which we have sent down to Our servant, then produce a Súra like it" (ii. 21). Muḥammadans say that this challenge has never been taken up, and that no Arab then, nor

¹ "Were we to examine the Qur'án by the rules of rhetoric and criticism as they are taught in Muslim schools, we should be obliged to acknowledge that it is the perfection of thought and expression; an inevitable result, as the Muslims drew their principles of rhetoric from that very book." (Baron M. de Slane, in the introduction to Ibn Khallikán's *Biographical Dictionary*, p. xvii).

since, has produced anything equal to it; but the claim is overstated, for the challenge was not merely to produce something equal to the Qur'án in style, but also with regard to its subject-matter—the Unity of God, future retribution and other doctrinal matters. Now, from the nature of the case, it was impossible for the opponents of Muḥammad to do this. They could not, with sincerity defend the Unity of God, for they were pagans, and if they had done so, they could only have copied what he had said and a copy falls short of the power of the original. He, in fact, had already occupied the ground. Palmer says:—"That the best of Arab writers has not succeeded in producing anything equal in merit to the Qur'án is not surprising. They have agreed beforehand that it is unapproachable and they have adopted its style as the perfect standard . . . grammarians, lexicographers and rhetoricians started with the presumption that the Qur'án could not be wrong, and other works, therefore, only approached excellence, in proportion as they, more or less, successfully imitated the style."¹

It is said that the Qur'án was brought from Paradise by Gabriel to Muḥammad as occasion required. The Prophet was reproached for not having a complete revelation, and answered the reproach by the following verse, sent for the purpose:—"The infidels say, 'Unless the Qur'án be sent down to him all at once'—but in this way We establish thy heart in it; *in parcels have We parcelled it out to thee*" (xxv. 34). "We have parcelled out the Qur'án into sections, that thou mightest recite it unto men by slow degrees, and We have sent it down piecemeal" (xvii. 107). The revelation thus given is entirely objective; it came to the ear of the Prophet through the teaching of Gabriel. "Yet it is a glorious Qur'án, *written on the preserved Table*" (lxxxv. 22). Baidáwí

¹ *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. vi, pp. lv, lxvi.

² According to circumstances." *على حسب الحوادث* (Baidáwí i. 553).

explains this, thus: "When We have *recited* it, then follow thou the *recital*"¹ (lxxv. 18). This order was given because the Prophet had tried to learn it by heart. Bukhārī relates the following:—Tradition "When waḥl came upon him, he moved his tongue and lips, desiring to commit it to memory. Then God sent down the words, 'Move not thy tongue that thou mayest hasten with it (i.e., remember it). Truly on Us is the collection and the recital'"² (lxxv. 16, 17). In other words, the Prophet was not to trouble about learning it by heart; it would come to his mind when needed, according to the Tradition, "We will collect it in thy heart when needed."³ The external mode in which it came is referred to in the verse, "We have *sent down* to thee an Arabic Qur'ān" (xx. 112). The fragmentary way in which the Qur'ān was given was not without its difficulties.⁴ Some passages contradicted others; some were difficult to understand. To the Prophet alone was the solution known. The knowledge he communicated to his immediate followers, the Companions, as they are called, thus: "To

¹ "God recited it by the tongue of Gabriel: recite it and repeat it till it remains in thy memory" (Baidāwī on verse 18).

² Baidāwī says the "collection" is in the heart of the Prophet, and the "recital" in his tongue.

³ *Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī* on Sūra lxxv, vol. i, p. 6.

⁴ There are many Traditions which refer to this fact. 'Umar Ibnu'l-Khaṭṭāb said: "I accorded with my cherisher (i.e., God) in three things, One is that I said, 'O messenger of God! if we were to say our prayers in Abraham's place it would be better.' Then a revelation came down, 'Take the place of Abraham for a place of prayer.' The second is that I said, 'O messenger of God! good and bad people come to your house, and I do not see that it is fitting; therefore, if you order your women to be shut up it will be better.' Then the revelation for doing so came down. The third is that his Majesty's wives were all agreed in a story about his drinking honey, and he had vowed never to drink it more. Then I said to his Majesty's wives, 'Should the Prophet divorce you, God will give him better in exchange.' Then a revelation came down; agreeing with what I said."

'Ayesha said: "I was reflecting on those women who had given themselves to the Prophet, and said, 'What! does a woman give herself

thee have We sent down this book of monitions, that thou mayest make clear to men what hath been sent down to them" (xvi. 46).

Ibn Khaldūn says: "The Prophet unfolded the meaning, distinguished between abrogated and abrogating verses, and communicated this knowledge to his Companions. It was from his mouth that they knew the meaning of the verses and the circumstances which led to each distinct revelation being made.¹ The Companions thus instructed became perfectly familiar with the whole revelation. This knowledge they handed down by word of mouth to their followers, the Ṭābi'ūn, who in their turn passed it on to their followers, the Ṭaba'u't-Ṭābi'īn. The art of writing then became common. The business of the commentator henceforth was to collect together the sayings of the Companions thus handed down. Criticism of a passage in the Qur'ān was not his duty, criticism of a comment made on it by a Companion was quite beyond his province: the first was too sacred to be touched, the second must be accepted if only the chain of narrators of the statement were perfect. Thus early in the history of Islām were the principles of exegesis fixed and settled. Every word, every sentence, has now its place and class. The commentator has now only to reproduce what was written before,² though he may, in elucidation of the point, bring

away!" Then the revelation descended, 'Thou mayest decline for the present whom thou wilt of them, and thou mayest take to thy bed her whom thou wilt, and whomsoever thou shalt long for of those thou shalt have before neglected: and this shall be no crime in thee' (xxxiii. 51). I said, 'I see nothing in which your God doth not hasten to please you: whatever you wish He doeth.'"

¹ Ibn Khaldūn, vol. ii, p. 459. Abū'l-Qāsim says: "One of the most noble branches of the sciences of the Qur'ān is the knowledge of the manner, the occasion and the place of the revelation and the chronological order in which Sūras were revealed at Mecca and Madīna" (*Iḡān* 1, 10).

² This includes even the orthography, for: "The following generation, I mean the Ṭābis (Ṭābi'ūn) adopted the orthography of the Companions

forth some Tradition hitherto unnoticed, which would, however, be a difficult thing to do. It will thus be seen that anything like the work of a Christian commentator, with all its fresh life and new ideas, is not to be had in Islām. The perfection of the Qur'ānic exegesis is its dogmatic and antique nature—

“While as the world rolls on from age to age,
And realms of thought expand,
The letter stands without expanse or range,
Stiff as a dead man's hand.”

The technical terms which the student must know, and the definitions of which he must understand, are those which relate to the nature of the words, the sentences, the use of the words of the Qur'ān, and the deduction of arguments from passages in the book.

The words of the Qur'ān are divided into four classes:—

1. *Khāss*, or special words. These are subdivided into three classes. First, words which relate to genus, e.g., mankind. Secondly, words which relate to species, e.g., a man, which refers to men as distinguished from women. Thirdly, words which relate to special individuality, e.g., Zaid, which is the name of a special individual.

2. *‘Āmm*, or common or collective names, such as “people.”

3. *Mushtarak*, or words which have several significations, as the Arabic word “‘ain,” which may mean an eye, a fountain, or the sun. Again, the word “ṣalāt,” if connected with God, may mean mercy, as “ṣalāt Ullāh,” the mercy of God; if with man, it may mean either “namāz,” a stated liturgical service, or “du‘a,” prayer in its ordinary sense, e.g., ṣalātu'l-istisqā' (prayer in time of drought) is du‘a, not namāz.

of the Prophet and took credit to themselves for not discontinuing the forms adopted by those who, after Muḥammad were the most excellent of men and had received from him the revelations from heaven, either in writing or by word of mouth.” (Ibn Khaldūn, vol. ii, p. 397.)

4. *Muawwal*, words which have several significations, all of which are possible, and so a special explanation is required. For example, “Wherefore pray unto the Lord and *slay* (the victims)” (cviii. 2). The word translated “slay” is in Arabic “anhar,” from the root nahr, which has many meanings. The followers of the great legist Abū Ḥanīfa render it “sacrifice,” and add the words “the victims.” Baidāwī apparently refers it to the sacrifice on the feast of ‘Īdu'd-Ḍuḥā (vol. ii, p. 419). Ḥusain, says a camel should be sacrificed in honour of God, in opposition to idolaters who sacrifice to idols (vol. ii, p. 476). The followers of Ibn Shāfi' say it means “placing the hands on the breast in prayer:” an interpretation also given in the Tafsīr-i-Ḥusainī.

The Tafsīr-i-Ibn 'Abbās gives another illustration of *muawwal* in Sūra xli. 6, where the phrase “they do not give alms” is sometimes interpreted as meaning “they do not say ‘there is no god but God’”. Thus, the word “zakāt” bears the double meaning of “alms” and of “kalima” or creed.

This illustrates the difference between *mushtarak* and *muawwal*. In the former, only one meaning is allowable, which meaning the context settles; in the latter, both meanings are allowable, and both right. Teachers of the Qur'ān look upon these distinctions as important.

These divisions of words having been well mastered and the power of defining any word in the Qur'ān gained, the student passes on to consider the nature of the sentences. These are divided into two great classes,—the obvious and the hidden.

This division is referred to in the following passage of the Qur'ān:—“He it is who hath sent down to thee the book. Some of its signs are of themselves *perspicuous*; these are the basis (literally ‘mother’) of the book, and others are *figurative*. But they whose hearts are given to err follow its figures, craving discord, craving an interpretation; yet none know its interpretation,

but God.¹ And the stable in knowledge say: 'We believe in it, it is all from God'' (iii. 5).

This has given rise to the division of the whole book into literal and allegorical statements. In order to explain these correctly, the commentator must know (1) the reason why, (2) the place where, (3) the time when, the particular passage he is expounding was revealed; he must know whether it abrogates or is abrogated, whether it is in its proper order and place or not; whether it contains its meaning within itself or needs the light which the context throws upon it; he must know all the Traditions which bear upon it, and the authority for each such Tradition. This effectually confines the order of commentators in the strict sense of the word to the Companions, and supplies the reason why commentators since then simply reproduce their opinions.²

Sentences of the Qur'ān are either *ẓāhir*—obvious or *khāfi*—"hidden." Obvious sentences are divided into four classes:—

1. *Ẓāhir*, or obvious, the meaning of which is so clear that he who hears it at once understands its meaning without seeking for any explanation. This kind of sentence may be abrogated. Unless abrogated, action in accordance with it is to be considered as the express command of God. All penal laws and the rules regulating the substitution of one religious act for another, e.g., almsgiving instead of fasting, must be based on this, the clearest of the obvious sentences.

2. *Nass*, a word commonly used for a text of the

¹ This interpretation God made known to the Prophet, who communicated it to the Companions; hence all orthodox opinion must be in strict accordance with theirs. They were the sole depositaries of the inspired commentary given by Muhammad. There is now no room for, as there is no need of, any other.

² Speaking on this very subject Ibn Khaldūn says: "Nothing could be known of all that, except through the expositions proceeding from the Companions and their disciples" (vol. ii, p. 460).

Qur'ān, but in its technical meaning here expressing what is meant by a sentence the meaning of which is made clear by some word which occurs in it. The following sentence illustrates both *ẓāhir* and *nass*: "Take in marriage of such other women as please you, two, three, four." This sentence is *ẓāhir*, because marriage is here declared lawful; it is *nass*, because the words "one, two, three, four," which occur in the sentence, show the unlawfulness of having more than four wives.

3. *Mufassar*, or explained. This is a sentence which needs some word in it to explain it and make it clear. Thus: "And the angels prostrated themselves, all of them with one accord, save Iblis (Satan)" (ii. 32). Here the words "save Iblis" show that he did not prostrate himself. This kind of sentence may be set aside or abrogated.

4. *Muḥkam*, or perspicuous.¹ This is a sentence as to the meaning of which there can be no doubt, and which cannot be controverted, thus: "God knoweth all things." This kind of sentence cannot be abrogated. To act on such sentences without departing from the literal sense is the highest degree of obedience to God's command.

The difference between these sentences is seen when there is a real or apparent contradiction between them. If such should occur, the first must give place to the second, and so on. Thus *muḥkam* cannot be abrogated or changed by any of the preceding, or *mufassar* by *nass* or *nass* by *ẓāhir*.

The other great division of sentences is that of *khāfi*, or hidden. These also are of four kinds.

¹ "With the Shāfi'ites a verse is *muḥkam* when its sense is clear, i.e., when the reader is convinced that a certain sense and no other is intended; *mutashābih* when it is obscure. The Hanīfites hold that *muḥkam* is a text which has not been superseded; *mutashābih* one of which God reserves the meaning to Himself. Baidāwī frequently uses *muḥkam* in the sense of 'not abrogated'" (Margoliouth, *Chrestomithia Baidawania*, p. 147).

1. **Khaff.** Such are those sentences in which other persons or things are hidden beneath the plain meaning of a word or expression contained therein, as: "As for a thief, whether male or female, cut ye off their hands in recompense for their doings" (v. 42). The word for thief is "sarīq," and in this passage it is understood to include highwaymen, pickpockets and plunderers of the dead, etc. These meanings are **khaff** or hidden under it.

2. **Mushkil**, or ambiguous. The following is given as an illustration: "Vessels of silver and goblets like bottles shall be borne round them: bottles of silver" (lxxvi. 15). The difficulty here is that bottles (qawārīr) are not made of silver, but of glass. The commentators say, however, that glass is dull in colour, though it has some lustre, whilst silver is white, and not so bright as glass.¹ Now it may be that the bottles of Paradise will be like glass as regards their lustre, and like silver as regards their colour. But anyhow, it is very difficult to ascertain the meaning.

3. **Mujmal.** These are, first, sentences which may have a variety of interpretations, owing to the words in them being capable of several meanings; in that case the meaning which is given to the sentence in the Traditions relating to it should be acted on and accepted. Secondly, the sentence may contain some very rare word, and thus its meaning may be doubtful, as: "Man truly is by creation hasty" (lxx. 19). In this verse the word "halū'an"—hasty—occurs.² It is very rarely used, and had it not been for the following words, "when evil toucheth him, he is full of complaint; but when good befalleth him, he becometh niggardly," its meaning would not have been at all easy to understand.

¹ Baidāwī, vol. ii, p. 378: Kabir in *Khulāṣatu't-Tafsīr*, vol. iv, p. 561.

² Baidāwī says it means, "Vehement in avarice, weak in patience"—*هديد الحرس قليل الصبر* (vol. ii, p. 357).

The following is an illustration of the first kind of **mujmal** sentences: "Stand for prayer (ṣalāt) and give alms" (zakāt) (lvii. 14). Both ṣalāt and zakāt are **mushtarak** words. The people, therefore, did not understand this verse, so they applied to Muḥammad for an explanation. He explained to them that "ṣalāt" might mean the ritual of public prayer, standing to say the words "God is great," or standing to repeat a few verses of the Qur'ān; or it might mean private prayer. The primitive meaning of "zakāt" is growing. The Prophet, however, fixed the meaning here to that of "almsgiving," and said, "Give of your substance one-fortieth part."

4. **Mutashābih.** These are sentences so difficult that men cannot understand them, a fact referred to in Sūra iii. 5, nor will they do so until the day of resurrection. The Prophet, however, knew their meaning. Such portions are the letters A, L, M; A, L, R; Y, A, at the commencement of some of the Sūras.¹ Such expressions also as "God's hand," "The face of God," "God sitteth," etc., come under this category. The **Tābī' Mujāhid** says: "The verses which speak of things lawful and unlawful (i.e., give orders and prohibitions) are **Muḥkam**, all others are **Mutashābih**."²

The next point to be considered is the use (**isti'māl**) of words in the Qur'ān, and here again the same symmetrical division into four classes is found, viz.:—

1. **Ḥaḳīqat**, that is, words which are used in their

¹ Ibn **Khaldūn** says that **Zamakhshari** remarked on these letters as follows:—"They indicate that the style of the Qur'ān is carried to such a degree of excellence, that it defies every attempt to imitate it; for this book which has been sent down to us from heaven is composed of letters. All men know them all alike, but this power disappears when, in order to express their ideas, they want to use these same letters combined."

On this curious passage **Baron de Slane** remarks that the author is not very clear, and that the Turkish translator of Ibn **Khaldūn** gives the sense of the passage as: "God has placed these letters in several Sūras as a sort of defiance; as if He had said: 'Here are the elements of which the Qur'ān is composed; take them and make a book equal to it in style.'"

² *Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī*, Tafsīr on Sūratu Al-i-Imrān, vol. iii, p. 212.

literal meaning, as "rukú," a prostration, and "ṣalāt" in the sense of prayer.

2. Majāz, or words which are used in a figurative sense, as "ṣalāt" in the sense of "namāz," a liturgical service.

3. Ṣarīḥ, or words the meaning of which is quite evident, as "Thou art divorced," "Thou art free."

4. Kinayāh, or words which, used in a metaphorical sense, require the aid of the context to make their meaning clear, as "Thou art separated," which may, as it stands alone, mean "Thou art divorced." This class also includes all pronouns the meaning of which is only to be known from the context, e.g., one day the Prophet not knowing who knocked at his door said, "Who art thou?" The man replied, "It is I." Muḥammad answered, "Why dost thou say I, I? Say thy name, that I may know who thou art." The pronoun "I" is here "kinayāh."

The most important and most difficult branch of exegesis is "istidlāl," or the science of deducing arguments from the Qur'ān. This too is divided into four sections as follows:—

1. 'Ibārat, or the plain sentence. "Mothers, after they are divorced, shall give suck unto their children two full years, and the father shall be obliged to maintain them and clothe them according to that which is reasonable" (ii. 233). From this verse two deductions are made. First, from the fact that the word "them" is in the feminine plural, it must refer to the mothers, and not to the children; secondly, as the duty of supporting the mother is incumbent on the father, it shows that the relationship of the child is closer with the father than with the mother. Penal laws may be based on a deduction of this kind.

2. Ishārat, that is, a sign or hint which may be given from the order in which the words are placed.

3. Dalālat, or the argument which may be deduced from the use of some special word in the verse, as:

"Say not to them (your parents) "uff" (fie) (xvii. 24). From the use of the word "uff," it is argued that children may not beat or abuse their parents. Thus Baiḍāwī says: "This prohibition proves the further prohibition of all kinds of trouble which children could give" (vol. i, p. 536). Penal laws may now be based on dalālat, thus: "Their aim will be to abet disorder on the earth; but God loveth not the abettors of disorder" (v. 69). The word translated "aim" is in Arabic literally yas'auna, "they run." From this the argument is deduced that as highwaymen wander about, they are included amongst those whom "God loveth not," and that therefore the severest punishment may be given to them, for any deduction that comes under the head of dalālat is a sufficient basis for the formation of the strictest penal laws.

4. Iqtidā. This is a deduction which demands certain conditions: "Whosoever killeth a believer by mischance, shall be bound to free a believer from slavery" (iv. 94). As a man has no authority to free his neighbour's slave, the condition here required, though not expressed, is that the slave should be his own property.

The Qur'ān is divided into:—

1. Ḥarf (singular Ḥarf), letters. In one standard book it is said that there are 338,606 letters, including the Bismillāhs. The last letters of each Sūra are collectively called fawāsil by the Qāris, and each letter of the alphabet thus occurs, except ghain, khai, and waw. The variety in the number of letters is thus explained: "Some letters are written but not read, as aliph in qūmūa and in aulik, and some are read but not written, as w in Dāwud, which is always written Dā'ūd. This, and the rules of the rasmu'l-khaṭṭ, which are not always observed, account for the variety in the enumeration."¹

2. Kalimāt (singular Kalimah), words. These are said

¹ Dawābiṭu'l-Furqān, p. 44.

by some authorities to amount to 79,087, by others to 77,934; but some persons count compound words as one word, some as two; some reckon the article *al* as a word, others do not; in the same way prepositions joined with another word, such as *fí má* (*fí má*), sometimes count for one word instead of two.

3. *Áyat* (singular *Áyat*), verses. *Áyat* really means a sign, and was the name given by Muhammad to short sections or verses of the Qur'án. The end of a verse is determined by the position of a small circle. The early Qur'án Readers did not agree as to the position of these circles, and so five different ways of arranging them have arisen. This accounts for the variation in the number of verses in different editions. The varieties are:—

Kúfa verses. The Readers in the city of Kúfa followed the custom of 'Alí, and reckon according to the *qirá't* of the Qárl Imám 'Ásim. Their way of reckoning is generally adopted in India. They reckon 6239 verses.

Bašra verses. The Readers of Bašra follow 'Ásim bin Hajjáj, a Companion. They reckon 6204 verses.

Shámi verses. The Readers in Syria (Shám) followed Abdu'lláh bin 'Umar, a Companion. They reckon 6225 verses.

Mecca verses. According to this arrangement, based on a statement made by Abdu'lláh bin Kathí'r, there are 6219 verses.

Madína verses. This way of reading, according to the reckoning of Abú Ja'far Zaid bin Qa'qá, contains 6211 verses.

In the above enumerations the verse "*Bismilláh*"¹ (in the name of God) is not reckoned. It occurs one hundred

¹ The *Bismilláh* is prefixed to all the *Súras* of the Qur'án, except one. This formula was borrowed from the Jews and the Sábians. The latter introduced their writings with the words, "*Ba nám-i-Yazdan bakhshai-ghar dadár*," i.e., In the name of God, the Merciful, the Just. (Wherry, *Comprehensive Commentary of the Qur'án*, vol. i, p. 289.)

Rodwell says it is of Jewish origin and was, in the first instance,

and thirteen times in the Qur'án. The variety in the number of verses is thus accounted for: "The Prophet, at first, paused at the close of each verse; afterwards he omitted the pause at the end of some verses. Those, who at first heard him, count more verses than those who heard him at a later period. Again, a slight pause, merely to take breath, may have been misunderstood, and thought to be a pause completing the verse."¹

The diversity of punctuation does not generally affect the meaning of any important passage.² In *Súratu'n-Naml* an account is given of the Queen of Sheba's receiving a letter from King Solomon. Addressing her nobles she said: "Verily kings, when they enter a city (by force) waste the same, and abase the most powerful of the inhabitants hereof: and so will (these) do (with us)" (xxvii. 34). Many Qáris put the full stop after the word "hereof," and say that God is the speaker of the words "and so will they do."

4. *Súra*, or chapter. This word means a row or series, such as a line of bricks arranged in a wall, but it is now exclusively used for chapters in the Qur'án, one hundred and fourteen in number. The *Súras* are not numbered in the original Arabic, but each one has some approximate name (as *al-Baqarah*, the cow, *an-Nisá'*, the women), generally taken from some expression which occurs in it. They are not arranged in chronological order, but according to their length. As a general rule, the shorter *Súras*, which contain the theology of Islám, belong to the Meccan period of the Prophet's career,³ and

taught to the Quraish by Umayyah of Taif, the poet, who was contemporary with, though somewhat older than Muhammad. (*Qur'án*, p. 1, note 2.)

¹ *Ḥawāḍiqi'l-Furqán*, p. 52.

² The fifth verse of the third *Súra* is an important exception. The position of the circle, the symbol denoting a full stop, in that verse is of the highest importance in connection with the rise of scholasticism (*ilmu'l-kalám*) in Islám.

³ The last verse revealed at Mecca was, "This day have I perfected your

the longer ones, relating chiefly to social duties and relationships, to the organisation of Islâm as a civil polity, to the time when he was consolidating his power at Madîna. The best way, therefore, to read the Qur'ân is to begin at the end. The attempt to arrange the Sûras in due order is a very difficult one, and, after all, can only be approximately correct. When rearranged the book becomes more intelligible. The chief tests for such rearrangement are the style and the matter. There is a very distinct difference in both of these respects between the earlier and later Sûras. The references to historical events sometimes give a clue; but the help from external sources is very limited. Individual Sûras are often very composite in their character, but, such as they are, they have been from the beginning. The recension made by Zaid in the reign of the Khalîfa 'Uthmân has been handed down unaltered in its form.

The ordinary arrangement makes it very difficult to follow the working of the Prophet's mind. In Rodwell's translation the first ninety Sûras are Mecca, and the last twenty-two Madîna ones. The Mecca Sûras are divided into three parts. The first forty-eight were delivered during the first four years of the Prophet's mission; then twenty-one more during the fifth and sixth years, and again twenty-one more before the flight to Madîna. The Hebrew legends and references to the Old Testament are mostly found in the second and third of these periods. The first Sûras are the most eloquent and rhetorical, and contain passages of great beauty. The Prophet deals there with a simple theology, emphasises the doctrine of the Unity of God, illustrates His power, and declares that His justice will be seen at the day of reckoning. The

religion for you, and have filled up the measure of my favours upon you; and it is my pleasure that Islâm be your religion; but whoso without wilful leanings to wrong shall be forced by hunger to transgress, to him, verily, will God be indulgent, merciful" (v. 5). (Ibn Khaldûn, vol. i, p. 206).

ritual is not elaborated. The social system and the laws of Islâm are not as yet fixed in their rigidity. The Madîna Sûras are different. The fervid eloquence of the preacher is absent, and the dictates of the practical administrator take its place. He deals now with questions of social life, domestic details, peace and war. This may be called by contrast the legal section of the Qur'ân. There is, however, comparatively little of definite legislation in the book.

The Sûratu'l Fâtiha, the first chapter of the Qur'ân, raises a difficulty. As the present Qur'ân is believed to be an exact copy of the one in heaven and to contain the very words of God throughout, how is it that we have in this Sûra a prayer for divine guidance, which clearly shows the human origin of the words? The commentators say that God enunciated it in this form in order to teach men how to pray, and the direction "say" must be understood before the words, "Direct us in the right way." It would be much more natural to suppose that it expresses the aspiration of Muḥammad at the outset of his career than that it was written down in heaven before the world came into existence. But until Muslims accept a rational view of inspiration, an explanation so reasonable and so appreciative of a reformer's humility must be set aside as heterodox.

5. Sîpâra, a thirtieth portion. This is a Persian word derived from *sî*, thirty, and *pâra*, a portion. The Arabs call each of these divisions a *juz*. Owing to this division, a pious man can recite the whole Qur'ân in a month, taking one sîpâra each day. Musalmâns never quote the Qur'ân as we do by Sûra and âyat, but by the sîpâra and rukû', terms I now proceed to explain.

6. Rukû' (plural Rukû'ât). This word literally means a prostration made by a worshipper in the act of saying the prayers. The collection of verses recited from the Qur'ân, ascriptions of praise offered to God, and various ritual acts connected with these, constitute one act of

worship called a "rak'at." After reciting some verses in this form of prayer, the worshipper makes a rukú', or prostration; the portion of the Qur'án then recited takes the name of rukú'. Tradition states that the Khalifa 'Uthmán, when reciting the Qur'án during the month of Ramaḍán, used to make twenty rak'ats each evening. In each rak'at he introduced different verses of the Qur'án, beginning with the first chapter and going steadily on. In this way he recited about two hundred verses each evening, that is, about ten verses in each rak'at. Since then it has been the custom to recite the Qur'án in this way in Ramaḍán, and also to quote it by the rukú', e.g., "such a passage is in such a súpára and in such a rukú'."

7. The other divisions are not important. They are, a Thumn, Ruba', Nisf, Thulth, that is, one-eighth, one-fourth, one-half, one-third of a súpára respectively.

In reciting the Qur'án the worshipper must be careful in certain places to say the takbír, "God is great," after the several appointed places. Such a one is after the recital of the Súratu'd-Duḥá (xciii). The custom arose in this way. The Hypocrites¹ came to the Prophet and asked him to recite the story of the "Seven Sleepers." He said, "I will tell you to-morrow," but he forgot to add the words, "if God will." By way of warning, God allowed no inspiration to descend upon him for some days. Then the Hypocrites began to laugh and say, "God has left him." As it was not God's purpose to put His messenger to ridicule, Súratu'd-Duḥá (xciii) was immediately brought by the ever-ready Gabriel. It begins: "By the brightness of the morning, and by the night when it groweth dark, *thy Lord hath not forsaken thee*, neither doth He hate thee." On account of this signal interposition of Providence on his

¹ A full account of the ritual will be found in Chapter v under *ṣalát*.

² These were some of the early converts at Madína, who were not very loyal to the Prophet. They were called the Munáfiqún, or Hypocrites, and are denounced in Súra lxiii, vv. 1, 2, 7, 8.

behalf, the Prophet always concluded the recital of this Súra with these words, "God is great." The practice thus became a sunnat obligation. A Tradition states that the Prophet said, "The takbír should be recited after every Súra which follows the Súratu'd-Duḥá (xciii)." The Tafsíru'l-Jalálain confirms this. Other authorities say that the takbír should be said after eleven of these only, viz., the Súras 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 100, 102, 109, 110, 112, and that after all the others the words "Lá iláha illa'lláhu" should be said.

In reciting the Qur'án, the person so doing must carefully observe all the rules and regulations concerning it. The correct recital is called *tiláwat*; but before a person can do this properly, he must have some acquaintance with the science called *'ilmu't-tajwíd*. It includes a knowledge of the peculiar spelling of words in the Qur'án, of its various readings, of the takbírs and responses at the close of certain appointed passages, of its various divisions, punctuation, and marginal instructions, of a correct pronunciation and intonation.¹

The doctrine of abrogation is a very important one in connection with the study of the Qur'án. Some commentators say that the opening verses of the 77th Súra refer to this: "By the train of the sent ones, and the swift ones in their swiftness, by the scatterers who scatter, and the distinguishers who distinguish, and by those who give forth the word to excuse or warn." The "swift ones" are said to be angels sent forth with verses of the Qur'án, "scattering or dispersing previous revelations, distinguishing between good and evil."² It is also referred to in the verses: "When We change one verse for another, and God knoweth the best which He revealeth" (xvi. 103); "Whatever verses We cancel or cause thee to forget,

¹ For further details on this subject see Appendix on *'ilmu't-tajwíd*.

² *Tafsír-i-Husaini*, vol. ii, p. 442.

We give thee better in their stead, or the like thereof. Knowest thou not that God hath power over all things" (ii. 100). This last verse occurs in a *Madína Súra*. Again, "What He pleaseth will God abrogate or confirm; for with Him is the source of revelation" (xiii. 39). Some verses which were cancelled in the Prophet's lifetime are not now extant. 'Abdu'lláh Ibn Masúd states that the Prophet one day recited a verse, which he immediately wrote down. The next morning he found it had vanished from the material on which it had been written. Astonished at this, he acquainted Muḥammad with the fact, and was informed that the verse in question had been revoked. There are, however, many verses still in the *Qur'án* which have been abrogated. It was an exceedingly convenient doctrine, and one needed to explain the change of front which Muḥammad made at different periods of his career. Certain rules have been laid down to regulate the practice. The verse which abrogates is called *násikh*, and the abrogated verse *mansúkh*. *Mansúkh* verses are of three kinds—first, where the words and the sense have both been abrogated; secondly, where the letter only is abrogated and the sense remains; thirdly, where the sense is abrogated though the letter remains. Imám Málik gives as an instance of the first kind the verse—"If a son of Adam had two rivers of gold, he would covet yet a third; and if he had three, he would covet yet a fourth. Neither shall the belly of a son of Adam be filled, but with dust. God will turn unto him who shall repent." The Imám states that originally this verse was in the *Súratu't-Taubah* (ix). The verse called the "verse of stoning" is an illustration of the second kind. It reads: "Abhor not your parents, for this would be ingratitude in you. If a man and woman of reputation commit adultery, ye shall stone them both; it is a punishment ordained by God; for God

¹ That is, the *Lauḥu'l Mahfúz* (Baidáwí, vol. i, p. 484).

is mighty and wise." The *Khalífa 'Umar* says this verse was extant in Muḥammad's lifetime, but that it is now lost.

Authorities differ as to the number of verses abrogated, some saying that they are two hundred and twenty-five. The principal ones are not many in number, and are very generally agreed upon. I give a few examples. It is a fact worthy of notice that they occur chiefly, if not almost entirely, in *Súras* delivered at *Madína*. There is a verse which has given much trouble to the Commentators. It is, "Verily they who believe (Muslims) and they who follow the Jewish religion and the Christian and the *Sábians*—whoever of these believeth in God and the last day, and doeth that which is right shall have their reward with their Lord: fear shall not come upon them, nor shall they be grieved." (xi. 59).¹ This verse is abrogated by the verse, "Whoso desireth any other religion than Islám it shall not be accepted of him, and in the next world he shall be of those who perish" (iii. 79). In the *Khaláṣatu't-Tafásir* (vol. i, p. 271) it is said of this latter verse that "it abrogates all past religions and all which may arise in the future." Baidáwí says that the text "denies the acceptability of any religion which differs from it" (vol. i, p. 164). At *Madína*, where Muḥammad had to confront Jews and Christians, he tried at first to win them over to his side, and then, when he found them obstinate, the doctrine of abrogation came in conveniently. This is seen plainly in the following case. At Mecca Muḥammad and his followers did not stand facing any particular direction when at prayer. "To God belongeth the east and west; therefore, whithersoever ye turn yourselves to pray, there is the face of God" (ii. 109). When Muḥammad arrived at

¹ Baidáwí says "whoever of these believeth" means: "Those of the Infidels who believe with pure belief and enter sincerely into Islám."—

من آمن من هؤلاء الكفرة إيماناً خالصاً ودخل في الإسلام دعواً صادقاً

Again, the second verse of Súra lxxiii. reads: "Stand up all night, except a small portion of it, for prayer." According to a Tradition handed down by 'Āyeshā, the last verse of this Súra was revealed a year later. It makes the matter much easier. "God measureth the night and the day; He knoweth that ye cannot count its hours aright, and therefore turneth to you mercifully. Recite then so much of the Qur'ān as may be easy to you" (lxxiii. 20).

In Súrātū't-Taūbah (ix) there is a verse which, according to the Ijmā' has now no force, though it has not been abrogated by another verse: "But alms are only to be given to the poor and the needy, and to those who collect them, and to those whose hearts are won to Islām" (ix. 60). The clause—"to those whose hearts are won to Islām"—is now cancelled.¹ Muḥammad, to gain the hearts of those who, lately enemies, had now become friends, and to confirm them in the faith, gave them large presents from the spoils he took in war; but when Islām spread and became strong, the Khālifa Abū Bakr abolished the gift, and the 'Ulamā then agreed that it was no longer required, and said that the order was sāqit, a term not so strong as mansúkh.

The words "Put up with what they say" (xx. 130) are, according to the commentators Jalālain and Ḥusain, abrogated by the verse called the Ayatū's-saif, or verse of the sword: "Kill those who join other gods with God wherever ye shall find them" (ix. 5). The "they" in the first verse refers to idolaters of Mecca, to whom for a while toleration was shown. When the power of the Muslims increased, the toleration ceased, and the 130th verse of Surá xx was abrogated accordingly.

Other verses abrogated relate to the Ramaḍān fast, jihād, retaliation and matters of social interest.

¹ *Tafsir-i-Ḥusaini*, vol. i, p. 216: *Baidāwī*, vol. i, p. 391.

The doctrine of abrogation is now almost invariably applied by Musalmān controversialists to the Old and New Testaments, which they say are abrogated by the Qur'ān. "His (Muḥammad's) law is the abrogator of every other law."¹ This is not, however, a legitimate use of the doctrine. According to the best and most ancient Muslim divines, abrogation refers entirely to the Qur'ān and the Traditions, and even then is confined to commands and prohibitions. "Those who imagine it to be part of the Muḥammadan creed that one law has totally repealed another, are utterly mistaken—we hold no such doctrine."² In the *Tafsir-i-Ittifāq* it is written: "Abrogation affects those matters which God has confined to the followers of Muḥammad, and one of the chief advantages of it is that the way is made easy." In the *Tafsir-i-Mazhirī* we find: "Abrogation refers only to commands and prohibitions, not to facts or historical statements."³ Promises (wa'da) and threatenings (wa'id) cannot be abrogated. Again, no verse of the Qur'ān, or a Tradition can be abrogated unless the abrogating verse is distinctly opposed to it in meaning. If it is a verse of the Qur'ān, we must have the authority of Muḥammad himself for the abrogation; if a Tradition, that of a Companion. Thus "the word of a commentator or a Mujtahid is not sufficient unless there is a 'genuine Tradition' (*Ḥadīthū's-Ṣaḥīḥ*), to show the matter clearly. The question of the abrogation of any previous command depends on historical facts with regard to the abrogation, not on the mere opinion of a commentator. It cannot be shown that either Muḥammad or a Companion ever said that the Bible was abrogated."⁴

¹ *Sharḥ-i-'Aqā'id-i-Jāmī*, p. 131.

² Sir Syed Ahmad, *Commentary on the Holy Bible*, vol. i, p. 268.

³ *Maulavi Saifdar 'Alī, Niyās Nāma*, p. 260.

⁴ In fact, the Qur'ān is said to be "confirmatory of previous scriptures and their safeguard" (v. 52). If then, as some Muslims say, the Bible has been corrupted, the Qur'ān has failed of its purpose, and has not been

Additions were occasionally made. Thus when it was revealed that those who stay at home were not before God as those who go forth to war, it was said, "And what if they were blind?" The Prophet asked for the shoulder-blade on which the verse was written. He then had a spasmodic convulsion. After his recovery he made Zaid add the words "free from trouble." So now the whole verse reads thus: "Those believers who sit at home free from trouble (i.e., bodily infirmity), and those who do valiantly in the cause of God, with their substance and their persons, shall not be treated alike" (iv. 97).¹ Years after Zaid said, "I fancy I see the words now on the shoulder-blade near a crack."²

In the days of the Khalīfa al-Māmūn the question of the eternal nature of the Qur'ān was fiercely debated. The Muslim freethinkers asserted that the Qur'ān was created, that revelation came to Muḥammad in a subjective mode, and that the language was his own. This brought the book within the reach of criticism. In the year 212 A.H. the Khalīfa issued a decree that all who held the Qur'ān to be uncreated were to be declared guilty of heresy. The arguments used on the orthodox side are: that both the words and their pronunciation are eternal; that the attempt now to draw a distinction between the word as it exists in the Divine Mind and as it appears in the Qur'ān is highly dangerous. In vain do their opponents argue that if the Qur'ān is uncreated,

a "safeguard." The commentator Husain interprets the term "Muḥalminan," translated "safeguard," as "a guard over the books which protects them from change."—*Tafsīr-i-Husaini*, vol. i, p. 148. The same interpretation is given in the *Khalāṣatu'l-Tafsīr*, vol. i, p. 529. Baidāwī says:—"A guardian over all the books, preserving them from change and witnessing to their correctness and permanency." (vol. i, p. 260).

¹ Baidāwī, vol. i, p. 225.

² Syūṭī in the *Iqān* (ii. 32-7) lays down the rule that if there are two contradictory passages, one must abrogate the other, as "it is impossible to admit that the Qur'ān contradicts itself." (Quoted by Klein, *Religion of Islām*, p. 20).

two Eternal Beings are in existence. To this it is answered: "This is the honourable Qur'ān, written in the preserved Tablet" (lvi. 76). A Tradition is also adduced which states: "God wrote the Torah (Law) with His own hand, and with His own hand He created Adam; and also in the Qur'ān it is written, 'And We wrote for him upon the tables a monition concerning every matter,' in reference to the tables of the Law given to Moses." If God did this for former prophets and their works, how much more, it is argued, should He not have done it for the last and greatest of the prophets and the noble Qur'ān? It is not easy to get a correct definition of the term "the uncreated Qur'ān,"¹ but a Musalmān author puts it thus: "The Word as it exists in the mind of God is kalāmu'n-nafsi (spiritual word), some thing unwritten and eternal. It is acknowledged by the Ijmā'u'l-ummat (consent of the Faithful), the Traditions, and by other prophets that God speaks. The kalāmu'n-nafsi then is eternal, but the actual words, style, and eloquence are created by God; so also is the arrangement and the miraculous nature of the book."² This seems to be a reasonable account of the doctrine, though there are theologians who hold that the very words are eternal. The doctrine of abrogation clashes with this idea, but they meet the objection by their theory of absolute predestination. This accounts for all the circumstances which necessitated the abrogation, for the circumstances, as well as the abrogated verses, were determined on from all eternity.

¹ "The orthodox Muslims maintain, if I may venture upon a definition of their belief, that the Qur'ān, the uncreated Logos, was from the beginning, co-eternal with the Deity, not of His essence in hypostatic union, but an inseparable quality of it, like His unity." (Major Jarrett in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, No. 446, Fasciculus, iv, p. 318.)

² "The Sunnis hold that as regards the kalāmu'n-nafsi, the Qur'ān is not created; but as regards the words which we read it is created." مذهب أهل السنة أن القرآن بمعنى الكلام النفسى ليس بمخلوق وأما القرآن بمعنى اللفظ الذى نقرؤه فهو مخلوق—Jowhara 68, 88 quoted by Klein, p. 9.

Some passages in the Qur'ān were suggested by men. Ibn Merdawīyya said: "Umar used to have an opinion, and lo! a revelation came in accordance with the same." Bukhārī said: "Umar said: 'O Apostle of God, that we might adopt the makām of Abraham, the Ka'ba, as a place of worship and a revelation came to that effect'" (ii. 119). 'Umar suggested the seclusion of women and the verse came "When ye would ask any gifts of his (Muḥammad) wives, ask it from behind a veil" (xxxiii. 58). In Sūra iv. 97 the words "free from trouble" were added at the instance of Amrū bin Umm Makhtūm. Other instances are given by Syūṭī.¹

This concludes the consideration of the exegesis of the Qur'ān, a book difficult and uninteresting for a non-Muslim to read, but one which has engaged, and is still engaging, the earnest thoughts of many millions of the human race. Thousands of devout students in the great theological schools of Cairo, Stamboul, Central Asia, and India are now plodding through this very subject of which I have here been treating; soon will they go forth as teachers of the book they so much revere. How utterly unfit that training is to make them wise men or scholars in any true sense of the word, how calculated to render them proud, conceited, and scornful of other creeds, its rigid and exclusive character shows. Still, it is a marvellous book; for twelve hundred years and more it has helped to mould the faith, animate the courage, cheer the despondency of multitudes, whether dwellers in the wild uplands of Central Asia, in Hindustan, or on the shores of the Mediterranean. The Turanian and the Aryan, the Arab and the Negro, alike learn its sonorous sentences, day by day repeat its opening clauses, and pray in its words as their fathers prayed before them.

In the Qur'ān thus revered there is a very close con-

¹ These are given by Klein, *Religion of Islām*, p. 17.

nection between the religious and the social ordinances. Until Muslims modify their belief in its verbal inspiration and apply to its interpretation the principles of the higher criticism, there can be no sound progress and no real reform. On this point, Stanley Lane-Poole says: "The theory of revelation would have to be modified. Muslims would have to give up their doctrine of syllabic inspiration of the Qur'ān and exercise their moral sense in distinguishing between the particular and the general, the temporary and the permanent; they would have to recognise that there was much in Muḥammad's teaching which, though useful at the time, is inapplicable to the present conditions of life; that his knowledge was often partial and sometimes at fault."¹

The Traditions contain the record of all that Muḥammad did and said. A Muslim, to whatever sect he belongs, believes that the Prophet both spake, and acted under a divine influence. The mode of this inspiration is different from that of the Qur'ān. There the revelation was objective. In the Prophet's sayings recorded in the Traditions the inspiration is subjective. This belief places the Traditions in a place second only to the Qur'ān; it makes them a true supplement to that book, and thus they not only throw light on its meaning,² but themselves form the basis on which doctrines may be established. Thus there can be no true conception formed of Islām if the Traditions are not studied and taken into account.

The first four *Khālifas* were called the *Khulafā'u'r-Rāshidūn*, that is, those who could guide others aright. They had been friends and Companions of the Prophet,

¹ *Selections from the Qur'ān*, p. xiv.

² The authority for this statement is the verse, "Verily, afterwards it shall be Ours to make it clear to thee" (lxxv. 19.) that is, the words of Muḥammad, given in the Traditions so far as they relate to the Qur'ān are an inspired commentary on and an explanation of it.

and the Faithful could always appeal to them in cases of doubt. The Prophet had declared that Islám must be written in the hearts of men. There was therefore an unwillingness to commit his sayings to writing. As no argument was so effectual in a dispute as "a saying" of the Prophet, the door was opened by which spurious Traditions could be palmed off on the Faithful. To prevent this, a number of strict rules were framed, at the head of which stands the Prophet's saying, itself a Tradition: "Convey to other persons none of my words except those which ye know of a surety. Verily, he who purposely represents my words wrongly will find a place for himself nowhere but in fire." To enforce this rule, it was laid down that the relator of a Tradition must also repeat its "isnád," or chain of authorities, as: "I heard from such an one, who heard from such an one," and so on, until the chain reaches the Prophet himself. The following Tradition, taken from Imám Málík's treatise, the *Muwattá'*, affords a good illustration of an isnád: "Málík relates from Yahyá Ibn Sa'ud, from 'Umra, the daughter of 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán, from 'Áyeshá, the wife of the Prophet, who said: 'The Prophet conducted morning service, and the women returned therefrom with their upper garments wrapped around them in such a way that they could not be recognised in the twilight.'" This Tradition also settles the time for the *ṣalátu'l-fajr*, which must be just before daybreak. Each person, too, in an isnád must be well known for his good character and retentive memory. "The system of isnád employed by the Traditionists of the Hedjáz is very superior to that which the others follow, and singularly corroborates the authenticity of their Traditions. This arises from the extreme care they took. They only received Traditions from the mouths of upright and virtuous men, gifted with good memories."¹

¹ Ibn Khaldún, vol. ii, p. 468.

All this care, however, failed to prevent a vast number of manifestly false Traditions becoming current; so men set themselves to the work of collecting and sifting the great mass of Tradition that in the second century of Islám had begun to work untold evil. These men are called *Muḥaddithún*, or collectors of Tradition. The Sunnis and the Wahhábis recognise six such men, and their collections are known as the "*Ṣiḥāḥu's-sitta*," or six correct books. They are the following:—¹

1. The *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukḥārī, called after Abú 'Abdu'lláh Muḥammad Ibn Ismá'il, a native of Bukḥará. He was born A.H. 194. He was a man of middle height, spare in frame, and as a boy totally blind. His father one day in a dream saw the Patriarch Abraham, who said to him, "God, on account of thy grief and sorrow, has granted sight to thy son." The sight being thus restored, at the age of ten he went to school, and began to learn the Traditions by heart. After his education was finished, a famous *Muḥaddith* named Dakhíl came to Bukḥará. One day the youthful Bukḥārī ventured to correct the famous man. It was an astounding piece of audacity but the youth was proved to be in the right. This set him on the work of collecting and sifting the Traditions. At the early age of sixteen he was able to remember fifteen thousand. In course of time he collected 600,000 Traditions. The result of his examination and selection was that he approved of seven thousand two hundred and seventy-five. These are now recorded in his great work, the *Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukḥārī*, a collection preferred to all others in Asia and Egypt. It is said that he never sat down to examine a Tradition without first performing a legal ablution and repeating two rak'at prayers. He then said: "O Lord, let me not make a mistake." For sixteen years he lived in a mosque, and died much respected, at the age of sixty-four.

¹ The most important of all these Traditions will be found in the

2. The *Saḥīḥ* of Muslim. Muslim Ibn *Ḥajjāj* was born at Nishápúr, a city of *Khurásán*. He collected about 300,000 Traditions, from which he made his collection, which is held in high repute in Spain and North Africa. He is said to have been a very just man, and willing to oblige all who sought his advice. This willingness was the indirect cause of his death. One day he was sitting in the mosque when some people came to ask him about a Tradition. As he could not discover it in the books he had with him, he went to his house to search there. The people brought him a basket of dates. He went on eating and searching but ate so many dates that he died. (A.H. 261).

3. The Sunan of Abú Dá'úd. Abú Dá'úd *Sajistání* a native of *Seistán*, was born A.H. 202, and died in 275 A.H. He was a great traveller, and went to all the chief places of Musalmán learning. In knowledge of the Traditions, in devotion, in piety, he was unrivalled. He collected about 500,000 Traditions, of which he selected four thousand eight hundred for his book.

4. The *Jámi'* of *Tirmidhí*. Abú 'Ísa Muḥammad at-*Tirmidhí* was born at *Tirmidh* in the year A.H. 209. He died in the year A.H. 279. He was a disciple of *Bukhárí*. Ibn *Khallikán* says this work is "the production of a well-informed man: its exactness is proverbial."¹

5. The Sunan of Nasá'í. Abú 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán an-Nasá'í was born at Nasá, in *Khurásán*, in the year A.H. 214, and died A.H. 303. It is recorded of him that he fasted every other day, and had four wives and many slaves. This book is considered of great value. He met with his death in rather a sad way. He had compiled a book on the virtues of 'Alí, and as the people of Damascus were at that time inclined to the heresy of the *Khárijites*, he wished to read his book in the mosque

Mishkátu'l-Masābīḥ written by Shaikh *Wáli'u'd-dīn* 737 A.H. An English translation of this work was published in Calcutta in 1809.

¹ Ibn *Khallikán*, vol. ii, p. 679.

of that place. After he had read a little way, a man arose and asked him whether he knew aught of the praises of Mu'áwiyah, 'Alí's deadly enemy. He replied that he did not. This answer enraged the people, who beat him so severely that he died soon after.

6. The Sunan of Ibn Májah. Ibn Májah¹ was born at 'Iráq, A.H. 209 and died at the age of sixty-four. This work contains 4,000 Traditions.

The Shí'ahs reject these books and substitute five books² of their own. They are of a much later date.

The belief which underlies the question of the authority of the Traditions is that before the Throne of God there stands a "preserved tablet,"³ on which all that can happen, and all that has ever entered or will enter the mind of man, is "noted in a distinct writing." Through the medium of Gabriel, the Prophet had access to this. It follows, then, that the words of the Prophet express the will of God.

Of the four great Canonical Legists of Islám, Ahmad Ibn *Ḥanbal* was the chief collector of Traditions. He knew by heart no less than one million and of these he incorporated thirty thousand into his system of jurisprudence, a system now almost obsolete. Abú *Ḥanīfa*, who is said to have accepted only eighteen Traditions as authentic, founded a system which is to this day the most powerful in Islám. The *Ḥanīfites*, however, as well as other Muslims, acknowledge the six standard collections of Traditions as direct revelations of the will of God. They range over a vast number of subjects, and

¹ "A high authority in the Traditions: well versed in all the sciences connected with them." (Ibn *Khallikán*, vol. ii, p. 680.)

² The *Káfi*, by Abú Ja'far Muḥammad, A.H. 329. The *Man-lá-Yas-tahzīrahu'l-Faqīh*, by Shaikh 'Alí, A.H. 381. The *Nahju'l-Balāghah*, by Syed ar-Rázi, A.H. 406. The *Tahdhībī* and the *Istibṣār*, by Shaikh Abú Ja'far Muḥammad, A.H. 466.

³ For the Jewish origin of this idea, see Tisdall's *Sources of the Qur'án*, pp. 116-9.

furnish a commentary on the Qur'ān. The Prophet's personal appearance, his mental and moral qualities, his actions, his opinions, are all recorded over and over again. Many questions of religious belief are largely founded on the Traditions, and it is to them we must go for an explanation of much of the ritual of Islām. It is very difficult for any one, who has not lived in long and friendly intercourse with Muslims, to realise how much their religious life and opinions, their thought and actions, are based on the Traditions.

The classification of the Traditions adopted by different authors may vary in some subordinate points, but the following account is adopted from a standard Muhammadan work. A Tradition may be *Ḥadīthu'l-Qaul*, that is, an account of something the Prophet said; or *Ḥadīthu'l-Fi'l*, a record of something which he did; or *Ḥadīthu't-Taqrīr*, a statement of some act performed by other persons in his presence, and which action he did not forbid.

The Traditions may be classed under two general heads:—

First, *Ḥadīthu'l-Mutawātir*, that is, "an undoubted Tradition," the isnād or chain of narrators of which is perfect, and in which chain each narrator possessed all the necessary qualifications for his office.¹ Some authorities say that there are only a very few of these Traditions extant, but most allow that the following is one: "There are no good works except with intention;" for example, a man may fast, but, unless he has the intention of fasting firmly in his mind, he gains no spiritual reward by so doing.

Second, *Ḥadīthu'l-Aḥād*. The authority of this class

¹ If the isnād is good, internal improbability carries with it little weight against the genuineness of a Tradition. There is a saying current to this effect:—"A relation made by Shāfi'ī on the authority of Mālik, and by him on the authority of Nāfi', and by him on the authority of Ibn 'Umar, is really the golden chain."

is theoretically somewhat less than that of the first, but practically it is the same.

This class is again subdivided into two:—

1. *Ḥadīthu's-Ṣaḥīḥ*, or a genuine Tradition. A Tradition is *ṣaḥīḥ* if the narrators have been men of pious lives, abstemious in their habits, endowed with a good memory, free from blemish, and persons who lived at peace with their neighbours. The following also are *ṣaḥīḥ*. I arrange them in the order of their value. *Ṣaḥīḥ* Traditions are those which are found in the collections made by *Bukhārī* and *Muslim*, or in the collection of either of the above, though not in both; or, if not mentioned by either of these famous collectors, if they have been retained in accordance with their canons for the rejection or retention of Traditions; or lastly, if retained in accordance with the rules of any other approved collector. For each of these classes there is a distinct name.

2. *Ḥadīthu'l-Ḥasan*. The narrators of this class are not of such good authority as those of the former with regard to one or two qualities, but these Traditions should be received as of equal authority as regards any practical use.¹ It is merely as a matter of classification that they rank second.

In addition to these names there are a number of other technical terms which have regard to the personal character of the narrators, the isnād, and other points. A few may be mentioned.

1. *Ḥadīthu'd-Da'if*, or a weak Tradition. The narrators were persons with characters not above reproach, whose memories were bad, or who, worse still, were addicted to "bid'at," innovation—a habit now, as then, a crime in the eyes of all true Muslims. All agree that a "weak Tradition" has little force; but few rival theologians now agree as to which are, and which are not, "weak Traditions."

¹ *Nūru'l-Hidāyah*, p. 5.

2. *Ḥadīth*u'l-Mu'allāq, or a Tradition in the isnād of which there is some break. If it begins with a *Tābi'*, it is called "mursal," the one link in the chain, the Companion, being wanting. If the first link in the chain of narrators begins in a generation still later, its name is different, and so on.

3. Traditions which have various names, according as the narrator concealed the name of his Imām, or where different narrators disagree, or where the narrator has mixed some of his own words with the Tradition, or has been proved to be a liar, an evil liver, or mistaken; but into an account of these it is not necessary to enter, for no Tradition of this class would be considered as of itself sufficient ground on which to base any doctrine.¹

A Tradition may be abrogated in the same way as a verse of the Qur'ān. The following example taken from *Bukhārī* is quoted as a proof of this: "We made salām to the Prophet when he was engaged in prayer, and he returned it." This is now abrogated by this Tradition: "After we returned from Abyssinia, we made our salām to the Prophet when he was at prayer. He did not return it, but said, 'In prayer there is no employment'" (i.e., do not attend to other things then).² Another example is given with regard to mut'a marriages. The Tradition, "Whatever man and woman agree to live together for ten or more days, if they like they can increase it or separate," is said to have been abrogated by this later Tradition: "The Prophet at last forbade mut'a marriages."³

It is the universally accepted rule that no authentic Tradition can be contrary to the Qur'ān.⁴ The import-

¹ A full account of these will be found in the preface to the *Nūr'u'l-Hidāyah*, the Urdu translation of the *Sharḥ-i-Waqāyah*.

² *Sahīhu'l-Bukhārī*, vol. i, p. 302.

³ *Ibid*, vol. iii, p. 427.

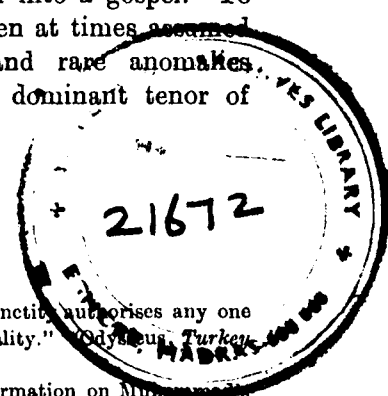
⁴ "Not only is religion limited by the Qur'ān and in the Traditions, but the latter must be understood only according to the received

ance attached to Tradition has been shown in the preceding chapter, an importance which has demanded the formation of an elaborate system of exegesis. To an orthodox Muslim the Book and the Sunnat, God's word direct and God's word through the mind of the Prophet, are the foundation and sum of Islām, a fact not always taken into account by the modern panegyrists of it.¹ The Qur'ān and the Traditions give the basis of the whole theocratic system; but here and there in them we find "healthier but unhomogeneous admixtures and anomalous touches of better grace." These, however, do not alter the whole scheme as authoritatively developed, or really change its character. Palgrave on this very point says: "Neglect of this discrimination has led some apologists into eulogies of Muḥammad, which Muḥammad himself would have been the first to reject: has led them to transform the 'Messenger of God' into a philanthropist and the Qur'ān into a gospel. To this end detached sentences have been at times assumed for criteria of the whole work, and rare anomalies brought forward as the general and dominant tenor of the Prophet's life and writing."²

explanations, and no amount of learning or sanctity authorises any one to make use of the smallest particle of originality." (*Odysseus, Turkey, in Europe*, p. 133).

¹ "The Qur'ān is not the only source of information on Muḥammad's teaching. It contains his official *pronunciamenti*, his public orations, his judgments from the bench. If we would know his private talk, his daily acts and sayings, which form the rules and precedents for every Muslim's conduct—insomuch that a pious jurist refused to eat water-melons, because, though it was recorded that the Prophet ate them, it was not recorded whether he cut or crushed them—we must turn to these collections of Traditions which form the table-talk of Muḥammad." (Stanley Lane-Poole, *Studies in a Mosque*, p. 318.)

² *Central and Eastern Arabia*, vol. i, p. 369.



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CHAPTER III

THE SECTS OF ISLĀM

THE commonly received opinion that the Muhammadan religion is one remarkable for the absence of dogma and the unanimity of its professors is quite incorrect. The next chapter will contain a full account of the doctrines held by the Sunnis, who are called the orthodox. In this chapter I shall explain the views of some of the unorthodox sects.

The term Shi'ah means a "follower," and is now used to denote the followers of 'Alī, the son-in-law of Muhammad and the fourth Khalīfa. The Shi'ah sect is chiefly found in Persia.* Koshai, a man of the Quraish tribe, about the year 440 A.D., acquired for his own family the guardianship of the Ka'ba. He gathered around himself at Mecca many of the scattered Quraish families, improved the city, and gradually assumed the dignities there were connected with the custody of the Ka'ba and the pilgrimage to it. He thus became the chief spiritual and temporal ruler of Mecca. After his death many disputes arose amongst his descendants, and at length the various offices he held were divided amongst his grandchildren. The *siqāya* and *rifāda*, the prerogative of providing water and food to the pilgrims, passed on to Hāshim, the leadership in war to 'Abdu'sh-Shams. The son of Hāshim, 'Abdu'l Muṭṭalib, succeeded his father, but met with much opposition from Umaiyaḥ, the son of 'Abdu'sh-Shams. However, 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib, who was the grandfather of Muhammad, maintained his

position as head of the Quraish. Thus two permanent rival factions were formed, the Hāshimites and the Umaiyaḥ, both descendants of the great Koshai. The feud passed on from generation to generation. Muhammad was a lineal descendant of Hāshim. His ablest and most active enemy in Mecca was Abū Sufyān, a grandson of Umaiyaḥ. The Arab families were united in hate as well as in love. Nothing delighted their members more than to hear of and dwell upon the passions and strifes of their ancestors—hatreds which they took care to keep alive and hand down to their descendants as they had received them from the generations passed away. Abū Sufyān commanded the Quraish in more than one attack on the Prophet's forces, but, the day before the entry of Muhammad with his friends into Mecca, Abū Sufyān acknowledged his error and submitted to the Prophet, who then granted him a free pardon.¹ It was a mere outward conversion, and it led to much heart-burning between the faithful Ansār² of Madīna and these new allies.

Two parties now gradually formed themselves amongst the Muslims—on the one side the Companions of the Prophet and the men of Madīna; on the other, the descendants of Umaiyaḥ and of the Quraish generally. The two first Khalīfas, Abū Bakr and 'Umar, held the respective parties in check, but the third Khalīfa, 'Uṭhmān, failed to do so. He was a member of the family of Umaiyaḥ, though he had voluntarily and sincerely adopted the Prophet's cause. He gradually removed the leaders of the army and others from their places of command and trust.

Men most distasteful to the great body of Muslims, men such as Mu'āwiyah, son of Abū Sufyān, Merwān,

¹ Rauḍatu's-Safā, Part II, vol. ii, p. 588.

² The term al-Ansār means "The helpers," and is used of the early converts at Madīna: the men of Mecca who accompanied Muhammad to Madīna were called Muhājirūn, or the exiles.

whom the Prophet had banished from Mecca, and others of the Umawíyah family, were placed in high commands and in administrative posts of influence. Syria and Palestine, Egypt, Kúfa, and other places were intrusted to the care of men whose antecedents and present practices scandalised the Faithful. The political position was becoming intolerable, and at length Muḥammad, a son of the late Khalífa Abú Bakr, with 10,000 men, came to Madína to state the grievances of his party. 'Uthmán put them off with a promise of redress; but on their return home they intercepted an official letter to the Governor of Egypt, ordering him to put them all to death. They returned at once to Madína, stormed the palace, and assassinated the Khalífa.

'Alí, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, was now proclaimed Khalífa by the people of Madína, and a terrible civil war ensued. Bitter feelings were then engendered which even to this day find vent in the annual ceremonies of the Muḥarram. 'Alí was too straightforward to adopt any temporising policy, and at once issued a decree deposing all the Governors of the Umawíyah party. Although theoretically, as Khalífa, he had this power, yet men who had tasted the sweets of office were not inclined to give them up, and so they quickly set up a hostile force, headed by one of the ablest and most unscrupulous men of the age, Mu'áwiyah, son of Abú Sufyán, and now Governor of Syria. Mu'áwiyah denounced 'Alí as the murderer of 'Uthmán. "Thirty thousand men," so says the message sent to 'Alí, "have sworn to avenge his death, and never cease from mourning till all concerned in it have been killed."

The cause of 'Alí received its chief blow at the battle of Siffin. All went well for a time, and Mu'áwiyah was about to beat a retreat, when 'Amrú, one of his generals, hit upon a cunning device. He ordered a number of his soldiers to advance with copies of the

Qur'án fixed to the heads of their lances. "Let the blood of the Faithful cease to flow," they shouted. "Let the book of God decide between us." 'Alí's army was composed of military theologians, fanatical and disputatious. "God is great," they replied, "we must submit to the arbitrament of this book." 'Alí tried in vain to prevent his followers from falling into the trap laid for them, but failed. Violent altercations ensued, which finally resulted in a very large secession from his ranks. These men originated the sect called the Khárijites.¹ The arbitration went in favour of Mu'áwiyah. Still the trickery of the whole affair was so manifest that the war soon recommenced, but then clouds and darkness gathered around the path of 'Alí. Many of the more fanatical Muslims of his own party turned against him, and the old feudal hatred of the Umawíyahs followed him to the death. His sad and chequered life ended in the year 40 A.H., when he was assassinated by a Khárijite. One great blot in his character is connected with the fate of 'Uthmán, to whom he had sworn loyalty, and whose murderers he should have brought to justice. It was an error of judgment, to say the least, and lent a strong motive to men who perhaps otherwise might not have opposed him. But for all that, 'Alí was one of the best and truest-hearted of the early Muslim chiefs, and worthily calculated to win and retain, as he has done for so many centuries, the ardent love and affection of so many millions of Shi'áhs.² 'Alí's eldest son, Ḥasan, made a formal renunciation of his claim, and took an oath of allegiance to Mu'áwiyah, who thus became the Khalífa of Islám. Still, so long as the lad was alive, he felt insecure, and being anxious to leave the government to his son Yazíd, he caused

¹ Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, vol. i, pp. 214—24.

² See my article on "The place of 'Alí in Eastern religious thought," in *East and West*, vol. i, pp. 306—16.

Hasan, some years after, to be put to death by poison—so at least the Shi'ah historians say. The city of Kūfa, where 'Alī was assassinated, was the centre of religious fanaticism. It was the home of the Qur'ān Readers, Doctors of the Law, and of Theologians generally. Theological controversy raged, and much of the after bewildering refinement of Muslim theology owes its origin to the wrangling disputes of the men of Kūfa.

Yazīd, who succeeded his father Mu'āwiyah in the year 60 A.H., was not an orthodox Muslim. He drank wine, loved dogs, and hated an austere life. The men of Kūfa were scandalised, and he in return treated them with much contempt. At this time, Ḥusain, the remaining son of 'Alī, was residing at Mecca. He had never taken the oath of allegiance to Mu'āwiyah, and so now the men of Kūfa begged him to come, and promised to espouse his cause if only he would pronounce the deposition of Yazīd and take away the Khalifate from the house of Umayyah. The friends of Ḥusain in vain urged that the men of Kūfa were a fickle lot, and that they could, if they wished, revolt against Yazīd without his help. Ḥusain accepted the call, and started for Kūfa with his family and a small escort of forty horsemen and one hundred foot-soldiers.

But meanwhile Yazīd sent the Governor of Bagra to block the way, and Ḥusain on the plains of Karbalā found his progress arrested by a force of 3,000 men. The people of Kūfa gave no aid. Submission or death was the alternative placed before him. To his followers he said, "Let all who wish to go do so." "O son of the Apostle of God," was the reply, "what excuse could we give to thy grandfather on the day of resurrection did we abandon thee?" One by one the little band fell, and at last Ḥusain and his little son, a mere infant, alone remained. Ḥusain sat on the ground. Not one of the enemy seemed to dare touch the grandson of the Prophet. The scene was a strange one—

Ḥusain sitting down, his little boy running round him, all his followers lying dead close by, the enemy longing for his blood but restrained by a superstitious awe. Ḥusain took the little lad up into his arms; a chance arrow pierced the child's ear and it died at once. Ḥusain then placed the corpse on the ground, saying, "We come from God and we return to Him. O God, give me strength to bear these misfortunes." He stooped down to drink some water from the Euphrates which flowed close by. Just then an arrow struck him in the mouth. Encouraged by this, the enemy rushed on him and speedily put an end to his life. The plain of Karbalā is now a place of sacred pilgrimage to Shi'ahs, and the sad event which took place there is kept alive in their memories by the annual celebration of the Muharram. The schism was now complete. A rent had been made in the Muslim world which time has failed to heal. 'The martyred Ḥusain' is a watchword which has kept alive a spirit of hatred and of vengeance even to this day.

Many traditions record the virtues of 'Alī and his family. The martyrdom of Ḥusain was foretold by Muḥammad, for he is reported to have said of Ḥusain, "He will die for the sake of my people." Just before he set out upon his fatal journey, standing by the grave of the Prophet, Ḥusain said, "How can I forget thy people, since I am going to offer myself for their sakes?" This idealising of the natural result of a tribal feud seems to show that the hard and cold system of orthodox Islām failed to find a warm response in the Persian mind. The Christian idea of self-denial, of self-renunciation, of self-sacrifice for others was needed; and this representation of Ḥusain as a voluntary sacrifice was the substitute the Shi'ahs found. It has been well said that "the death of Ḥusain, as idealised in after ages, fills up this want in Islām: it is the womanly as against the masculine—the Christian as opposed

to the Jewish element that this story supplies to the work of Muhammad."

The annual ceremonies celebrated in the month of Muharram refer to the historical facts, and help to keep alive a bitter feud; but to suppose that the only difference between the Shí'ah and the Sunnī is a mere dispute as to the proper order of the early *Khalīfas* would be a mistake. Starting off with a political quarrel, the Shí'ahs have travelled into a very distinct religious position of their own. The fundamental tenet of the Shí'ah sect is the "divine right" of 'Alī the Chosen and his descendants. From this it follows that the chief duty of religion consists in devotion to the Imām (or Pontiff); from which position some curious dogmas issue.

The whole question of the Imāmat is a very important one. The term Imām comes from an Arabic word meaning "to aim at," "to follow after," and it thus becomes equal to the word leader or exemplar. It is applied in this sense to Muhammad as the leader in all civil and religious questions, and to the *Khalīfas*, his successors, who are called the Great Imāms. It is also, in its religious import only, applied to the founders of the four orthodox schools of jurisprudence, and in a restricted sense to the leader of a congregation at prayer in a mosque. They are called the Lesser Imāms. Shí'ahs hold that the Imām, as a leader of prayer, must be sinless (*ma'sūm*); the Sunnīs say that the *namāz* can be led by any Imām, whether he is a good or a bad man. They adduce the following story in support of their view:—"One day the people asked Abū Hanīfa about the leading tenets of the Sunnīs." He replied, "To consider Abū Bakr and 'Umar as the highest in rank, to esteem 'Uthmān and 'Alī, to allow a ceremonial ablution to be made on the shoe (i. e., not necessarily on naked feet), and to say the *namāz* behind any Imām, a good man or a sinner." It is with the Imām considered as a Great

Imām that we have now to deal. It is used in this sense in the *Qur'ān*—"When his Lord made trial of Abraham by commands which he fulfilled, He said 'I am about to make of thee an Imām to mankind,' he said, 'of my offspring also?' 'My covenant,' said God, 'embraceth not the evil-doers'" (ii. 118). From this verse two doctrines are deduced: First, that the Imām must be appointed by God, for if this is not the case why did Abraham say, "of my offspring also?" Secondly, the Imām is free from sin, for God said, "My covenant embraceth not the evil-doer."

The first dispute about the Imāmat originated with the men who revolted from 'Alī after the battle of Siffin, and who were nearly all destroyed by him some years later. A few survivors fled to various parts, and two at last settled in Omān, and preached their distinctive doctrines. In course of time the people of Omān adopted the doctrine that the Imāmat was not hereditary but elective, and that in the event of misconduct the Imām might be deposed. 'Abdu'llāh ibn-'Ibād (744 A.D.) was a vigorous preacher of this doctrine, and from him the sect known as the 'Ibādiyyah takes its rise. The result of this teaching was the establishment of the power and jurisdiction of the Imām of Omān. The 'Ibādiyyah seem to have always kept themselves independent of the Sunnī *Khalīfas* of Baghdād, and, therefore, would consider themselves free from any obligation to obey the Sultān of Turkey. From ordinary Shí'ahs they differ as regards the "divine right" of 'Alī and his children.¹

The Mu'tazilas also maintained that the Imām was to be elected by the people. They said:—"God and His apostle did not set apart any one specially as Imām. The free choice is left to the people themselves."²

The tragic end of 'Alī and his sons invested them with peculiar interest. When grieving for the sad end

¹ For further information, see Badger, *Seyyids of Omān*.

² Masūdi, *Murūju'dh-Dhahab* (ed. Meynard, Paris, 1861, vol. vi, p. 24.)

of their leaders, the Shi'ahs found consolation in the doctrine which soon found development, namely, that it was God's will that the Imámat should continue in the family of 'Alí. Thus a Tradition relates that the Prophet said, "He of whom I am master has 'Alí also for a master." "The best judge among you is 'Alí." Ibn 'Abbás, a Companion, says: "I heard the Prophet say, 'He who blasphemes my name blasphemes the name of God; he who blasphemes the name of 'Alí blasphemes my name.'" Some say 'Alí is alive and that "a part of God" is in him, and also that 'Alí will descend upon earth and fill it with justice, as it is now filled with tyranny. "'Alí existed before the creation of the heavens and the earth; he is a shadow at the right hand of the throne, and men and angels make tasbīh to him."¹

A general idea is, that long before the creation of the world, God took a ray of light from the splendour of His own glory and united it to the body of Muḥammad. A Tradition recorded by 'Alí says:—"Thou art the elect, the chosen; I will make the members of thy family the guides to salvation." "I place in thee my light and the treasures of my grace; for thy sake I make the waters to flow, exalt the heavens, distribute rewards and punishments, and create heaven and hell. I reveal to thy family the secrets of knowledge and to them shall there be no subtlety nor mystery. They will be the apostles of My power and unity."² Muḥammad said: "The first thing which God created was my light and my spirit." In due time the world was created, but not until the birth of Muḥammad did this ray of glory appear. It is well known to all Musalmáns as the Light of Muḥammad. This nūr or light is said to be of four kinds.

¹ Shahrastání, *al-Milal wa'n-Nihal*, pp. 132-134.

² Masúdi, *Murúju'ah-Dhahab*, vol. i, p. 56.

From the first kind God created His throne, from the second the pen of fate, from the third paradise, and from the fourth the state or place of spirits and all created beings.

This "light"¹ descended to 'Alí, and from him passed on to the true Imáms, who alone are the lawful successors of the Prophet. Rebellion against them is sin; devotion to them the very essence of religion. It is said that the Imámat is a light (nūr) which passes from one to the other and becomes prophetship; that the Imáms are prophets and divine; and that divinity is a ray in prophetship, which is a ray in Imámat, and that the world is never free from these signs and lights (anwár). Some commentators say that the word "light" in the verse, "Now hath a light (nūr) and a clear book come to you from God" (v. 18) means the Light of Muḥammad; others that it refers to the Qur'án. The whole idea of this nūr seems, however, to have been borrowed from Zoroastrian sources and to have been originally connected with Jamshíd.³

The Imám is the successor of the Prophet, adorned with all his qualities. He is wiser than the most learned men of the age, holier than the most pious. He is the noblest of the sons of men, and is free from all sin, original or actual:³ hence the Imám is called ma'súm. The Imám is equal to a prophet. 'Alí said, "In me is the glory of every prophet that has ever been." The authority of the Imám is the authority of God, for "his word is the word of God and of the Prophet, and obedience to his order is incumbent."

¹ It is said that the only difference between the light of Muḥammad and that of 'Alí is that the one was prior to the other in time. (Shahrastání, *al-Milal wa'n-Nihal*, p. 145.)

² Tisdall, *Sources of the Qur'an*, pp. 246-51.

³ "The Imámmites believe that the Imám, preserved inviolate from sin, knows well what is in the pregnant womb and behind walls." (Jalálu'd-din as-Syúfí, *History of the Khalifas*, translated by Major Jarrett, Calcutta, 1881, p. 473.)

The nature of the Imām is identical with the nature of Muḥammad, for did not 'Alī say, "I am Muḥammad, and Muḥammad is me." This probably refers to the possession by the Imām of the "light of Muḥammad." The bodies of the Imāms are so pure and delicate that they cast no shadow. They are the beginning and the end of all things. To know the Imāms is the very essence of the knowledge which men can gain of God. As mediums between God and man they hold a far higher position than the prophets, for the grace of God, without their intervention, reaches to no created being. "The Imām of the Shī'ahs is the divinely-ordained successor of the Prophet, endowed with all perfections and spiritual gifts, one whom all the faithful must obey, whose decision is absolute and final, whose wisdom is superhuman, and whose words are authoritative."¹ The Imām is the supreme Pontiff, the Vicar of God on earth.² The possession of an infallible book is not sufficient. The infallible guide is needed. Such wisdom and discernment as such a guide would require can only be found amongst the descendants of the Prophet. It is no longer, then, a matter of wonder that, in some cases, almost divine honour is paid to 'Alī and his descendants.³

The uṣūl, or fundamental tenets of the Shī'ah sect, are five in number: (1) To believe in the unity of God. (2) To admit that He is just. (3) To believe in the divine mission of all the prophets, and that Muḥammad is the chief of all. (4) To consider 'Alī the Khalīfa next in order after Muḥammad,⁴ and to believe

¹ Browne, *Episode of the Bāb*, p. 296.

² For a curious account of the qualities possessed by the Imāms, see *Journal Asiatique*, Quatrième Série, Tome iii, p. 398, and for the connection of the Imām with a prophet, *R. A. S. Journal*, July 1899, p. 632.

³ The Sunnis esteem and respect the Imāms as Ahlu'l-Bait, "men of the House" (of the Prophet); but do not give them precedence over the duly appointed Khalīfas.

⁴ The Shī'ahs, in support of their opinion regarding the close union

'Alī's descendants from Ḥasan to al-Mahdī, the twelfth Imām, to be his true successors, and to consider all of them, in character, position, and dignity, as raised far above all other Muslims. This is the doctrine of the Imāmat. (5) To believe in the resurrection of the body.

The two principal divisions of the Shī'ah sect are the Ismā'īlians and the Imāmites. The latter believe in twelve Imāms, reckoning 'Alī as the first.¹ The last of the twelve, Abū'l-Qāsim, is supposed to be alive still, though hidden in some secret place. He bears the name of al-Mahdī, "the guided," and hence a leader qualified to guide others. When he was born the words, "Say: 'truth is come and falsehood is vanished: Verily falsehood is a thing that vanisheth'" (xvii, 83), were found written on his right arm. A person one day visited Imām Ḥasan 'Askarī (the eleventh Imām) and said, "O son of the Prophet, who will be Khalīfa and Imām after thee?" Bringing out a child he said, "If thou hadst not found favour in the eyes of God, He would not have shown thee this child; his name is that of the Prophet, and so is his patronymic" (Abū'l-Qāsim).

A Tradition, recorded on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās, says: "There will be twelve Khalīfas after me; the first is my brother, the last my son." "O messenger of God," said the people, "and who is thy brother?"

of 'Alī with the Prophet, adduce the fact that in the 34th verse of Sūra xxxiii. the pronoun "you" in the words, "God only desireth to put away filthiness from you as his household," is in the masculine gender and in the plural form. The household being, according to the Shī'ahs, Muḥammad, Faṭima, 'Alī, Husain, and Ḥasan, they say the word "you" must mean 'Alī and his sons. The Sunni commentators say that the context shows that the word "you" refers to the wives of the Prophet, and support this view by stating that the preceding pronouns and the next finite verb, "recollect," are all feminine. (See Baidāwī, vol. ii, 128.)

¹ The names are 'Alī, Ḥasan, Ḥusain, Zaynu'l-'Abidin, Muḥammad Baqr, Ja'far as-Sādiq, Mūsā Kāsim, 'Alī ibn Mūsā ar-Razā, Muḥammad Taqī, Muḥammad Naqī, Ḥasan 'Askarī, Abū'l-Qāsim (or Imām Mahdī).

The Prophet replied, "‘Alī." "And thy son?" "Mahdī, who will fill the earth with justice, even though it be covered with tyranny. He will come at last. Jesus will then appear and follow him. The light of God will illuminate the earth, and the empire of the Imām will extend from east to west."

The Imāmites also adduce the following Traditions. "Gabriel came one day with the tablet of decree in his hand, and lo! on it were the names of the twelve Imāms in their proper order of succession." A Jew named Janūb once said to the Prophet, "Who will be your heirs and successors?" The Prophet replied, "They agree in number with the twelve tribes of Israel."

As to the claim of the Imāmites that ‘Alī was the Khalīfa appointed by Muḥammad to succeed him as head of the faithful, Ibn Khaldūn says: "The error of the Imāmites arises from a principle which they have adopted as true and which is not so. They pretend that the Imāmat is one of the pillars of religion, whereas, in reality, it is an office instituted for the general advantage and placed under the surveillance of the people. If it had been one of the pillars of religion the Prophet would have taken care to bequeath the functions of it to some one; and he would have ordered the name of his intended successor to be published, as he had already done in the case of the leader of prayer (namāz). The Companions recognised Abū Bakr as Khalīfa because of the analogy which existed between the functions of the Khalīfa and those of the leader of prayer. 'The Prophet,' they said, 'chose him to watch over our spiritual interests; why should we not choose him to watch over our earthly interests?' This shows that the Prophet had not bequeathed the Imāmat to any one, and that the Companions attached much less importance to that office and its transmission than is now done."¹

¹ Ibn Khaldūn, vol. i, p. 431.

The other large division, the Ismā‘īlians,¹ agree with the Imāmites in all particulars save one. They hold that after Ja‘far Sādiq, the sixth Imām, commenced what is called the succession of the "concealed Imāms." They believe that there never can be a time when the world will be without an Imām, though he may be in seclusion. This idea has given rise to all sorts of secret societies, and has paved the way for a mystical religion, which often lands its votaries in atheism.

The "Veiled Prophet of Khurāsān" was one of these emissaries of disorder. Babek, who taught the indifference of human actions, and illustrated his teaching by acts of cruelty and lust during the reigns of the Khalīfas Māmūn and Mu‘tāsim, was another. For a while they were kept in check, but in the fourth century A.H., when the power of the Khalīfate began to wane, the Karmathian outbreak shook the Islāmic empire to the very centre.² Mecca was captured, the Ka‘ba pillaged, and the famous black stone, split by a blow from the sacrilegious Karmathians, was removed and kept away for twenty-two years. This was, however, too serious a matter. It became the question of the preservation of society against anarchy. The Karmathians were at length defeated, and passed away; but in the places where they lived orthodox Islām never regained power in the hearts of the people.

One of the latest pretenders was the Mahdī in the Sūdān. The fanatical attachment of his followers to his person is now explained, for what I have described as the doctrine concerning the Imām would, when once they acknowledged him to be such, have a very real influence over them. They would look upon him as the "Concealed Imām" brought again amongst men to restore the world to obedience to God's law, to reprove

¹ For a fuller account of this sect see my *Essays on Islām*, pp. 147—56.

² See Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, vol i, p. 401-5 for an account of this sect.

the careless Musalmāns and to destroy the infidels. This also accounts for his arrogant tone and defiance of the Sultān, the acknowledged head of the Sunnis, who form the majority of Musalmāns.

When Islām entered upon the tenth century of its existence, there was throughout Persia and India a millenarian movement. Men declared that the end was drawing near, and various persons arose who claimed to be al-Mahdī. Amongst others was Shaikh 'Alā'ī of Agra (956 A.H.). Shaikh Mubārak, the father of Abū'l-Faḍl, the Emperor Akbar's famous vizier, was a disciple of Shaikh 'Alā'ī, and from him imbibed Mahdavi ideas. This brought upon him the wrath of the 'Ulamā, who, however, were finally overcome by the free-thinking and heretical Emperor and his vizier. There never was a better ruler in India than Akbar, and never a more heretical one as far as orthodox Islām is concerned. The Emperor delighted in the controversies of the age. The Sūfīs and Mahdavis were in favour at Court. The orthodox 'Ulamā were treated with contempt. Akbar fully believed that the millennium had come. He started a new era and a new religion called the "Divine Faith." There was toleration for all except the bigoted orthodox Muslims. Abū'l-Faḍl and others like him, who professed to reflect Akbar's religious views, held that all religions contained truth. Thus:—

"O God, in every temple I see people that seek Thee, and in every language I hear spoken people praise Thee!

Polytheism and Islām feel after Thee,
Each religion says, 'Thou art one, without equal.'

If it be a mosque, people murmur the holy prayer, and if it be a Christian church, people ring the bell from love to Thee.

Sometimes I frequent the Christian cloister, and sometimes the mosque,

But it is Thou whom I search from temple to temple."¹

¹ Blochman, *Ā'in-i-Akbari*, vol. i, p. xxxii.

The Shī'ah doctrine of the Imāmat seems to show that there is in the human heart a natural desire for some Mediator—some Word of the Father, who shall reveal Him to His children. At first sight it would seem as if this dogma might to some extent reconcile the thoughtful Shī'ah to the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation and Mediation of Jesus Christ, to His office as the perfect revealer of God's will, and as the Guide in life; but it is not so. The mystic lore connected with Shī'ah doctrine has sapped the foundation of moral life and vigour. A system of religious reservation is a fundamental part of the system in its mystical developments, whilst all Shī'ahs may lawfully practise "taqīya," or religious compromise in their daily lives. It thus becomes impossible to place dependence on what a Shī'ah may profess, as pious frauds are legalised by his system of religion. If he becomes a mystic, he looks upon the ceremonial and the moral law as restrictions imposed by an Almighty Power. The advent of al-Mahdī is the good time when all such restrictions shall be removed, when the utmost freedom shall be allowed. Thus the moral sense, in many cases, becomes deadened to an extent such as those who are not in daily contact with these people can hardly credit. The practice of taqīya, religious compromise,¹ and the legality of mut'a, or temporary marriages, have done much to demoralise the Shī'ah community.

The chief point of difference between the Shī'ah and

¹ This is based on the verse, "Let not believers take infidels for their friends rather than believers: whoso shall do this shall have nothing to hope for from God—unless, indeed, ye fear a fear from them" (iii. 27). The Sunnī commentator Husain states that this authorised "taqīya" in the early days of Islām, but that now it is only permissible in a Dārul-Harb (vol. i, p. 65). The Shī'ahs consider that it is allowable everywhere and at all times. Baidāwī says that the Qārī Ya'qūb reads تَقِيَّةٌ - taqīyatan for the word تَوَكُّفٌ - tuqūtan in the text, and that therefore the meaning is that alliance with unbelievers is forbidden, except in time of danger, when an ostensible alliance is permitted (vol. i, p. 151).

the Sunnī is the doctrine of the Imámat. The annual ceremonies of the Muḥarram also keep alive the old historic feud. The Sunnīs are blamed for the work of their ancestors in the faith, whilst the Khalīfas Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān are looked upon as usurpers. They had not the ray of light, on the possession of which alone could any one make good a claim to be the Imám, the Guide of the Believers. The terrible disorders of the early days of Islám can only be understood when we realise to some extent the passionate longing which men felt for a spiritual head. It was thought to be impossible that Muḥammad, the last of the prophets, should leave the Faithful without a guide appointed by God who would be the interpreter of His will.

Other distinctive differences between the Shī'ah and the Sunnī are the belief that the most learned men of the Shī'ahs are Mujtahids, qualified to give analogical judgments on any point on which a legal decision is needed, and whose decision is final, which authority, however, the Sunnīs decline to accord to them; that the Muḥarram ceremonies should be observed in commemoration of the deaths of Ḥasan and Ḥusain, whilst Sunnīs observe only the tenth day of Muḥarram, or the 'Ashūrā, as the day on which Adam was created. There are also minor differences in the liturgical ceremonies, and in some points of the civil law. On what may be termed questions of scholastic philosophy, Shī'ahs differ from the Sunnīs, and, speaking generally, have a tendency to a somewhat freer method of looking at some abstruse questions. They also reject many of the Traditions received by the Sunnīs. "They reject Traditions given by the Companions of the Prophet, and replace them by others which they have received either from Companions who were the partisans of 'Alī, or from one or other of the twelve Imáms."¹

¹ Ibn Khaldūn, vol. i, p. 439.

This longing for a spiritual leader extends beyond the Shī'ah sect, and is of some importance in its bearing upon the Eastern Question. Apart from the super-human claims for the Imám, what he is as a ruler to the Shī'ah—the Khalīfa is to the Sunnī—the supreme head in Church and State, the successor of the Prophet, the Conservator of Islám, as made known in the Qur'án, the Sunnat, the Ijmá', and the legal decisions of the early Mujtahidūn. To administer the laws, the administrator must have a divine sanction. Thus when the Ottoman ruler, Selīm the First, conquered Egypt (A.D. 1517), he sought and obtained, from an old descendant of the Baghdád Khalīfas, the transfer of the title to himself, and in this way the Sultáns of Turkey became the Khalīfas of Islám. Whether Mutawakkil Billál, the last titular Khalīfa of the house of 'Abbás, was right or wrong in thus transferring the title is not my purpose now to discuss.¹ I only adduce the fact to show how it illustrates the feeling of the need of a Pontiff—a divinely appointed Ruler. Strictly speaking, according to Muḥammadan law, the Sultáns are not Khalīfas, for it is clearly laid down in the Traditions that the Khalīfa (also the Imám) must be of the tribe of the Quraish, to which the Prophet himself belonged. Ibn 'Umar relates that the Prophet said: "The Khalīfas shall be in the Quraish tribe as long as there are two persons in it, one to rule and another to serve." "It is a necessary condition that the Khalīfa should be of the Quraish tribe." Abū Dá'ūd says: "The Imáms shall be of the Quraish as long as they shall rule and do

¹ "The Caliphate as a historical actuality, ceased to exist after enduring 626 years, in A.D. 1258" (Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, p. 210.) (Muir, *Caliphate: Its Rise, Decline and Fall*, p. 594). A Turkish Patriot writes: The Sultáns were Sultáns long before they were Khalīfas and brought their despotic absolutism with them from Asia. When they assumed the Khalīfate (which was acquired irregularly) they vitiated it by fusing their absolutism into it. (*Fortnightly Review*, May, 1897, p. 654.)

justice, and promise and fulfil, and pardon is implored of them and they are compassionate." At-Tirmidhi quotes from Abū Huraira thus: "The sovereignty shall rest in the Quraish." Al-Buzzār says: "The Princes shall be of the Quraish."¹ Such quotations might be multiplied, and they tend to show that it is not incumbent on orthodox Sunnis, other than the Turks, to rush to the rescue of the Sultān, whilst to the Shi'ahs he is little better than a heretic.² Certainly they would never look upon him as an Imām, which personage is to them in the place of a Khalifa. In countries not under Turkish rule, the second khutba, or prayer for the ruler, said on Fridays in the mosques, is said for the "ruler of the age," or for the Amīr, or whatever happens to be the title of the head of the State. Of late years it has become more common in India to say it for the Sultān. This is not, strictly speaking, according to Muḥammadan law, which declares that the khutba can only be said with the permission of the ruler, and as in India that ruler is the British Government, the prayers should be said for the King. Evidently the law never contemplated large bodies of Musalmāns residing anywhere but where the influence of the Khalifa extended.

In thus casting doubt on the legality of the claim made by Turkish Sultāns to the Khalifate of Islām, I

¹ Jalālud-dīn as-Syūṭī, *History of the Khalifas*, p. 8.

² The usual defence of the claim of the Sultān to the office is:—

(1) The right of the sword. The Ottoman ruler Selīm so won it, and his successors hold it till a rival with a better title appears.

(2) Selīm brought with him from Cairo to Constantinople learned men, who, with the 'Ulama of the latter city, ratified his assumption of the title. Each new Sultān receives in the Mosque of Aiyub the sword of office from the 'Ulamā.

(3) The guardianship of the two sacred shrines (Haramain) of Mecca and Jerusalem.

(4) The possession of the sacred relics—the cloak of the Prophet, some hair of his beard, and the sword of the Khalifa 'Umar.

do not deny that the Law of Islām requires that there should be a Khalifa. Unfortunately for Islām, there is nothing in its history parallel to the conflict of Pope and Emperor, of Church and State. In Islām the Khalifa is both Pope and Emperor.¹ The difference between the Khalifa and any other ruler is that the former rules according to divine, the latter according to human law. The Prophet in transmitting his sacred authority to the Khalifas, his successors, conveyed to them absolute powers. Khalifas can be assassinated, murdered, banished, but so long as they reign anything like constitutional liberty is impossible. It is a fatal mistake in European politics and an evil for Turkey to recognise the Sultān as the legal Khalifa of Islām, for, if he be such, Turkey can never take any step forward to newness of political life.²

¹ "The rule of the Caliphs, was in its ultimate basis, a theocracy; it would submit to no limitations, and the objects which it set before itself, in the conquest of the world to the Faith and the attainment of Paradise by fighting for it, gave no scope for a doctrine of the responsibility of civil rulers, and of duty to the governed." (Cunningham, *Western Civilisation*, p. 118). Khairu'd-dīn Pasha's reforms were opposed by the 'Ulamā who declared that "the Sultān ruled the Empire as Khalifa, that he was bound by the Shari'at or sacred law, and that he could not delegate his authority to another." (An Eastern Statesman in the *Contemporary Review*, October 1879, p. 335.)

² Nothing shows this more plainly than the fatvā pronounced by the Council of the 'Ulamā in July 1879, against Khairu'd-dīn's proposed reform, which would have placed the Sultān in the position of a constitutional sovereign. This was declared to be directly contrary to the law. Thus:—"The law of the Sheri does not authorise the Khalifa to place beside him a power superior to his own. The Khalifa ought to reign alone and govern as master. The Vakils (Ministers) should never possess any authority beyond that of representatives, always dependent and submissive. It would consequently be a transgression of the *unalterable principles of the Sheri, which should be the guide of all the actions of the Khalifa*, to transfer the supreme power of the Khalifa to one Vakil." This is one of the most important decisions of the jurists of Islām, and it is quite in accordance with all that has been said about Muḥammadan Law. It proves as clearly as possible that so long as the Sultān rules as Khalifa, he must oppose any attempt to set up a constitutional Government. There is absolutely no hope of real reform.

There has been from the earliest ages of Islám a mystical movement known as Šúfism (tasawwuf).¹ It has been especially prevalent among the Persians. It is a reaction from the burden of a rigid law and a wearisome ritual, a vague protest of the human soul in its longing for a purer creed. It took its rise about the end of the eighth century of the Christian era. One of the earliest mystics was a woman named Rábi'a al-'Adawiyya. The founder of theosophical Šúfism was Dhu'l-nún al-Miṣrī (245 A.H.) The Šúfī values the Qur'án as a divine revelation, but in practice he substitutes the voice of his Pīr, or spiritual director, for it. The term Šúfī is most probably derived from the Arabic word šuf, "wool," of which material the garments worn by Eastern ascetics used to be generally made.² Some persons, however, derive it from the Persian šáf, "pure," or the Greek σοφία, "wisdom." The chief idea in Šúfism is that the souls of men differ in degree, but not in kind, from the Divine Spirit, of which they are emanations, and to which they will ultimately return. The Spirit of God is in all He has made, and it in Him. He alone is perfect love, beauty, and so love to Him is the only real thing; all else is illusion. The poet Sa'dī says: "I swear by the truth of God, that when He showed me His glory all else was illusion." The present life is one of separation from the beloved. The beauties of nature, music, and art revive in men the divine idea, and recall their affections from wandering from Him to other objects.

¹ The various theories as to the origin of Šúfism are given in Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, vol. i, pp. 418-21. See also an article on "The origin and development of Šúfism" by R. A. Nicholson, *R. A. S. Journal*, April 1906; also the introduction to Whinfield's translation of the *Gulshan-i-Ibrás* (ed. London, 1880); and my *Essays on Islám*, pp. 1-45.

² There is a saying—Labasa's-šúfa—he donned the wool, i.e. he entered a monastic or contemplative life. For further remarks on the meaning and derivation of the term Šúfī see Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, vol. i, pp. 417-8.

These sublime affections men must cherish, and by abstraction concentrate their thoughts on God, and so approximate to His essence, and finally reach the highest stage of bliss—absorption into the Eternal. The true end and object of human life is to lose all consciousness of individual existence, to sink "in the ocean of Divine Life, as a breaking bubble is merged into the stream on the surface of which it has for a moment risen."

"Sweep off the life of Hafiz like a dream,
Whilst Thou art, none shall hear me say, 'I am.'"

The way in which Šúfīs gain inspiration (ilhám) is thus described. They must put away all thoughts of worldly things, of home, family, and country, and so arrive at the state in which the existence or non-existence of things is all the same. Then in retirement, engaged in serving and praising God, the Šúfī must cast away all thoughts save of Him. Even the reading of the Qur'án, the Traditions, and Commentaries may be set aside. "Let him in seclusion, with collectedness of heart, repeat the word Alláh, Alláh, so often that at last the word involuntarily passes from his lips. Then ceasing to speak, let him utter the word mentally, until even the word is forgotten and the meaning only remains in the heart; then will God enlighten his mind." The difference between an ordinary Muslim and a Šúfī is said to be that the former has only a counterfeit faith, or that belief which he accepts on the authority of his forefathers and his teachers, without really knowing how essential true belief in the creed of Islám is for his salvation. The Šúfī, on the other hand, is said to search for the origin of religious dogmas. Many spend years in the search and miss it after all, for only those of them who perfectly subject themselves to the Murshid, as their spiritual director, find the reality of things and finally arrive at a fully established faith.

The habit of speaking of forbidden things as if they were lawful, such as wine, wine-shops, wine-cups, and the frequent references to sweethearts, curls of the mistress, and other descriptions of the beauty of the beloved, are thus explained. The Ṣūfīs look at the internal features of things, exchange the corporeal for the spiritual, and thus to outward forms give an imaginary signification. By wine they mean the love of God; the wine-shop is the excellent preceptor, to whom a strong spiritual attachment is formed. The ringlets of the beloved are the praises of the preceptor, which bind the heart and affections of the disciple to him. In a similar way some mystical meaning is attached to all other descriptions of a more or less amatory nature.

Ṣūfīs suppose that long before the creation of the world a contract was made by the Supreme Soul with the assembled world of spirits, who are parts of it. Each spirit was addressed separately thus: "Art thou not with thy Lord?" that is, bound to him by a solemn contract. To this they all answered with one voice, "Yes."

The principle underlying the Ṣūfī system is that sense and reason cannot transcend phenomena, or see the real being which underlies them all; so sense and reason must be ignored in favour of the "Inner Light," the divine illumination in the heart, which is the only faculty whereby men perceive the Infinite. Thus when enlightened, they see that all the external phenomena, including man, is but an illusion, and as it is "non-existent, it is an evil because it is a departure from the one real being." The one great duty of man is now plain; it is to cast off the "not being,"¹ to die to self, to live in this "being." He must live

1 "God, in short, is Pure Being, and what is 'other than God' (ma siwā'u'llāh) only exists so far as His Being is infused into it, or mirrored in it." (Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, vol. i, p. 438.)

in God, and "break through the one-ness." "In addition to reason, man has a certain faculty (taur) whereby he perceives hidden mysteries"¹ "This faculty is the inner light, the intuition which, under certain conditions, conveys to him a knowledge of God by direct apprehension in a manner similar to the evidences of the senses."²

In support of their favourite dogma—the attaining to the knowledge of God—Ṣūfīs quote the verse:—"When God said to the angels, 'I am about to place a vicergerent on the earth,' they said, 'Wilt Thou place therein one who shall commit abomination and shed blood? Nay; we celebrate Thy praise and holiness.' God answered them, 'Verily I know that ye wot not of'" (ii. 28). They say that this verse proves that, though the great mass of mankind would commit abomination, some would receive the divine light and attain to a knowledge of God. Ṣūfīs also claim as on their side the following verse: "Then found they one of Our servants to whom we had vouchsafed Our mercy, and whom We had instructed with Our knowledge" (xviii. 64). A Tradition states that David said, "'O Lord! why hast thou created mankind?' God replied, 'I am a hidden treasure, and I would fain become known.'" The business of the mystic is to find this treasure, to attain to the Divine light and the true knowledge of God. The Ṣūfīs are divided into those

1 *Gulshan-i-Rās* (ed. London, 1880), p. 44.

2 The great divergence between the Western and Eastern modes of religious thought has been well described thus:—"Here it is the ideas of faith and righteousness (in different proportions, it is true) which are regarded as the essentials of religion; there it is knowledge and mystery. Here religion is regarded as a rule by which to live and a hope wherein to die; there as a key to unlock the spiritual and material universe. Here it is associated with work and charity; there with rest and wisdom. Here a creed is admired for its simplicity; there for its complexity." Browne, *Journal, Royal Asiatic Society*, January, 1898, p. 38.

who claim to be the *Ilhámíyah*, or those inspired by God, and the *Ittihádiyah*, or those in union with God.

The earlier *Muhammádan* mystics sought to impart life to a rigid and formal ritual, and though the seeds of pantheism were planted in their system from the first, they maintained that they were orthodox. "Our system of doctrine," says al-Junaid, "is firmly bound up with the dogmas of the Faith, the *Qur'án*, and the Traditions." There was a moral earnestness about many of these men which frequently restrained the arm of unrighteous power, and their sayings, often full of beauty, show that they had the power of appreciating the spiritual side of life. Some of these sentences¹ are worthy of any age. "As neither meat nor drink, profit the diseased body, so no warning avails to touch the heart full of the love of this world." "The work of the holy man doth not consist in this, that he eats grain and clothes himself in wool, but in the knowledge of God and submission to His will." "Thou deservest not the name of a learned man, until thy heart is emptied of the love of this world." "Hide thy good deeds as closely as thou wouldst hide thy sins."

A famous mystic was brought into the presence of the *Khalífa Hárúnu'r-Rashíd*, who said to him, "How great is thy abnegation?" He replied, "Thine is greater." "How so?" said the *Khalífa*. "Because I make abnegation of this world, and thou makest abnegation of the next." The same man also said, "The display of devotional works to please men is hypocrisy, and acts of devotion done to please men are acts of polytheism."

Even in a book like the *Mathnawí* of *Jalálu'd-dín Rúmí*, in which *Šúffism* pure and simple, with all its disregard for the outward restraints of an objective

¹ For other sayings of a similar nature see Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, vol. i, pp. 425-6, and Nicholson, *R. A. Society's Journal*, April, 1906, pp. 331-48.

revelation, is inculcated, the author now and again teaches sounder principles. Thus, in Redhouse's translation, we read:—

"To trust in God, and yet put forth our utmost skill,
The surest method is to work His holy will:
The friend of God must work."

"Exert thyself, O man! put shoulder to the wheel,
The prophets and the saints to imitate in zeal.
Exertion's not a struggle against Providence:
'Twas Providence enjoined it—made it our defence."

But towards the close of the second century of the *Hijra* this earlier mysticism developed into *Šúffism*. A little later on, al-*Halláj* taught in *Baghdád* thus: "I am the Truth. There is nought in *Paradise* but God. I am He whom I love, and He whom I love is I; we are two souls dwelling in one body. When thou seest me, thou seest Him; and when thou seest Him, thou seest me." This roused the opposition of the orthodox divines, by whom al-*Halláj* was condemned to be worthy of death. He was then, by order of the *Khalífa*, flogged, tortured, and finally beheaded (922 A.D.).¹ Thus died one of the early martyrs of *Šúffism*; but it grew in spite of bitter persecution.

In order to understand the esoteric teaching of *Šúffistic* poetry, it is necessary to remember that the perceptive sense is the traveller, the knowledge of God the goal; the doctrines of this ascent or upward progress is the *ṭaríqat*, or the road. The extinction of self is necessary before any progress can be made on that road. A *Šúfí* poet writes:—

"Plant one foot upon the neck of self,
The other in thy Friend's domain;
In everything His presence see,
For other vision is in vain."

Sa'dí in the *Bustán* says: "Art thou a friend of God? Speak not of self, for to speak of God and of

¹ For an interesting account of al-*Halláj*, see Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, vol. i, pp. 430-5.

self is infidelity." Shaikh Abú'l-Faiḍ, a great poet and a friend of the Emperor Akbar, from whom he received the honourable title of Málíkush-Shu'arâ (Master of the Poets), says: "Those who have not closed the door on existence and non-existence reap no advantage from the calm of this world and of the world to come." Khusrâu, another well-known poet, says:—

"I have become Thou: Thou art become I,
I am the body, Thou the soul;
Let no one henceforth say
That I am distinct from Thee, and Thou from me."

The fact is, that Persian poetry is almost entirely Sûffistic. Pantheistic doctrines are largely inculcated.¹ Thus:—

"I was, ere a name had been named upon earth;
Ere one trace yet existed of aught that has birth;
When the locks of the Loved One streamed forth for a sign,
And Being was none, save the Presence Divine!
Named and name were alike emanations from Me,
Ere aught that was 'I' existed, or 'We.'"

The poet then describes his fruitless search for rest and peace in Christianity, Hinduism, and the religion of the Parsee. Even Islâm gave him no satisfaction, for—

"Nor above nor beneath came the Loved One to view,
I toiled to the summit, wild, pathless, and lone,
Of the globe-girding Kaf:—but the 'Anka had flown!
The sev'nth heaven I traversed—the sev'nth heaven explored,
But in neither discern'd I the court of the Lord!
I question'd the Pen and the Tablet of Fate,
But they whisper'd not where He pavilions His state;
My vision I strain'd; but my God-scanning eye
No trace that to Godhead belongs could descry.
My glance I bent inward; within my own breast,
Lo, the vainly sought elsewhere, the Godhead confess'd!
In the whirl of its transport my spirit was toss'd,
Till each atom of separate being I lost."

¹ "The spiritualism of the Sûfis, though it seems the contrary of materialism, is really identical with it; but if their doctrine is not more reasonable, it is at least more elevated and more thoughtful." (*Poésie Philosophique et Religieuse chez les Persans*, par M. Garcin de Tassy, p. 2.)

These are the words of the greatest authority among the Sûfis, Maulâna Jalâlu'd-dîn Rûmî, founder of the order of the Maulâwî Darwishes. He also relates the following story:—"One knocked at the door of the beloved, and a voice from within said, 'Who is there? Is this a threshing-floor?' Then he answered, 'It is I.' The voice replied, 'This house will not hold me and thee!' So the door remained shut. The lover retired to a wilderness, and spent some time in solitude, fasting, and prayer. One year elapsed, when he again returned and knocked at the door. 'Who is there?' said the voice. The lover answered, 'It is thou.' Then the door was opened."

Another form of the same story, given by Redhouse, is:—

"Within the question's heard, 'Who knocks at my street door?'
He answered, 'Thy second self, though all too poor.'
The invitation followed, 'Let myself walk in;
My cot's too small for two selves to find room therein.
The thread's not double in a needle's single eye,
As thou'rt now single, enter; room thou'lt find; pray try.'"

The great object of life is to escape from the hindrances to pure love and to return to the divine essence. In order to reach this higher stage of existence, the Tâlib, or seeker, attaches himself to a Murshid, or teacher. If he prosecutes his studies according to Sûffistic methods, he now often enters one of the many Orders of Darwishes. After due preparation under his Murshid, he becomes a Sâlik, or traveller, whose business henceforth is sulûk, or devotion to one idea, the knowledge of God. In this road there are eight stages:— (1) Service ('abûdiyat). Here he must serve God and obey the Law, for he is still in bondage. (2) Love ('ishq). It is supposed that now the Divine influence has so attracted his soul that he really loves God. (3) Seclusion (zuhd). Love having expelled all worldly desires, he arrives at this stage, and passes his time in meditation on the deeper doctrines of Sûfism regarding

the Divine nature. (4) Knowledge (ma'rifat). The meditation in the preceding stage, and the investigation of the metaphysical theories concerning God, His nature, His attributes, and the like, make him an 'Arif—one who knows. (5) Ecstasy (wajd or ḥāl). The mental excitement caused by such continued meditation on abstruse subjects produces a kind of frenzy, which is looked upon as a mark of direct illumination of the heart from God. Arrival at this stage is highly valued, for it is the certain entrance to the next.

"Amusement fell upon him, stupor bathed each sense,
Ecstatic trances then followed, earth and sky flew hence;
Such ecstasy, such words, beyond all mood and tense,
Immersion total in God's glorious effulgence."

The next stage (6) is the Truth (ḥaqīqat). The true nature of God is revealed to the traveller, who now learns the reality of that which he has been for so long seeking. This admits him to the highest stage in his long journey. (7) That stage is union with God (waṣl).

"There was a door to which I found no key;
There was a veil past which I could not see;
Some little talk of Me and Thee
There seemed—and then no more of Thee and Me."

He cannot, in this life, go beyond that, and very few reach that exalted stage. Jalālu'd-dīn considers that prophets do reach this stage, for, as Redhouse translates it:—

"God is invisible to weakly mortal sight;
His prophets are a need, to guide His Church aright.
No! that's not right; the phrase is sadly incorrect;
A prophet's one with God, not two: think well, reflect,
They are not two, they are one. Then, blind materialist,
With God they're one; their forms but make Him manifest."

Thus arose a "system of Pantheism, which represents joy and sorrow, good and evil, pleasure and pain as manifestations of one changeless essence." Religion, as made known by an outward revelation, is, to the few who reach this stage, a thing of the past. Even

its restraints are not needed. The soul that is united to God can do no evil. The poet Khusrau says: "Love is the object of my worship; what need have I of Islām?" It is only so long as the soul is apart from God, only so long as there is a distinct personality embracing evil as well as good tendencies, that the Law is needed. Thus in the Gulshan-i-Rāz we read—

"All the authority of the Law is over this 'I' of yours,
Since that is bound to your soul and body;
When 'I' and 'you' remain not in the midst,
What is mosque, what is synagogue, what is fire-temple?"

Death ensues, and with it the last stage is reached. (8) It is extinction (fanā).¹ The seeker after all his search, the traveller after all his wearisome journey, passes behind the veil and finds—nothing! As the traveller proceeds from stage to stage, the restraints of an objective revelation and of an outward system are less and less heeded. "The religion of the mystic consists in his immediate communication with God, and when once this has been established, the value of ecclesiastical forms and of the historical part of religion becomes doubtful." What law can bind the soul in union with God, what outward system impose any trammels on one who, in the "ecstasy," has received from Him who is the Truth, the direct revelation of His own glorious nature? Moral laws and ceremonial observances have only an allegorical signification. Creeds are but fetters cunningly devised to limit the flight of the soul; all that is objective in religion is a restraint to the reason of the initiated.²

¹ This is annihilation in God (fanā fī'llāh). This seems to have been a later development of Sūfism, due to the influence of Bāyazīd of Bisām. (Nicholson, *R. A. S. Journal*, April, 1906, pp. 325-7.) "Absorption in the Deity, the merging of the individual soul of the saint in the universal soul of God, is the ultimate aim of Sūfism." (Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, vol. i, p. 63.)

² "They think that the Bible and the Qur'ān were written solely for the man who is content with the appearance of things, who concerns

The traveller on the mystic path finds much aid from three things: attraction (*injadháb*), devotion (*'ibádat*), elevation (*'uruj*). When the grace of God enters the heart the man is attracted towards God. He should then renounce everything which hinders his being drawn Godwards; he must forget all else but God. He is now called the attracted (*majdhúb*). Others use further aids for development. They pass their time in introspection and devotion. They are called the "devoutly attracted" (*majdhúbu's-sálik*). All teachers of Súffism should be of this rank at least. The third aid, "elevation," seems to mean steady progress in the upward path. The journey to God is completed when all existence save that of God is denied; then commences the journey in God, when all the mysteries of nature are made plain and clear. In due time God guideth whom He pleaseth to His own light—the Divine light of His own nature. Now the progress is complete, for "from Him they spring and unto Him they return."

Dogmatic religion is compared by Jalálu'd-dín to water used for the purposes of a mill; after it has turned the wheel it is of no further use, and may now be rejected. So to the Súfi the orthodox dogmas and the outward forms of religion carry no authority, for "he sees the realm where his spirit thoughts may roam, he careers over the boundless fields of ecstasy, where fancy joins reality in entity."

In interpreting the mystical poems of Háfiz and other Súffistic writers, it must be borne in mind that the point of view from which they discuss their views is generally the second stage (*'ishq*), in which the Traveller is supposed to have attained to the "love of God."

himself with the exterior only, for the *Zuhúr* parast, as they call him and not for the Súfi, who plumbs the depth of things." (M. Garcin de Tassy, *La Poésie Philosophique et Religieuse chez les Persans*, p. 13.)

Pantheistic in creed, and too often antinomian in practice, Súffism possesses no regenerative power in Islám. No Muslim State makes a national profession of Súffism. The general result has worked for evil in Islám. The divorce between the "religious" life and the worldly life has been disastrous. Súffism has separated between those who by renouncing the world profess to know God, and those whom it terms the ignorant herd, who may nevertheless have been striving to do their duty in their daily lives and avocations. When man's apparent individuality is looked upon as a delusion of the perceptive faculty, there seems no room left for will or conscience. Profligate persons may become darwishes and cover a licentious life by pious phrases; emancipated from ritual order and law, they seem free also from moral restraints. "A movement animated at its outset by a high and lofty purpose has degenerated into a fruitful source of ill. The stream which ought to have expanded into a fertilising river has become a vast swamp, exhaling vapours charged with disease and death."¹

In spite of all its dogmatic utterances, in spite of much that is sublime in its idea of the search after light and truth, Súffism ends in utter negation of all separate existence. The pantheism of the Súfis, this esoteric doctrine of Islám, as a moral doctrine leads to the same conclusions as materialism, "the negation of human liberty, the indifference to actions, and the legitimacy of all temporal enjoyments." This is plainly stated by Jalálu'd-dín, who says that the registers of good and bad deeds are not to be examined in the case of holy men.²

The result of Súffism has been the establishment of a large number of religious Orders known as Darwishes.

¹ Osborn, *Islám under the Khálifs of Baghdad*, p. 114.

² *Mathnawí*, Book 1, Tale xii, lines 38—41. The registers referred to are the "Book of Actions," to be placed in the hands of all at the

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These men are looked upon with disfavour by the orthodox, but they flourish nevertheless, and in Turkey, Morocco, Central Africa and the Súdán at the present day, have great influence. The activity of the more important of these Orders, especially that of the Sant'iyah, has been great in modern times, and, whether viewed from the political or the religious standpoint, is a source of danger in Central Africa and the Súdáns. I have dealt with this subject very fully in my "Essays on Islám,"¹ in which I give an account of these Orders and describe their methods of working and state the results of their present activity. Each Order of Darwishes has its own special mysteries and practices, by which its members think they can obtain a knowledge of the secrets of the invisible world. They are also called Faqirs—poor men, not, however, always in the sense of being in temporal want, but as being poor in the sight of God. As a matter of fact, the Darwishes of many of the Orders do not beg, and many of the Takyas, or monasteries, are richly endowed. They are divided into two great classes, the Ba Shara' (with the Law) Darwishes, and the Be Shara' (without the Law). The former profess to rule their conduct according to the law of Islám, and are called the Sálík, travellers on the path (ṭarīqat) to heaven; the latter, though they call themselves Muslims, do not conform to the law, and are called ázád (free), or majdhúb (abstracted), a term which signifies their renunciation of all worldly cares and pursuits. The latter do not even pay attention to the namáz or other observances of Islám. What little hope there is of these professedly religious men working any reform in

judgment-day. If placed in the right hand, the man is saved; if in the left, he is lost; but according to the teaching of the Šúfis no inquiry is made into the conduct of saints.

¹ *Essays on Islám*, chapter on "The Religious Orders of Islám," pp. 99—146.

Islám will be seen from the following account of their doctrines.¹

1. God only exists,—He is in all things, and all things are in Him. Verily we are *from* God, and *to* Him shall we return. (ii. 151.)

2. All visible and invisible beings are an emanation from Him, and are not really distinct from Him.

3. Paradise and Hell, and all the dogmas of positive religions, are only so many allegories, the spirit of which is only known to the Šúfí.

4. Religions are matters of indifference; they, however, serve as a means of reaching to realities. Some, for this purpose, are more advantageous than others. Among which is the Musalmán religion, of which the doctrine of the Šúfis is the philosophy.

5. There is not any real difference between good and evil, for all is reduced to unity, and God is the real author of the acts of mankind.

6. It is God who fixes the will of man. Man, therefore, is not free in his actions.

7. The soul existed before the body, and is now confined within it as in a cage. At death the soul returns to the Divinity from which it emanated.

8. The principle occupation of the Šúfí is to meditate on the Unity, and so to attain to spiritual perfection—unification with God.

9. Without the grace of God no one can attain to this Unity; but God does not refuse His aid to those who are in the right path.

The power of a Shaikh, the religious and secular head of an Order, is very great. The following account of the admission of a novice, called Tawakkul Beg, into an Order, and of the severe tests applied, will be of some interest.² Tawakkul Beg says:—

¹ *La Poésie Philosophique et Religieuse chez les Persans*, par M. Garcin de Tassy, p. 7. [Tome 13.]

² Tawakkul Beg, *Súfí doctrines of the Mullá Sháh*, *Journal Asiatique*,

"Having been introduced by Akhūnd Mullá Muḥammad to Shaikh Mullá Sháh, my heart, through frequent intercourse with him, was filled with such a burning desire to arrive at a true knowledge of the mystical science that I found no sleep by night nor rest by day. When the initiation commenced, I passed the whole night without sleep, and repeated innumerable times the *Súratu'l-Ikhlās*:—

'Say: He is God alone,
God the eternal:
He begetteth not, and He is not begotten;
And there is none like unto Him.' (cxii.)

"Whosoever repeats this *Súra* one hundred times can accomplish all his vows. I desired that the Shaikh should bestow on me his love. No sooner had I finished my task than the heart of the Shaikh became full of sympathy for me. On the following night I was conducted to his presence. During the whole of that night he concentrated his thoughts on me, whilst I gave myself up to inward meditation. Three nights passed in this way. On the fourth night the Shaikh said, 'Let Mullá Senghim and Sálīḥ Beg, who are very susceptible to ecstatic emotions, apply their spiritual energies to Tawakkul Beg.'

They did so, whilst I passed the whole night in meditation, with my face turned toward Mecca. As the morning drew near, a little light came into my mind, but I could not distinguish form or colour. After the morning prayers I was taken to the Shaikh, who bade me inform him of my mental state. I replied that I had seen a light with my inward eye. On hearing this, the Shaikh became animated and said, 'Thy heart is dark, but the time is come when I will show myself clearly to thee.' He then ordered me to sit down in front of him, and to impress his features on my mind. Then, having blindfolded me, he ordered me to concentrate all my thoughts upon him. I did so,

and in an instant, by the spiritual help of the Shaikh, my heart opened. He asked me what I saw. I said that I saw another Tawakkul Beg and another Mullá Sháh. The bandage was then removed, and I saw the Shaikh in front of me. Again they covered my face, and again I saw him with my inward eye. Astonished, I cried, 'O master! whether I look with my bodily eye or with my spiritual sight, it is always you I see.' I then saw a dazzling figure approach me. The Shaikh told me to say to the apparition, 'What is your name?' In my spirit, I put the question, and the figure answered to my heart, 'I am 'Abdu'l-Qádir Jilání; I have already aided thee; thy heart is opened.' Much affected, I vowed that in honour of the saint I would repeat the whole *Qur'án* every Friday night.

Mullá Sháh then said 'The spiritual world has been shown to thee in all its beauty.' I then rendered perfect obedience to the Shaikh. The following day I saw the Prophet, the chief Companions, and legions of saints and angels. After three months, I entered the cheerless region in which the figures appeared no more. During the whole of this time, the Shaikh continued to explain to me the mystery of the doctrine of the Unity and of the knowledge of God; but as yet he did not show me the absolute reality. It was not until a year had passed that I arrived at the true conception of unity. Then in words such as these I told the Shaikh of my inspiration: 'I look upon the body as only dust and water; I regard neither my heart nor my soul; alas! that in separation from Thee (God) so much of my life has passed. Thou wert I and I knew it not.' The Shaikh was delighted, and said that the truth of the union with God was now clearly revealed to me. Then addressing those that were present, he said, 'Tawakkul Beg learnt from me the doctrine of the Unity; his inward eye has been opened, the spheres of colours and of images have been

shown to him. At length he entered the colourless region. He has now attained to the Unity, doubt and scepticism henceforth have no power over him. No one sees the Unity with the outward eye till the inward eye gains strength and power."

The Rev. Dr. Imādu'd-dīn in his autobiography has described how, in his search after truth, which finally led him to embrace Christianity, he passed through a somewhat similar stage. He says, "I used to shut my eyes and sit in retirement, seeking, by thinking on the name of God, to write it on my heart. I constantly sat on the graves of holy men, in hopes that by contemplation I might receive some revelation from the tombs. I went and sat in the assemblies of the elders, and hoped to receive grace by gazing on the face of the Sūfīs. I used to take my petitions with joy to the shrine of Qalandar Bo 'Alī, and to the threshold of the saint Nizāmu'd-dīn. I sought for union with God from travellers and from faqīrs, and even from the insane, according to the tenets of the Sūfī mystics."* He then describes how his Director gave him a mystical book which contained the sum of everlasting happiness, and how he followed the instructions given. He sat on one knee by the side of a flowing stream for twelve days in perfect solitude, fasting and repeating a certain form of devotion thirty times a day. He wrote the name of God thousands of times on paper, wrapped each piece on which the name was written in a small ball of flour, and fed the fishes of the river with them. Half of each night he sat up and "meditated on the name of God, and saw Him with the eye of thought." But all this left him agitated and restless for some years, until, having turned towards the Christian religion, he was able to say, "Since my entrance into the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, I have had great peace in my soul."

Before passing from this branch of our subject, it is necessary to say something about 'Umar Khayyām, who, if not a Sūfī, had much in common with Sūfīism. About seven centuries and a half ago, three lads, each destined to become famous, were playfellows in the city of Naishāpūr, the capital of Khurāsān. The story¹ goes that the three lads made a compact to the effect that the one who first arrived at a position of eminence should use his influence on behalf of the other two. Nizāmu'l-Mulk, who became, in due course, the Vizier of Alp Arslan and of Mālik Shāh, had the privilege of fulfilling the engagement, and this he did most loyally. At his request, his former schoolfellow, Hasan bin-Sabāh, was appointed to an office in the administration of the Sultān's dominions; but being dissatisfied on account of the slowness of his promotion, he commenced to intrigue against his benefactor and was finally disgraced. After many adventures he became the founder of the sect of the Assassins. His fortress was the castle of Alamūt, situated in the mountainous tract south of the Caspian Sea. He is known in accounts of the Crusades by the name of "Old Man of the Mountains." Nizāmu'l-Mulk fell a victim to an assassin's dagger.

The third lad was 'Umar Khayyām. Nizāmu'l-Mulk wished him to remain at the court of the Sultān, but this he declined to do. "The greatest boon," said he, "you can confer on me is to let me live in a corner under the shadow of your fortune, to spread wide the advantages of science, and to pray for your long life and prosperity." His request was agreed to, and a small pension was granted to him. In the reign of Mālik Shāh he was appointed, in conjunction with seven other learned men, to the work of reforming the Calendar. The result of their labours is known as the Jalāli Era, of which Gibbon says, "It is a computation

¹ For a discussion as to the genuineness of this story, see Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, vol. ii, pp. 190-3.

of time which surpasses the Julian, and approaches the accuracy of the Gregorian style." 'Umar Khayyām also compiled the astronomical tables called *Zīj-i-Mālik-shāhi*, and wrote a treatise on algebra. The Sultān Mālik Shāh esteemed him highly for his scientific attainments and showered favours upon him.

There are few books more attractive, though none more sad, than the *Rubā'iyāt* of 'Umar Khayyām.¹ The scathing sarcasm, the wit and the vigour of the expressions, the possible esoteric teaching of many verses, the utter despair and despondency which runs through the whole, render this short poem unique of its kind. It possesses a special interest for all students of human thought and life, for it shows how a man, learned in his day, found no abiding consolation in scientific researches, no rest in the pantheism of the *Šūfī*, no satisfaction in the sterner creed of his orthodox Muslim friends, and no peace whatever in a cynical rejection of religious belief. He was a bold brave man, and gave free utterance to his thoughts. It is said that the *Šūfīs* hated him, but later poets have used his figures of speech in a mystical sense, and some have claimed him as a *Šūfī*. This he is not. The scorn for external rites shown by the *Šūfī* is one way of declaring his belief that all existence is illusion, but he has no intention of destroying all religious feeling. The amorous language of the mystic is meant to be devout. 'Umar Khayyām at times uses *Šūfī* language, but only to show his contempt for orthodoxy and his own epicurean tastes. The *Šūfī* does believe something. 'Umar

¹ The term *Rubā'ī* is used for a quatrain in which the first, second, and fourth lines always rhyme, and sometimes the third as well. *Rubā'iyāt* means a collection of such quatrains in one poem. No edition, so far as I know, contains more than "two hundred and fifty-three verses." Khayyām is the *takhallus*, or nom de plume of the poet, and literally means "tent-maker." 'Umar's European reputation is largely due to Fitzgerald's brilliant paraphrase of the *Rubā'iyāt*; in Persia it rests more upon his scientific work than on his skill as a poet.

Khayyām believed nothing and was a saddened man. This is the great lesson the *Rubā'iyāt* teaches us. Unbelief in the twelfth, as in the twentieth century, could give no peace, no settled calm to the restless soul of an earnest, thoughtful man. In order to appreciate the beauty of the *Rubā'iyāt*, we must remember that the author was a man utterly wearied with the religious conflicts of his day and the hollowness of many professors of religion, a man who turned from all in blank despair, and who, finding no Gospel to direct him to the Light of the World, fell into utter darkness.

There is no definite order or arrangement in the poem, and 'Umar's views must be gathered here and there. 'Umar is looked upon as a *Šūfī* by some, as a mere Epicurean by others, who speak of his views as "*rindāna madhhab*," or licentious religion. The latter are probably correct, though perhaps 'Umar only came to be such, when he failed to satisfy the cravings of his nature for higher truth. However, we may first notice some of the quatrains, or verses on which some *Šūfīs* base their claim to him.¹

"Once and again my soul did me implore
To teach her, if I might, the inspired lore:
I bade her learn the Alif well by heart;
Who knows that letter well need learn no more."

The letter Alif, the first letter of the alphabet, is used in the numerical notation called *abjad* to represent the number one, and so "to know the Alif" is a figurative expression meaning to know God as the One, the sole existent Being. It is a common expression amongst *Šūfī* poets. Thus *Hāfiz* says:—

"My loved one's Alif form stamps all my thought,
Save that, what letter has my master taught?"

¹ Many of the verses in the *Rubā'iyāt* are now attributed to other poets. The result of a critical investigation is that "while it is certain that 'Umar Khayyām wrote many quatrains, it is hardly possible, save in a few exceptional cases, to assert positively that he wrote any particular one of those ascribed to him." Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, vol. ii, pp. 256-7.

That is, he who knows the God as One knows all—he needs no other teaching.

"The search for that 'single Alif' was a great spur to inquiry. It struck the imagination as a kind of vista which narrowed, the further one advanced, by the progressive elimination of all unimportant accidents from the vast and complex phenomenon which had to be investigated, until at the far end the inquirer was brought to the philosopher's stone, the single Alif, the narrow portal which gave admission to the temple of universal knowledge."

A belief in the Unity is supposed to cover a multitude of sins:—

"Khayyām strings not the fair pearls of good deeds,
Nor sweeps from off his soul sin's noisome weeds;
Nevertheless he humbly hopes for grace,
Seeing that One as two he ne'er misreads."

It is possible that 'Umar Khayyām is here speaking satirically. Anyhow, it is good Ṣūfī doctrine. The doctrine of the tauḥīd is the central dogma of Islām. In ordinary language it means "there is no god but God," but in the mystical language of the Ṣūfīs it means "there is no Being—no real existence—but God." Everything else but God is phenomenal and non-existent. Thus "One as two he ne'er misreads," means that he looks on all else but God as illusion.

The final goal of all Ṣūfī aspirations is absorption in God, and this 'Umar seems to teach in:—

"O Soul! when on the Loved one's sweets to feed
You lose your *self*, yet find your *Self* indeed;
And when you drink of His entrancing cup,
You hasten your escape from quick and dead."

"To die to self, to live eternally in God," is the mystic doctrine round which the Ṣūfī system professedly gathers, though it is not so much life in God, as faná, or extinction, which leads the Murīd (disciple) on stage after stage in the mystic journey until the end is reached, and the phenomenal "Not-being" is lost for

ever in the Eternal "Being." This belief in the illusion of phenomena is described by 'Umar thus:—

"The drop wept for his severance from the sea,
But the sea smiled, for, 'I am all,' said he,
'And naught exists outside my unity,
My one point circling apes plurality.'"

The "one point" is the "Being." It is not easy to get much sense out of the last line as it stands here, but some light is thrown upon it by a somewhat similar statement in the Gulshan-i-Ráz:—

"Go! whirl round one spark of fire,
And from its quick motion you will see a circle."

The circle is not real, it is phenomenal, and thus the "point circling apes plurality;" and, after all, the sole existence is the "one point." The Ṣūfī does not trouble himself much with creeds and confessions. He has little faith in systems of religion. If what he deems "The Truth" is known, he cares very little about an objective revelation or an ecclesiastical system. If earth and all it contains are an illusion, so also, he considers, heaven and hell may be. Such notions may be needed for those weaker souls who in Jewish synagogue or Christian cloister or Muslim mosque need an outward law as a restraint and a guide, but for the Illuminated all these things are worthless:—

"In synagogue and cloister, mosque and school,
Hell's terrors and heaven's lures men's bosoms rule;
But they who pierce the secrets of the 'Truth,'
Sow not such empty chaff their hearts to fool."

Even fate has no objective existence:—

"Pen, tablet, heaven, and hell I looked to see
Above the skies from all eternity;
At last the Master sage instructed me
'Pen, tablet, heaven, and hell are all in thee.'"

Thus far 'Umar is Ṣūfistic, but yet he is not a Ṣūfī. There is a certain calm in the life of the Ṣūfī to which 'Umar never attains. He is full of despair, in spite of the rollicking mood in which many verses

are written. Life is not worth having, not worth living:—

"I never would have come, had I been asked;
I would as lief not go, if I were asked;
And, to be short, I would annihilate
All coming, being, going, were I asked."

'Umar was, in reality, a fatalist. His training as a youth in the orthodox school under Imām Muaffiq would naturally produce this result. Neither his scientific studies, nor the lighter ones of literature, seem to have led him to a brighter view of the universe:—

"The 'tablet' all our fortune doth contain,
Writ by the 'pen' that heeds not bliss nor bane;
'Twas writ at first whatever was to be,
To grieve or strive is labour all in vain.

"We are but chessmen, who to move are fain
Just as the great Chess-player doth ordain;
He moves us on life's chess-board too and fro,
And then in Death's box shuts us up again." ¹

So he gives it all up. It is useless to contend against irresistible decrees. It is useless to grieve over it, so

"O heart! this world is but a fleeting show,
Why let its empty griefs distress thee so?
Bear up and face thy fate; the eternal pen
Will not unwrite his roll for thee, I trow."

"O Soul, so soon to leave this soil below,
And pass the dread mysterious curtain through,
Be of good cheer, and joy you while you may,
You wot not whence you come, nor whither go."

The result is that all sense of personal responsibility to a Personal God is lost. Good and evil are matters of indifference to the fatalist. The restraint of a moral law is taken away. The man simply follows his own desires, and casts the blame of the result on God.

"Khayyām, why weep you that your life is bad?
What boots it thus to mourn? Rather be glad;
He that sins not, no title makes to grace;
Sin entails grace, then prithee why so sad?"

¹ Most of these verses from the Rubá'iyāt of 'Umar Khayyām are taken, with permission, from an excellent translation by Whinfield (Trübner's Oriental Series).

A recent Muslim commentator on the Rubá'iyāt explains this last line by quoting, as a well-known saying, the words "Mustahaqq-i-karāmat gunāhgārān and"—"Sinners are those who have a right to favour."

To eat, drink, and be merry is 'Umar's real creed. Any aspirations he may at one time have had after higher and better things are destroyed. The constant teaching of the Rubá'iyāt is—indulge the senses and let the future go, or, as 'Umar puts it, "nor cash in hand for promised credit sell." A revel with boon companions is the true joy:—

"We make the wine jar's lip our place of prayer,
And drink in lessons of true manhood there,
And pass our lives in taverns, if perchance
The time mis-spent in mosques we may repair.

"In Paradise are Houris, as you know,
And fountains that with wine and honey flow
If these be lawful in the world above,
What harm to love the like down here below?

"Come fill the cup, and in the fire of spring
Your winter garment of repentance fling;
The bird of time has but a little way,
To flutter—and the bird is on the wing."

Those who look upon 'Umar as a Sūfi, refer to his constant reference to wine and say he uses it in the mystical sense; others hold that his praises of wine are simply to show the stress he lays on mortal gladness and to cast into the shade the inevitable end which though feared should now be disregarded. He glorifies the present and the real, in order to deaden the anticipation of the future and the unseen.

To those who held out future joys in Paradise for orthodox belief and right conduct here, the answer is ready to the effect that cash payments are better than credit accounts:—

"They preach how sweet these Houris brides will be,
But look you, so is wine sweet, taste and see;
Hold fast this cash, and let the credit be,
And shun the din of empty drums with me."

No one can accuse 'Umar Khayyām of not having the courage of his opinions. In his position he could say and do what men of lesser note could not. Mullā and Pīr, Philosopher and Saint, all have to bear his bitter sarcasm. He calls upon them to leave their dogmas, vigils, and researches, and to join with him in the enjoyment of an animal existence. To the Philosopher he says:—

"Slaves of vain wisdom and philosophy,
Who toil at Being and Nonentity,
Parching your brains like dry and shrivelled grapes,
Be wise in time, and drink grape-juice like me!"

To the Šūfī he says:—

"The joyous souls who quaff potations deep,
And Saints whom the mosque sad vigils keep,
Are lost at sea alike, and find no shore;
One only wakes, all others are asleep."

To the Mullā, for whom he has no mercy, he says:—

"Mullā! give heed, if thou true Muslim be,
Quit saintly show and feigned austerity,
And quaff the wine that blessed 'Alī pours,
And sport with Houris 'neath this shady tree."
"A Mullā spied a harlot, and quoth he,
'You seem a slave to drink and lechery.'
And she made answer, 'What I seem I am,
But, Mullā, are you all you seem to be?'"

There is a verse in the Qur'ān which says, "Kill them wherever ye shall find them" (xii. 187). 'Umar makes a curious use of this verse, and by it refutes and confounds the Mullās who objected to his use of wine:—

"From right and left grave Mullās came and stood,
Saying, 'Renounce this wine, this foe of good;'
But if wine be my foe, as they declare,
I swear by Allāh I must drink his blood."

The Mullās held out hopes to all the faithful of Houris in Paradise. 'Umar, on his principle of "ready cash," cannot see that what is morally right there can be morally wrong here. The satire is perfect in

"All a long summer's day her Khayyām lies
On this green sward, gazing on Houris' eyes,
Yet Mullās say he is a graceless dog,
Who never gives a thought to Paradise."

"In Paradise are Houris, as you know,
And fountains that with wine and honey flow;
If these be lawful in the world above,
What harm to love the like down here below?"

No doubt he heard these men speak much of God's mercy, a sentiment too often, then as now, a cloak for evil-doing. 'Umar, whatever his views on the subject as an abstract question may have been, was far too honest a man to treat it, in the way he heard it, as more than a mere shibboleth:—

"O thou who hast done ill, and ill done,
Think not to find forgiveness at the throne;
Hope not for mercy, for good left undone
Cannot be done, nor evil done undone."

It is thus no wonder that, seeing unreality all around, in the mysticism of the Šūfī as in the formalism of the orthodox, and with no true gospel placed before him, he should get utterly weary of the world:—

"Ah! would there were a place of rest from pain,
Which we poor pilgrims might at last attain,
And, after many thousand wintry years,
Renew our youth like flowers and bloom again."

'Umar Khayyām was a strange compound. He often utters nobler sentiments than those we have yet quoted from his poem. His better nature comes out in the earnest longing for a true, a perfect guide:—

"Open the door of Truth, O Usher purest!
And guide the way, O thou of guides the surest!
Directors born of men shall not direct me;
Their counsel comes to nought, but Thou endurest."

Cynical though he was, he retains kindly feeling for others. A noble sentiment is contained in

"Whate'er thou doest, never grieve thy brother,
Nor raise a fume of wrath his peace to smother.
Dost thou desire to taste eternal bliss?
Vex thine own heart, but never vex another."

It is quite natural that he should show a spirit of toleration, but this is merely the result of indifferentism, which looked upon all systems of religion as equally true and equally false:—

"Pagodas are, like mosques, true homes of prayer;
 'Tis prayer that church-bells waft upon the air;
 Ka'ba and temple, rosary and cross,
 All are but divers tongues of world-wide prayer.

"Hearts with the light of love illumined well,
 Whether in mosque or synagogue they dwell,
 Have their names written in the book of love,
 Unvexed by hopes of heaven or fears of hell."

Still, in spite of an occasional glimpse of a better nature, of more hopeful qualities, the student of the *Rubá'iyát* will come to see that 'Umar *Khayyám* was a saddened man, that he had no hope in the future or in God. What bitter words are these with which the poem concludes:—

"*Khayyám* of burning heart, perchance to burn
 In hell; and feed its balefires in thy turn,
 Presume not to teach Allāh clemency,
 For who art thou to teach, or He to learn?"

Is it any wonder that, in spite of his better nature, he should become cold and heartless, that he should be callous and careless?

"Quoth fish to duck: 'Twould be a sad affair
 Should this brook ever leave his channel bare.'
 To whom the duck: 'When I am dead and roasted,
 The ocean may run dry for aught I care.'"

'Umar *Khayyám* has with justice been compared to Lucretius. Both were materialists, both believed not in a future life. "Lucretius built a system for himself in his poem . . . it has a professed practical aim—to explain the world's self-acting machine to the polytheist, and to disabuse him of all spiritual ideas." 'Umar *Khayyám* builds up no system, he only shows forth his own doubts and difficulties; "he loves to balance antitheses of belief, and settle himself in the equipoise of the sceptic."

The fact that there is no hereafter gives Lucretius no pain, but 'Umar, who, if only his reason could let him, would believe, records his utter despair in words of passionate bitterness. He is not glad that there is no help anywhere. And though he calls for the wine-cup, and listens to the voice within the tavern cry:—

"Awake, my little ones, and fill the cup
 Before Life's liquor in its cup be dry,"

yet he also looks back to the time when he consorted with those who professed to know, and could say:—

"With them the seed of wisdom did I sow,
 And with my own hand laboured it to grow."

The modern sect of the Bábís is closely connected with the teaching of the Shí'ahs on the Imám, his position and functions, and with the mystical modes of thought of the Sūfís. It is not strictly correct to call them a Muslim sect, for they practically discard the Qur'án and supersede Muḥammad. But the close connection of Bábism with Muḥammadan dogmas, its present-day importance and the devotion of its followers claim for it more than a passing notice. No non-Christian sect in modern days has suffered such persecution and survived. The movement is one which illustrates the mystical tendency of Persian thought, the fanaticism of the Mullás, and the barbarity of the rulers; but all the efforts of the Muslim Church and State have hitherto failed to suppress Bábism, or to lessen the veneration in which the Báb is held by all who accept his teaching.

Abú'l-Qásim (al-Mahdi), the twelfth Imám disappeared in the year 329 A.H., but for a period of sixty-nine years he is said to have held intercourse with his followers through a successive number of men, who were called the Doors or mediums of communication. Abú'l-Ḥasan, the last of these Doors, refused to appoint a successor, saying that "God hath a purpose which

He will accomplish." Many centuries passed by, and it was not until the beginning of the last one that this curious theory of intermediaries between the concealed Imám and the Faithful again took definite shape.

Shaikh Ahmad (1753—1826 A.D.), the founder of the Shaikhí sect, was a devout ascetic and a man of independent thought. He had a profound belief in 'Alí, and was devoted to the memory of the Imáms, whom he looked upon as creative forces, arguing from the text, "God the best of creators" (xxiii. 14), that, if He be the best, He cannot be the only one. The special point of his teaching was that "God is immanent in the universe which proceeds from Him, and that all the elect of God, all the Imáms, and all just persons are personifications of the divine attributes."¹

Shaikh Ahmad was succeeded by a man who soon commanded much respect and influence. His name was Hájí Syed Kázim. He died in the year 1843 A.D., and left no successor. After fastings, vigils, and prayers for guidance, the Shaikhís began to consider what was to be done in the matter of a spiritual director. Mullá Husain proceeded to Shíráz, and there met with Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad, who produced before him the signs of his call to his divine mission. For several days Mullá Husain pondered over these matters, and, after a long and severe struggle, became convinced that he had found in the young and ardent enthusiast before him the "True One," to whose advent Hájí Syed Kázim had pointed. "He wrote to his friends at Karbalá that neither he himself nor any other of them was worthy of the high dignity of Murshid (or leader), and that that "Illuminated One" to whom their late master had referred was alone worthy. I have found him at Shíráz, and he is worthy to be the Murshid."²

¹ *Journal Asiatique*, 6me Série, tome vii, p. 458.

² *Journal Asiatique*, 6me Série, tome vii, p. 465.

As the connection between the Bábis and the Shaikhís is thus so close, we must now see what was the special dogma of the latter sect. The orthodox Shí'ah creed consists of five articles, which are called the pillars or supports of the Faith (arkán-i-dín). They are belief (1) in the unity of God (tauḥíd), (2) in the justice of God ('adl), (3) in prophetship (nabúwat), (4) in the imámate (imámat), (5) in the resurrection (ma'ád). The Shaikhís set aside the articles two and five, as already implied in the belief in God and the prophets. To take the place of the rejected articles and to bring the number up to four, they added a new one which they called the Fourth Support or Pillar (ruknu'r-rábi'). The meaning of this is that there must always be amongst believers one perfect man, who can be the channel of grace (wásīṭatu'l-faíd) between the absent Imám and his people. The term "fourth support" is primarily applied to the dogma that the concealed Imám must always have on earth some one who possesses his entire confidence, to whom he gives special spiritual instruction, and who is thus qualified to convey to the believers the wishes and wisdom of their invisible head. The term has, however, come to be applied to the person who fulfils this office. At first the Báb claimed to be this "fourth support," and so to occupy the place held by the "doors," who were the earlier intermediaries between the Imám and his followers. Thus it is that Báblism is connected with the very central doctrine of the Shí'ahs, though in many other ways it has so far departed from accepted Muḥammadan ideas as to form a new sect altogether.

Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad, the Báb, was born at Shíráz on the 9th of October 1820. When quite young he lost his father. For a time the youth assisted his uncle in mercantile pursuits, but as his mind was more inclined to religious meditation and speculative

thought than to business affairs, he proceeded to Karbalá, where he was brought into contact with Hájí Syed Kázim, the Shaikhí leader, whose lectures he occasionally attended. At Karbalá he was distinguished by his zeal for learning and by his remarkably austere life. Visitors to Karbalá, especially those from Shíráz, showed him much consideration, and so his fame was spread abroad. He now composed a commentary on Súratu Yúsuf, the twelfth chapter of the Qur'án.

The Bábi historian¹ says of this work, that "in it he addressed himself to that person unseen, from whom he received help and grace, sought for aid in the arrangement of his preliminaries, and craved the sacrifice of life in the way of love. Amongst others is this sentence: "O residue of God," I am wholly sacrificed to Thee; I am content with curses in Thy love, and God the Supreme sufficeth as an eternal protection."

¹ Maqálah-i-Shaikhí Saiyáh, p. 4.

* The expression residue (or remnant) of God—*Baqiyat Ulláh*—is a very peculiar one. It is connected with a curious belief of the Shí'ahs, viz., that God allowed some part or fraction of Himself in some way or other to be connected with the Imám. As soon then as Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad was raised by his followers to the dignity of the Báb, or as soon as the idea became present to his own mind, he could address the Imám as the *Baqiyat Ulláh*, and set forth his complete devotion to him. His followers then gave him the titles of the servant of *Baqiyat Ulláh*, the mystery of *Baqiyat Ulláh*, the friend of *Baqiyat Ulláh*. Gradually as, during his imprisonment, he became more and more invisible to his followers, and when he became credited with the power of working miracles and more or less a mythical being, he was no longer called the servant, or the mystery, or the friend of *Baqiyat Ulláh*, but himself was esteemed to be the *Baqiyat Ulláh*—the true Imám so long looked for. Mírzá Kázim Beg says that under the term "mystery" they understood one who shared the secrets of the Imám. "The name *Sirr-Ulláh*, Mystery of God, was given to 'Alí, as to one who knew the secrets of divine revelation; and so, in its new application, the title *Sirr-i-Baqiyat Ulláh*, now a name of the Báb, would mean the one who knew all that was in the mind of the concealed Imám, who himself was the remnant (or residue) of God." (*Journal Asiaticque*, 1866, vol. viii, p. 486.)

The Báb also wrote a commentary on other parts of the Qur'án and some prayers. These writings he called "inspired pages" (*aahá'ifu'l-ilhámíyah*) and "word of conscience" (*kalámu'l-fiṭrá*); but he made no claim to the kind of inspiration called *waḥí*, that is, the revelation brought by an angel or in some mechanical way. He believed his meditations to be divinely inspired, but the inspiration was subjective.

Thus it came to pass that on the 23rd of May 1844, when he was about twenty-four years of age, Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad more definitely formulated his views and announced himself as a duly authorised teacher and guide. He then assumed the name of the Báb. He said, "Whosoever wishes to approach the Lord his God and to know the true way that leads to Him ought to do it through me." Of this period of his career Mírzá Kázim Beg says: "The number of his adherents increased day by day, and when they demanded that he, like the ancient prophets, should give them a sign in proof of his mission, he relied on this, that he could write a thousand inspired lines in one day. By his peculiarities and by his austere life, even when still at Karbalá, he was called the "Illuminated." When the inhabitants of Shíráz returned from Karbalá they used to say, "Have you heard of our Syed 'Alí Muḥammad? He is no longer as we are; he has become famous and has merited the name of the 'Chosen of God.' All people, small and great, flock around him." He also adds that dreamers and mystics, and evil-disposed persons from self-interest joined him. No doubt some did so from mixed motives. Another writer divides the Báb's first adherents into several classes. Firstly, rigorous and pious Muḥammadans, who really believed that the signs of the twelfth Imám were fulfilled in him; secondly, all those who desired reform in Persia, and thought that Báblism would conduce to that end; thirdly, the mystics, who considered Bábiism to be

similar to their own pantheistic system; fourthly, those who were drawn by the personal influence and character of the Báb.¹

On his return from Karbalá he was heartily welcomed. Until then, it is said, he looked upon himself only as one who had made some progress in the divine way (ṭarīqat), but he soon began to consider himself a master, appointed by heaven to regenerate his country.

There is some difference of opinion as to what he exactly meant by the title of Báb which he had assumed. Mīrzá Kāzīm Beg says: "I do not know whether he was acquainted with the words of Christ, 'I am the door,' but he doubtless knew that Muḥammad had said, 'I am the city of knowledge and 'All is the gate of that city.'" A Muḥammadan historian, an enemy of the Báb, says "that the Báb, having gathered some Shaikhs together, said, 'I am the "door" of God. Whosoever desires to come to God, and to know the religion of God, cannot do so till he sees me and receives permission from me.'" His followers have now, however, discarded that name, and he is known amongst the Bábīs by several titles, such as His Highness, His Highness the Point of Revelation, His Highness the First Point. More recently the Behá'is call him His Highness the Evangelist. Gobineau, a good authority on the subject, says: "Mīrzá Muḥammad 'Alī said that he was not the Báb in the sense in which they (his followers) had believed and as he himself had thought—that is to say, the 'door' of the knowledge of truth—but that he was the Point, or the originator of truth, a divine appearance, a powerful manifestation," and so goes on to show that the title Báb was set free, and could henceforth reward the pious devotion of one of the Báb's followers. As a matter of fact, it was bestowed on

¹ Browne, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1889, p. 504.

Mullá Ḥusain, who is sometimes called His Excellency, the Gate of the Gate (Ḥaḍratu'l Bábí'l-Báb). Having made this digression, we may now continue the history of this remarkable man.

The next step seems to be the pilgrimage to Mecca in November 1844, where he stayed a short time and completed all the rites incumbent on pilgrims, returning early in the following year to Bushire. He soon gathered together a large body of disciples and aroused the hostility of the Mullás. The matter then acquired such importance that the reigning Sháh sent one of the most learned Doctors of the age, Syed Yahyá, to interview the Báb and report the result. He held three long conferences with him, but the result was that he was so charmed with the Báb that he accepted him as a leader and admitted all his claims. About this time Mullá Muḥammad 'Alī, a leading teacher, sent a person to Shiráz to ascertain the facts of the case. This messenger returned with some of the Báb's writings, which so impressed Mullá Muḥammad 'Alī that he, too, became a follower of the Báb, and urged all his disciples to become Bábīs. The Mullás complained to the Sháh, and Mullá Muḥammad 'Alī was summoned to Taharán, but he was able to meet successfully all his opponents in debate, and nothing came of this action.

The cause of the Báb was now very much strengthened by the support of such famous teachers, who were most earnest and active in propagating the new faith. The orthodox Mullás soon perceived that they must attack the Báb direct. The result of this hostility was that the Báb, after undergoing a strict examination at Tabriz, was kept in confinement.¹

All this time the Báb's followers were most active in spreading his doctrines throughout the land. It was

¹ For a full account see *Episode of the Báb*, pp. 277-290.

now, that his most famous convert was made. This was a woman called Qurratu'l-'Ain (Lustre of the Eye). She went everywhere preaching and making converts to the Bábí faith. Some of the Bábis looked with disfavour on this preaching by a woman; but the Báb supported her, applauded her zeal, and bestowed on her the title of Janáb-i-Táhira (Her Excellency the Pure). From that time all acknowledged her position. She was put to death in the massacre at Taharán which followed on the attempt to kill the Sháh in 1852. Qurratu'l-'Ain was the most remarkable of the Báb's disciples. She was a person of marvellous beauty, possessed of high intellectual gifts, eloquent, devoted, and fearless. She threw her whole soul into the cause she advocated, and her martyrdom sheds a halo of glory round her short and active career.

A Bábí historian says: "Such fame did she acquire, that most people who were scholars or mystics sought to hear her speech, and were eager to become acquainted with her powers of speculation and deduction. She wrested pre-eminence from stalwart men, and continued to strain the feet of steadfastness, until she yielded up her life at the sentence of the mighty doctors in Taharán." Mírzá Kázim Beg, a most sober writer, waxes eloquent over the charms of Qurratu'l-'Ain, thus: "This woman had an influence over her hearers wholly spiritual. She knew how to inspire them with perfect confidence. She was well educated and very beautiful. Everything retired before her. She raised the veil which covered her face, not to set at nought the laws of chastity and modesty, so deeply graven on the tables of the orthodox law and in popular prejudice, but much rather in order to give by her look more force to the inspired words she spoke. Her speeches stigmatised that gross tyranny which for so many centuries had imprisoned liberty. She preached not, as some have said, to abolish the laws of modesty, but to sustain

the cause of liberty. The eloquent words which fell from her mouth captivated the hearts of her hearers, who became enthusiastic in her praise."

Some of her poems breathe the spirit of Súffism and show how deeply her mind was imbued with mystic lore. Her romantic career, her marvellous power, and her tragic end will continue to give for a long time to come strength to the Bábí cause and the spirit of endurance to its followers.¹

In the year 1848 Násiru'd-dín Sháh, was crowned at Taharán, and the position of the Bábis became most critical. The Prime Minister hated and persecuted them. A civil war broke out, and the Bábis suffered a great deal; but no persecution, however severe, could restrain the ardour of the Bábí teachers or the devotion of their followers. It became plain to the authorities that the Báb himself must be put out of the way. He was then condemned to death." A young disciple, Aká Muḥammad 'Alí, who belonged to a noble family of Tabriz, was also condemned at the same time. Great pressure was brought on him by his relatives to induce him to recant and thus

¹ The following sonnet on Qurratu'l-'Ain brings out some characteristic aspects of her influence:—

"Qurratu'l-'Ain! not famous far beyond
Her native shore. Not many bards have sung
Her praises, who, her enemies among,
Wielding her beauty as a magic wand,
Strove for the cause of him who had proclaimed
For poor down-trodden womanhood the right
Of freedom. Lifting high her beacon light
Of truth, she went unveiled and unashamed.
A woman, in the land where women live
And weep and die, secluded and unknown,
She broke the bonds of custom, and to give
The Báb her aid, she dared the world alone,
Only to fail: death closed the unequal strife,
And Persia blindly wrecked a noble life."

¹ For a detailed account, see *New History of the Báb*, pp. 299-306, 383.

to save his life, but he remained quite firm, and shared the martyrdom of his beloved master. It is a remarkable witness to the power which the Báb had over his disciples, a power which could lead this youth, with so promising a future before him, to give up home and life, to face death and its terrors, rather than be separated from the master he loved so truly.¹

It may be well at this point to give a summary of the character of the Báb, as portrayed by Mírzá Kázim Beg, always remembering that the critic, though eminently fair, does not believe in the claims of the Báb.

He had some characteristics truly great and noble, and was a man of firm and settled convictions. His moral character was high, and he aimed in his preaching to bring all his countrymen into a community united by intellectual and moral ties. He spoke with much earnestness on the necessity for a religious and social reform in Persia, the cessation of religious persecution, and the amelioration of the lot of women.

¹ Mr. Browne has given a translation of a very touching letter, in which Áká Muḥammad 'Alí replied to an affectionate appeal from his brother, who urged him to give up the Báb and return to his family:—

“He is the Compassionate.

O thou who art my Qibla! My condition, thanks to God, has no fault, and ‘to every difficulty succeedeth ease.’ You have written that this matter has no end. What matter, then, has any end? We, at least, have no discontent in this matter: nay, rather, we are unable sufficiently to express our thanks for this favour. The end of this matter is to be slain in the way of God, and O what happiness is this! The will of God will come to pass with regard to His servants, neither can human plans avert the divine decree. O thou who art my Qibla! the end of the world is death. If the appointed fate which God hath decreed overtake me, then God is the guardian of my family, and thou art mine executor; behave in such wise as is pleasing to God, and pardon whatever has proceeded from me which may seem lacking in courtesy or contrary to the respect due from juniors; and seek pardon for me from all those of my household and commit me to God. God is my patron, and how good is He as a Guardian!” (*New History of the Báb*, p. 202.)

It is said that much of what he preached on these points had an esoteric meaning, known only to his disciples; but whether that is the case or not, the veneration they felt for him was profound, and there can be no doubt that the teaching of the Báb was in the direction of freedom, and that he personally was in favour of reform. Mírzá Kázim Beg sums up his reflections thus: “We neither consider him an adventurer nor a fanatic, but an eminently moral man, a dreamer brought up in the school of the Shaikhís, and possessing some touch of Christianity. We regard him also as a man troubled by the direct influence of some of his devoted and ambitious disciples. In any case, we believe that the appearance of the Báb will be more or less of use in time to the cause of civilisation in Persia.”¹

In the year 1852 an attempt was made by some Bábís to assassinate the Sháh. It does not appear to have been the result of a plot made by the Bábí leaders, but rather the independent action of a few men who had in themselves, or in their families, suffered wrong. A bitter persecution followed. “The Bábís,” says Mírzá Kázim Beg, “were tortured in the most odious manner, with an unheard-of refinement of cruelty.” An English traveller says: “Tow steeped in oil was inserted between their fingers and behind their shoulder-blades, leaving portions hanging down which were lighted, and in this condition the unhappy wretches were led, as long as they could walk, through the principal streets of the capital. A furious proscription followed. No time was lost between apprehension and execution, death was the only punishment known, the headless bodies lay in the streets for days, the terrified relatives fearing to give them burial, and the dogs fought and growled over the corpses in the deserted thoroughfares.”

¹ *Journal Asiatique*, 6me Série, tome vii, p. 384.

Renan speaks of the massacre thus: "The day of the great slaughter of the Bábís in Taharán was perhaps a day unparalleled in the history of the world."¹ He quotes from M. le Comte de Gobineau's work, "*Les Religions et les Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale*," to the following effect: "Children and women with lighted candles stuck into the wounds were driven along by whips, and as they went along they sang, 'We came from God, to Him we return.' When the children expired, as many did, the executioners threw the corpses beneath the feet of their fathers. Life was offered if they would recant. An executioner told one father that if he did not recant, his two sons, the elder of whom was fourteen years old, should be slain on his breast. The father, lying down, said that he was ready, and the elder boy claimed by right of birth to be the first to have his throat cut. At last night fell on a mass of shapeless flesh, and the dogs of the suburbs came in troops to the place." So ended one important period in the history of the Bábís.

There has been since then no formal outbreak² of Bábí revenge, nor has there been any persecution like it. Even this altogether failed of its purpose, for it gave to the movement a vigour and vitality which otherwise it might have lacked, and now Bábís "are to be found in every walk of life, from the ministers and nobles of the court to the scavenger or the groom, not the least arena of their activity being the Musalmán priesthood itself. It will have been noticed that the movement was initiated by Syeds, Hájís, and Mullás."³ Whilst it is true that there has been no persecution so terrible as the one in 1852, yet now and again the hostility of the 'Ulamá shows itself. In 1878, 1888, and in 1889 Bábís were put to death. The heroism and the devotion of the Bábís is something very wonderful.

¹ *Les Apôtres*, p. 378.

² Curzon, *Persia*, vol. i, p. 499.

It is said that there is only one instance of a Bábí having recanted under pressure, and he returned again to his faith, and was afterwards put to death for his renewed devotion to the Báb.

After the death of the Báb, the chief interest in the movement circles round Mirzá Yahyá and his half-brother Behá'ulláh, who became the respective leaders of the two sects into which the Bábís are now divided—the Ezellís and the Behá'ís. There seems no doubt that the Báb in the year 1849 nominated the former,¹ whom he named Şubĥ-i-Ezel (Morning of Eternity), as his successor, and that for a short time he really held an undisputed position as head of the Bábí Church.

In 1852, when the attempt on the life of the Sháh was made, the Bábís were bitterly persecuted, and Şubĥ-i-Ezel retired to Baghdád, which then became the headquarters of the sect, and was for many years recognised, at least nominally, as its head. Mirzá Husain 'Alí Behá'ulláh, who was Şubĥ-i-Ezel's senior by thirteen years, and had just been released from imprisonment, joined him in 1853. The Persian Government, at length, objected to their residence there, and prevailed on the Turkish authorities in 1863—64 to deport them to Constantinople, from whence a few months later on they were sent to Adrianople. Şubĥ-i-Ezel led a very secluded life, and the correspondence and other matters were carried on by Behá, who acted for him. The influence of Behá then grew, and at last he began to advance claims which afterwards, in the years 1866—67, culminated in the assertion that he was the person to whom the Báb referred as "Him whom God shall manifest." To this claim the Ezellís replied that before the person of whose advent the Báb had spoken could come, Bábism must obtain general currency, and the laws laid down by the Báb in his books

¹ A copy of the original letter of nomination is given in the *New History of the Báb*, p. 426.

must be accepted by most of the nations in the world. The Behá'ís, who admitted that Šubḥ-i-Ezel was the first vicegerent of the Báb, to all the objections alleged replied that his rule was only to last until the manifestation of the new leader, who was to come suddenly, and the time of whose advent was known only to God. They also used an argument well known amongst Muḥammadáns, an argument based on the literary style of the books given by means of a divinely appointed messenger, and urged that the Lauḥ-i-Nasír, in which Behá announced his mission, fulfilled this condition of a divine revelation by its eloquence of diction and the wonderful knowledge, unacquired by study, displayed by the writer. Anyhow, the conflicting claims to the leadership led to quarrels and blows. The Turkish Government then determined to separate the disputants. Behá and his followers were sent to Acre, and Mírzá Yahyá and his people were exiled to Famagusta in Cyprus. Since then the followers of Behá have increased very much, while those of Šubḥ-i-Ezel, or Yahyá, have decreased. This is an unlooked-for development of the work of the Báb, for Behá claims to be the messenger of a new dispensation altogether.

The question at issue now became something more than a mere struggle for leadership, for Behá's claim virtually deposed the Báb from his position as the "Point of Revelation" and made him the mere forerunner of "Him whom God shall manifest." The Ezels are, however, nearly extinct, and it is not likely that they will ever attain to power again. Assuming that Behá had right on his side, it is stated that the changes he made were in a practical direction and beneficial.

The Bábí doctrines are to be found in the writings of the Báb called the Beyán, a name sometimes apparently applied to them collectively, but more generally to a particular book. Many of the dogmas are very mystical, but the following is a brief summary.

God is eternal and unapproachable. All things come from Him and exist by Him. Man cannot approach Him except through some appointed medium. So, distinct from God there is a Primal Will¹ who becomes incarnate in the prophets. This Primal Will spoke in the Báb and will speak in "Him whom God shall

¹ There is an evident connection between this dogma of the Bábis and the Šúfí system, in which the "First Intelligence" or "Primal Element" is represented as a manifestation of God. To the Šúfí, as to the Bábí, God is "sterile in His inaccessible height." Men can never be more than slaves, nearness to Him is impossible. But men longed for communion with some one or something above them. They felt the need of some intermediary, and found it in a revival of the old Gnostic notions of the Æons, forms of manifestation of the Ineffable and Incomprehensible. Neander thus describes the Gnostic view: "Self-limitation is the first beginning of a communication of life from God—the first passing of the hidden deity into manifestation: and from this proceeds all further self-developing manifestation of the divine essence. Now, from this primal link in the chain of life there are evolved, in the first place, the manifold powers or attributes inherent in the divine essence, which, until that first self-comprehension, were all hidden in this abyss of His essence." This intermediary is the Primal Will of the Bábí and the Primal Element of the Šúfí, who also calls it by the names of the Pen, the First Principle, the spirit of Muḥammad, Universal Reason ('aql-i-kull). God's voice is heard through it, by it material things were brought into existence. It works in Prophets and Saints. The Imám is closely connected with it. I am not able to find out whether the Báb taught that the Primal Will was created or not. In Šúfí theology it certainly is, for in the *Akhlāq-i-Jalálí* it is written: "It is admitted, equally by the masters of perception and conception, that the First Principle, which, at the mandate, 'Be and it is,' issued, by the ineffable power and will, from the chaotic ocean of inexistence, was a simple and luminous essence, which, in the language of philosophy, is termed the Primary Intelligence, and the great fathers of mysticism and investigation call it the Muḥammadan Spirit." It is to this, and not to the inaccessible and incomprehensible God, that the Imám seeks to return. When his work in life is done, then "his end is joined to his beginning" (Ba ághás girdad bās anjám). It is a curious phase of human thought, which the Šúfis evidently borrowed from the Gnostics and the Bábis from the Šúfis. This earnest longing for communion with, a manifestation of God we can sympathise with, and only regret that, in their ignorance or repudiation of the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation both Šúfí and Bábí have so sadly missed the mark.

manifest." This is apparent from the following texts of the Beyán:—"The whole Beyán revolves round the saying of 'Him whom God shall manifest.'" "A thousand perusals of the Beyán are not equal to the perusal of one verse of what shall be revealed by 'Him whom God shall manifest.'" "The Beyán is to-day in the stage of seed, but in the day of 'Him whom God shall manifest' it will arrive at the degree of fruition." It must be remembered that Behá claimed and is allowed by his followers this exalted position. The following are some of the expressions used of Behá by his followers:—"Behá has come for the perfecting of the law of Christ, and his injunctions are in all respects similar. For instance, we are commanded that we should prefer that we should be killed rather than that we should kill. It is the same throughout, and indeed, could not be otherwise, for Behá is Christ returned again." "Christ returns to you as Behá with Angels, with clouds, with the sound of trumpets. His angels are his messengers, the clouds are the doubts which prevent you recognising him: the sound of the trumpets is the sound of the proclamation which you now hear."¹ Each dispensation of the Primal Will thus become incarnate supersedes a preceding one, and so Islám has ceased to be the true religion for this age. "Since it is impossible for created beings to know the Divine Essence, the Primal Will has, for their guidance and instruction, incarnated itself from time to time in a human form. These incarnations are known as 'Prophets.' That which spoke in all the Prophets of the past now speaks in the Báb, and will speak through 'Him whom God shall manifest,' and after him through others, for there is no cessation in these manifestations. "That which spoke in Adam, Noah, Moses, David, Jesus, and Muḥammad was the one and the same Primal Will. In each manifestation news

¹ Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, p. 308.

has been given of the following one. Thus the Jews were told to expect a Messiah, but they rejected him; the Christians to expect Muḥammad, but, as a rule, they did not accept him; so the Muḥammadans are taught to look out for Imám Mahdí. Yet now he has come (i.e., in the Báb) they persecute him."¹

Another point on which the Beyán lays much stress is that no revelation is final. This is entirely opposed to the ordinary Muḥammadan view, which is that, as Muḥammad was the seal of the Prophets (*Khátamu'l-anbiyá'*), his revelation closed the series. The Báb taught that, as the human race progresses, the Primal Will, the teacher of men, speaks in each new revelation more fully and more clearly. All these successive and progressive revelations and dispensations are simply to prepare the world for the fuller teaching of "Him whom God shall manifest."

"A new prophet is not sent until the development of the human race renders this necessary. A revelation is not abrogated till it no longer suffices for the needs of mankind. There is no disagreement between the prophets: all teach the same truth, but in such measure as men can receive it. As mankind advance and progress they need fuller instruction. The instruction given by Abraham was suitable and sufficient for the people of his day, but not for those to whom Moses was sent, while this in turn had ceased to meet the needs of those to whom Christ was sent. Yet we must not say that their religions were opposed to one another, but rather that each manifestation is more complete and more perfect than the last."²

The great point in the Bábí theology is that the teacher is one and the same, though he manifests himself according to the capacity and needs of those to whom he is sent. The outward form changes but the

¹ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xxi, p. 914.

² Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, p. 108.

Universal Spirit remains.¹ It then follows that now, during the long intervals which separate one prophetic dispensation from the next, there must be in the world some silent manifestation of the Spirit not less perfect than that in prophets.

The Beyán speaks with confidence of the future success of Bábism, the government of which is to be tolerant. The Muḥammadan doctrines of the examination in the grave, the resurrection, *qirát*, heaven and hell, are all treated allegorically. The views of the Báb on a future state are not very clear. In any cases the hope of a future reward was not placed before his followers as an inducement to follow him. This is in direct contrast to the practice and teaching of Muḥammad. In the Beyán the Báb wrote the following striking words: "So worship God that, if the recompense of thy worship of Him were to be the fire, no alteration in thy worship of Him would be produced. If you worship from fear, that is unworthy of the threshold of the holiness of God, nor will you be accounted a believer; so also, if your gaze is on Paradise, and if you worship in hope of that; for then you have made God's creation a partner with Him."

By a very large number of Bábís, Behá was during the latter part of his life² looked up to as a divinely appointed guide. Before he assumed that position he wrote a book called the *Ikán*, which is held in great esteem. In this book he seems to acknowledge the then superior position of *Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel*, but writes bitterly of some who were hostile to himself. Two years after the Turks had banished him to Adrianople he boldly asserted his claim and called on all the *Ezelis* to submit to his direction. He then wrote other treatises in which his position is dogmatically set forth.

¹ For a good account of primitive Bábí doctrines, see *New History of the Báb*, pp. 337-388.

² He died in exile at Acre on May 16, 1892.

After the death of Behá in 1892, his eldest son, 'Abbás Effendi, became his successor and is now called *Manaráda'lláhu*—He whom God hath desired. He is described as a strong, tall man, with a broad forehead and a keen eye, indicating a firm will and strong purpose. Some Behá'ís consider that he, like Behá, is a divine manifestation and not a mere man; others deny this and say that he is nothing more than a servant of Behá, for they hold that no further manifestation will take place until a thousand years have passed away. 'Abbás Effendi lives at Acre and maintains a correspondence with his followers in Persia. Some of the most devout amongst them visit him and consider this as a pilgrimage to the leader of their Faith. Mr. Browne says of him: "One more eloquent of speech, more ready of agreement, more apt of illustration, more intimately acquainted with the sacred books of the Jews, the Christians, and the Muḥammadans could, I should think, scarcely be found even amongst the eloquent, ready and subtle race to which he belongs . . . about the greatness of the man and his power, none who had seen him could doubt."¹ In the year 1898 he was much troubled by dissensions caused by the rivalry of his brother, Muḥammad 'Alí, who says that Behá appointed him to the spiritual headship and 'Abbás to the secular. 'Abbás has assumed both functions.

A few extracts² from some of Behá's writings will show to some extent what he taught his followers. "As for those who commit sin and cling to the world, they assuredly are not of the people of Behá." "With perfect compassion and mercy have we guided and directed the people of the world to that whereby their souls shall be profited. I swear by the sun of truth that the people of Behá have not any aim save the

¹ Browne, *Episode of the Báb*, p. xxxvi.

² *Episode of the Báb*, pp. 70, 114.

prosperity and reformation of the world and the purifying of the nations." "The heart must be sanctified from every form of selfishness and lust, for the weapons of the worshippers of the Unity and the saints were and are the fear of God." "Every one who desireth 'victory' must first subdue the city of his own heart with the sword of spiritual truth and of the word."

A good many changes in religious ceremonies are made. Prayer is said three times a day instead of five, and the worshippers no longer turn towards Mecca. The fast of Ramadán is discarded, and the last month of the Bábi year is substituted for it. The traffic in slaves is forbidden. Shaving the head is not allowed, but the beard may be cut off. Legal impurity is abolished and intercourse with persons of all religions is enjoined. Music is permitted, wine and opium are prohibited. The furniture of houses should be renewed every nineteen years. It is recommended that chairs should be used. No one must carry arms except in times of tumult or war. All are to read the sacred books regularly, to be kind and courteous in their conduct, to approve for others what they would like themselves, and to forgive their enemies.¹ Religious warfare, or jihád, is abolished, and friendly intercourse with all sects is enjoined.

The result of Behá's death has yet to be seen. He had marvellous influence over his followers, and seems to have been a person who commanded much reverence. Mr. E. G. Browne thus describes an interview with him: "The face of him on whom I gazed I can never forget, though I cannot describe it. Those piercing eyes seemed to read one's very soul; power and authority sat in that ample brow; while the deep lines of the forehead and face implied an age which the jet black hair and beard flowing down in

undistinguishable luxuriance almost to the waist seemed to belie. No need to ask in whose presence I stood, as I bowed myself before one who is the object of a devotion and love which kings might envy and emperors sigh for in vain." The Behá's enjoyed much more liberty under the late Muzaffar'd-dín Sháh than they and the Bábis did in the reign of his father Násiru'd-dín Shah.

The person and appearance of Šubĥ-i-Ezel are thus described by Mr. Browne. "A venerable and benevolent-looking old man of about sixty years of age, somewhat below the middle height, with ample forehead, on which the traces of care and anxiety were apparent, clear searching blue eyes and long grey beard, rose and advanced to meet us. Before that mild and dignified countenance I involuntarily bowed myself with unfeigned respect; for at length my long-cherished desire was fulfilled, and I stood face to face with Mírzá Yahyá, Šubĥ-i-Ezel (Morning of Eternity), the appointed successor of the Báb, fourth 'Letter' of the 'First Unity.'"¹ When Cyprus was handed over to the English Government, Mírzá Yahyá, with other political exiles, was transferred, and still remains there as a political prisoner.

Mírzá 'Abdu'l Faql, who says he is the ambassador of 'Abbás Effendi, has gained some followers in America, and persons who profess Beháism are to be found in Chicago, Washington and New York. 'Abbás is venerated, is called "Our Lord," and is worshipped as a Saviour.²

From what has now been stated, it will be seen that Bábism is not a political movement, though in its early days it was brought into conflict with the civil power; but that it is a religious revolt against orthodox Islám,

¹ *Episode of the Báb*, pp. xl, xxiv.

² *Missionary Review of the World*. May 1806, p. 391.

¹ For a fuller account, see *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October 1892, pp. 678-799.

so far as that is represented by the Shi'ah sect. It raises women to a higher level, it professes to limit many of the social evils of Islám, it has shaken in the minds of many Muslims the conviction that Islám is the final word on things temporal and spiritual, it tends to give liberty of thought and to develop a friendly spirit to others. "Brotherly love, kindness to children, courtesy combined with dignity, sociability, hospitality, freedom from bigotry, friendliness even to Christians are included in its tenets." If men are sometimes better than their creed, they are sometimes worse, and not every Bábí lives up to this ideal. It is perhaps too soon to speculate on the future of the movement. Those who think it will gradually take the place of Islám in Persia base a strong argument on the fact that its "recruits are won from the best soldiers of the garrison it is attacking." It certainly appeals to the traditionary instincts of many Persians. The Šúfí needs a Pír or living guide; the Shi'ah meditates on the Imám, and the high position accorded to that person in Báblism is at least attractive. The life and death of the Báb, and the magnificent heroism of his followers, all help forward the movement. Whether, should the victory be won, the Bábís in the day of power would be as gentle and as liberal as they are in the night of adversity is perhaps doubtful. The whole movement has a disintegrating effect on Islám as professed in Persia, though whether it will prepare the way for the gospel is a matter in which there is room for difference of opinion.¹ Some persons well qualified to judge consider that it yields satisfaction to quickened religious instincts and provides a brotherhood not yet found in Christianity which seems to them to be a foreign religion not indigenous to Persia: others that, though they may establish their creed in

¹ See *Muhammadan World of to-day*, pp. 121, 129-30.

Persia, they will not greatly alter the moral character of the people.¹ To all who take an interest in Christian missions in Persia, the movement is one of great interest. It betrays a longing for a real, living, loving, personal guide, the revealer of God to man, which can be best met by the acceptance of the Eternal Word. In any case, if only liberty of conscience can be secured, there seems to be a wide and open door.²

The founder of the Wahhábí sect was Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu'l-Wahháb, who was born at a village in Nejd in the year 1691 A.D., and died at an advanced age in the year 1787 A.D. The Wahhábís speak of themselves as Muwahhíd, or Unitarians; but their opponents have given them the name of the father of the founder of their sect and call them Wahhábís. Muḥammad was a bright intelligent youth, who, after going through a course of Arabic literature, studied jurisprudence under a teacher of the Ḥanífí school. At length, full of knowledge, he returned to his native village and became a religious teacher. He was shocked to see how the Arabs had departed from what seemed to him the strict unchanging precepts of the Prophet. He saw, or thought he saw, that in the veneration paid to

¹ Malcolm, *Five Years in a Persian town*, p. 96.

² I am indebted to a well-known missionary who has spent a long time in Persia for the following additional facts:—

(1) "The Behá'ís admit that the Lord Jesus Christ was the incarnate Son; but claim that Behá was the incarnate Father—each incarnation being greater than the preceding one."

(2) "Some of the Behá'ís have said to me, 'We are Christians; others, 'We are almost Christians; others, 'The only difference between us is that we accepted Christ when He came to us fifty years ago (i.e., in Behá) and you rejected Him.'"

(3) "They constantly invite the Christian missionary to their houses, and are most hospitable and kind."

(4) "The Behá'ís admit that the New Testament is the uncorrupted Word of God."

(5) "Many Jews in Persia have become Bábís, and, on the other hand, some Bábís have become Christians."

saints and holy men the great doctrine of the "Unity" was being obscured. The reason was very plain. The Qur'ān and the Traditions of the Companions had been neglected, whilst the sayings of men of lesser note and the jurisprudence of the four great Imāms had been too readily followed. Here was work to do. He would reform the Church of Islām, and restore men to their allegiance to the Book and the Sunnat, as recorded by the Companions. It is true that the Sunnis would rise up in opposition, for thus the authority of the four Imāms, the "Canonical Legists" of the orthodox sect, would be set aside; but what of that? Had he not been a follower of Abū Ḥanīfa? Now he was prepared to let Abū Ḥanīfa go, for none but a Companion of the Prophet could give an authoritative statement with regard to the Sunnat. He must start a school of his own.

He said: "The Muslim pilgrims adore the tomb of the Prophet, and the sepulchre of 'Alī, and of other saints who have died in the odour of sanctity. They run there to pay the tribute of their fervent prayers. By this means they think that they can satisfy their spiritual and temporal needs. From what do they seek this benefit? From walls made of mud and stones, from corpses deposited in tombs. Now, the true way of salvation is to prostrate one's self before Him who is ever present, and to venerate Him, the One without associate or equal." Such outspoken language raised up opposition, and he had to seek the protection of Muḥammad ibn Sa'ūd, a chief of some importance, who was converted to Wahhābism about the year 1742 A.D., and was a stern and uncompromising man. "As soon as you seize a place," he said to his soldiers, "put the males to the sword. Plunder and pillage at your pleasure, but spare the women, and do not strike a blow at their modesty." The traveller Burckhardt says that the rule of the Wahhābīs was

to kill all their enemies whom they found in arms. On the day of battle the chief used to give each soldier a paper, a safe-conduct to the other world. This letter was addressed to the Treasurer of Paradise. It was enclosed in a bag which the warrior suspended to his neck. The soldiers were persuaded that the souls of those who died in battle would go straight to heaven, without being examined by the angels Munkir and Nakir in the grave. The widows and orphans of all who fell were supported by the survivors. Nothing could resist men who, fired with a burning zeal for what they deemed the truth, received a share of the booty, if conquerors; who went direct to Paradise if they were slain. In course of time, Muḥammad ibn Sa'ūd married the daughter of Ibn 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb, and founded the Wahhābī dynasty, which ruled at Ryāḍ.¹ Attempts at reform in Islām generally lead to the establishment of new Kingdoms. "They begin with a saint and end with a despot."

'Abdu'l-'Azīz, the second chief, made a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1799, and another in 1803 A.D., when both Mecca and Madīna fell into his hands, and a complete wreck was made of all things not approved of by the Wahhābīs. "There did not," it is said, "remain an idol in all that pure city." The zenith of Wahhābī power was reached in 1810 A.D., when his son, Sa'ūd ibn 'Abdu'l-'Azīz, plundered the tomb of the Prophet at Madīna, and distributed the jewels and the relics to his own soldiers. This led to the Turkish and Egyptian attacks on the Wahhābīs. The destruction of cupolas and tombs of saints was a favourite employment. "When destroying them, the Wahhābīs said, 'God

¹The following are the names of the Wahhābī chiefs: Muḥammad ibn Sa'ūd, died A.D. 1765; 'Abdu'l-'Azīz, assassinated by a Persian in 1803; Sa'ūd ibn 'Abdu'l-'Azīz, died 1814; 'Abdu'llāh ibn Sa'ūd, beheaded 1818; Turki ibn Sa'ūd, assassinated 1834; Fayḍul, died 1865; Sa'ūd, died 1874; 'Abdu'llāh.

have mercy on those who destroy, and none on those who built them.'” Rosaries and charms, silk robes and pipes, were consigned to the flames, for smoking is a deadly sin. On this point there is a good story told by Palgrave.¹ “‘Abdu’l-Karīm said, ‘The first of the great sins is the giving divine honours to a creature.’ Of course I replied, ‘The enormity of such a sin is beyond all doubt. But if this be the first, there must be a second; what is it?’ ‘Drinking the shameful!’ (in English idiom, ‘smoking tobacco’) was the unhesitating answer. ‘And murder, and adultery, and false witness?’ I suggested. ‘God is merciful and forgiving,’ rejoined my friend; that is, these are merely little sins.”

Never before had such outward devotion been seen in Mecca. The mosques were crowded with worshippers, some of whom had been forcibly driven to the stated prayers.

Pipes became very scarce, and one unfortunate woman who had been caught “smoking the shameful” was paraded through the public streets seated on an ass, with a large green pipe suspended from her neck. Thus were all lax Muslim men and women warned of the consequence of evil ways.

After holding possession of the holy cities for nine years they were driven out by the Turkish forces. ‘Abdu’llāh, the fourth Wahhābī ruler, was captured by Ibrāhīm Pasha and afterwards executed at Constantinople in the year 1818 A.D. For some years Nejd was a province of Egypt, but in 1824 the Wahhābīs revolted under Turki ibn Sa’ud, who was assassinated in 1834. His son Fayḍul succeeded him, but was for a while a prisoner at Cairo and Nejd was again ruled by Egyptians. Fayḍul escaped from confinement and became Emir in 1842. He died in 1865 and his two

sons, ‘Abdu’llāh and Sa’ud, the former a bigot, the latter a comparatively liberal man, disputed the succession. Finally, Sa’ud established himself as Emir. In 1871 ‘Abdu’llāh put himself into communication with Midhat Pasha, then Governor of Baghdād, who at once appointed him Qā’im-makām or Deputy-Governor of Nejd. ‘Abdu’llāh, however, failed to get possession. A little later on, Midhat Pasha deposed the whole family, and issued a proclamation to the effect that a Turkish Governor would be appointed. This scheme failed, and in 1872 Sa’ud returned to Riad, where he died in 1874. ‘Abdu’llāh then became the Emir. The Turkish Government wished him to rule as its nominee, but this position he declined to accept. He had, however, very little power outside Riad. Wahhābīism is now in its own stronghold rapidly declining, and the power of the once warlike and prosperous family that guided its destinies in Central Arabia is at an end.

The leader of the Wahhābī movement in India was Syed Aḥmad. He soon gained a large number of disciples, and in 1826 A.D. preached a jihād against the Sikhs, but five years after the Wahhābīs were suddenly attacked by the Sikhs under Sher Singh, and Syed Aḥmad was slain. This did not, however, prevent the spread of Wahhābī principles, for he had the good fortune to leave behind him an enthusiastic disciple. This man, Muhammad Ismā’īl, was born near Delhi in the year 1781 A.D. When quite a youth, he met with Syed Aḥmad, who soon acquired great influence over his new disciple. Ismā’īl told him one evening that he could not offer up his prayers with Ḥuḍūr-i-qalb, or presence of heart. The Syed took him to his room, where he instructed him to repeat the first of the prayers after him, and then to conclude them alone. He did so, and was able to so abstract himself in the contemplation of God that he remained engaged in prayer till the morning. Henceforward he

¹ *Central and Eastern Arabia*, vol. ii, p. 10.

was a devoted adherent of his spiritual teacher. In the public discussions, which often took place, none were a match for Ismá'íl. This fervent preacher of Wahhábism is now chiefly remembered by his great work, the *Taqwíat'u'l-Imán*,¹ the book from which the account of Wahhábí doctrine given in this chapter is taken. In one sense it is a struggle against the traditionalism of later stages, but in no sense can it be said that the Wahhábis reject Tradition. The traveller Burckhardt says: "The Qur'án and the Traditions of Muḥammad are acknowledged as fundamental and as comprising the laws; the opinions of the best Commentators are respected, though not implicitly followed." They acknowledge, then, as the foundation of the faith, first, the Qur'án; secondly, the Traditions which are recorded on the authority of the Companions; and thirdly, the *Ijmá'* of the Companions. Thus to the Wahhábí as to the Sunní, Muḥammad is in all his *acts* and *words* a perfect guide.

So far from Wahhábism being a move onward because it is a return to first principles, it rather binds the fetters of Islám more tightly. It does not originate anything new; it offers no relaxation from a system which looks upon the Qur'án and the Traditions as a perfect and complete law, social and political, moral and religious. The Wahhábí places the doctrine of the "Tauḥíd," or Unity, in a very prominent position. It is true that all Musalmán sects put this dogma in the first rank, but Wahhábis set their faces against practices common to the other sects, because they consider that they obscure this fundamental doctrine. It is this which brings them into collision with other Musalmáns. The greatest of all sins is shirk (polytheism). A Mushrik (polytheist) is one who so offends. All Musalmáns consider Christians to be polytheists,

¹ This is written in Urdu and was published in Chachra in Bengal in the year 1251 A.H. or 1835 A.D. It is now scarce.

and Wahhábis consider all other Musalmáns also to be polytheists, because they look to the Prophet for intercession, pray to saints, visit shrines, and do other unlawful acts.

The *Taqwíat'u'l-Imán* says that "two things are necessary in religion—to know God as God, and the Prophet as the Prophet." The two fundamental bases of the faith are the "doctrine of the tauḥíd and obedience to the Sunnat." The two great errors to be avoided are shirk and *bid'at* (innovation or change).

Shirk is defined to be of four kinds: *shirku'l-ilm*, ascribing knowledge to others than God; *shirku't-tasarruf*, ascribing power to others than God; *shirku'l-'ibádat*, offering worship to created things; *shirku'l-'ádat*, the performance of ceremonies which imply reliance on others than God.

The first, *shirku'l-ilm*, is illustrated by the statement that prophets and holy men have no knowledge of secret things unless as revealed to them by God. Thus some wicked persons made a charge against 'Ayesha. The Prophet was troubled in mind, but knew not the truth of the matter till God made it known to him. To ascribe, then, power to soothsayers, astrologers, and saints is polytheism.

The second kind, *shirku't-tasarruf* is to suppose that any one has power with God. He who looks up to any one as an intercessor with God commits shirk. Thus: "But they who take others beside Him as lords, saying, 'We only serve them that they may bring us near God,'—God will judge between them (and the Faithful) concerning that wherein they are at variance" (xxxix. 4). Intercession may be of three kinds. For example, a criminal is placed before the king. The Vizier intercedes. The king, having regard to the rank of the Vizier, pardons the offender. This is called *shafá'atu wajáhat*, or "intercession from regard." But to suppose that God so esteems the rank of any one as to

pardon a sinner merely on account of it is shirk. Again, the queen or the princes intercede for the criminal. The king, from love of them, pardons him. This is called *shafá'atu'l-muḥabbat*, or the "intercession from affection." But to consider that God so loves any one as to pardon a criminal on his account is to give that loved one power, and this is shirk, for such power is not possible in the court of God. "God may out of His bounty confer on His favourite servants the epithets of *Ḥabīb*, favourite, or *Khalīl*, friend; but a servant is but a servant; no one can put his foot outside the limits of servitude, or rise beyond the rank of a servant." Again, the king may himself wish to pardon the offender, but he fears lest the majesty of the law should be lowered. The Vizier perceives the king's wish and intercedes. This intercession is lawful. It is called *shafá'at bi'l-idhn*, intercession by permission, and such power Muḥammad will have at the day of judgment. Wāḥḥábīs hold that he has not that power now, though all other Musalmáns consider that he has, and in consequence (in Wāḥḥábī opinion) commit the sin of *shirku't-taṣarruf*. The Wāḥḥábīs quote the following passages in support of their view. "Who is he that can intercede with Him but by *His own permission*" (ii. 256). "Say: Intercession is wholly with God! His the kingdom of the heavens and of the earth" (xxxix. 46). "Who shall teach thee what the day of doom is. It is a day when one soul shall be powerless for another soul: all sovereignty on that day shall be with God" (lxxxii. 18, 19). "No intercession shall avail with Him, but that which He Himself shall allow" (xxxiv. 22). They also say: "Whenever an allusion is made in the Qur'án¹ or the

¹ "His name shall be Messiah, Jesus the Son of Mary, illustrious in this world and in the next" (iii. 40). Baidāwī says that this eminence refers to the prophetic office in this world and to intercession in the next.

Traditions to the intercession of certain prophets or apostles, it is this kind of intercession and no other that is meant."

The third shirk is prostration before any created being, with the idea of worshipping it. Thus: "Prostration, bowing down, standing with folded arms, spending money in the name of an individual, fasting out of respect to his memory, proceeding to a distant shrine in a pilgrim's garb and calling out the name of the saint while so going, is *shirku'l-ibádāt*." It is wrong to "cover the grave with a sheet (*ghiláf*), to say prayers at the shrine, to kiss any particular stone, to rub the mouth and breast against the walls of the shrine." This is a stern condemnation of the very common practice of visiting the tombs of saints and of some of the special practices of the pilgrimage to Mecca. All such practices as are here condemned are called *ishrák fi'l-'ibádāt*—"association in worship."

They quote the following Tradition, recorded by Bukḥārī, to show that pilgrimages should be made to three places only: "Pilgrims do not go except to three mosques—the mosques in Mecca, Madīna, and Jerusalem."

The fourth shirk is the keeping up of superstitious customs, such as the *istikḥára*, i.e., seeking guidance from beads, trusting to omens, good or bad, believing in lucky and unlucky days, adopting such names as 'Abdu'n-Nabī (slave of the Prophet), and so on. The denouncing of such practices brings Wāḥḥáblism into daily conflict with the other sects, for scarcely any people in the world are such profound believers in the virtue of charms and the power of astrologers as Musalmáns. The difference between the first and fourth shirk, the *shirku'l-'ilm* and the *shirku'l-'adat*, seems to be that the first is the *belief*, say in the knowledge of a soothsayer, and the second the *habit* of consulting him. To swear by the name of the

Prophet, of 'Alí, of the Imáms, or of Pírs (Leaders) is to give them the honour due to God alone. It is *ishrák fi'l adab*—"Association in paying respect." Another common belief which Wahhábís oppose is that Musalmáns can perform the Hajj, say prayers, read the Qur'án, abide in meditation, give alms, and do other good works, the reward of which shall be credited to a person already dead.

The above technical exposition of Wahhábí tenets shows how much stress they lay on a rigid adherence to the doctrine of the "Unity." "*La Iláha illa'lláhu*"—there is no god but God—is an eternal truth. Yet to the Musalmán God is a Being afar off. In rejecting the Fatherhood of God he has accepted as the object of his worship, hardly of his affections, a Being despotic in all He does, arbitrary in all His ways. He has accepted the position of a slave instead of that of a son.

Palgrave, who knew the Wahhábís well, says:—

"'There is no god but God' are words simply tantamount in English to the negation of any deity save one alone; and thus much they certainly mean in Arabic, but they imply much more also. Their full sense is, not only to deny absolutely and unreservedly all plurality, whether of nature or of person in the Supreme Being, not only to establish the unity of the Unbegetting and the Unbegot, in all its simple and incommunicable oneness, but besides this, the words, in Arabic and among Arabs, imply that this one Supreme Being is the only Agent, the only Force, the only Act existing throughout the universe, and leave to all beings else, matter or spirit, instinct or intelligence, physical or moral, nothing but pure unconditional passiveness, alike in movement or in quiescence, in action or in capacity. Hence in this one sentence is summed up a system which, for want of a better name, I may be permitted to call the 'Pantheism of Force.' 'God is One in the totality of omnipotent and omnipresent action, which acknowledges no rule, standard, or limit save one sole and absolute will.

He communicates nothing to His creatures, for their seeming power and act ever remain His alone, and in return He receives nothing from them.' 'It is His singular satisfaction to let created beings continually feel that they are nothing else than His slaves, that they may the better acknowledge His superiority.' 'He Himself, sterile in His inaccessible height, neither loving nor enjoying aught save His own and self-measured decree, without son, companion, or councillor, is no less barren for Himself than for His creatures, and His own barrenness and lone egoism in Himself is the cause and rule of His indifferent and unregarding despotism around.'"

Palgrave allows that such a notion of the Deity is monstrous, but maintains that it is the "truest mirror of the mind and scope of the writer of the Book" (Qur'án), and that, as such, it is confirmed by authentic Tradition and learned commentaries, a knowledge of the literature, and intercourse with the people. Men are often better than their creeds. Even the Prophet was not always consistent. There are some redeeming points in Islám. But the root idea of the whole is as described above, and from it no system can be deduced which will grow in grace and beauty as age after age rolls by. The Arab proverb states that "the worshipper models himself on what he worships." Thus a return to "first principles," sometimes proclaimed as the hope of Turkey, is but the "putting back the hour-hand of Islám" to the place where, indeed, Muḥammad always meant it to stay, for, as Palgrave, in continuation of the passage just quoted, says, "Islám is in its essence stationary, and was framed thus to remain. Sterile, like its God, lifeless like its first Principle, and supreme Original in all that constitutes true life—for life is love, participation, and progress, and of these the Qur'ánic Deity has none—it justly repudiates all change, all advance, all development."

¹ *Central and Eastern Arabia*, vol. i, pp. 365—6.

Muhammad ibn 'Abdu'l Wahháb was a man of great intellectual power and vigour. He could pierce through the mists of a thousand years, and see with an eagle eye how one sect and another had laid accretions on the Faith. He had the rare gift of intuition, and could see that change (*bid'at*) and progress were alien to the truth. This recognition of his ability is due to him; but what a sad prostration of great gifts it was to seek to arrest, by the worship of the letter, all hope of progress, and to make "the starting-point of Islām its goal." That he was a good Musalmán in so doing no one can doubt, but that his work gives any hope of the rise of an enlightened form of Islām no one who really has studied Islām can believe.

Wahhábism simply amounts to this, that while it denounces all other Musalmáns as polytheists, it enforces the Sunnat of the Prophet with all its energy.¹ It breaks down shrines, but insists on the necessity of a pilgrimage to a black stone at Mecca. It forbids the use of a rosary, but attaches great merit to counting the ninety-nine names of God on the fingers. It would make life unsociable. The study of the Fine Arts, with the exception of Architecture,² can find no place in it.

¹ Muhammad Ismá'il concludes his great work, the *Taqíratu'l-Imán*, with the prayer—"O Lord, teach us by Thy grace the meaning of the terms *Bid'at* and *Sunnat*, and the Law of the Prophet. Make us pure Sunnis and strictly submissive to the *Sunnat*." (p. 117). This is a clear and distinct proof that Wahhábis do not reject Tradition as a basis of the Faith. It also shows their horror of innovation, and reveals the little hope there is of any real progress through their influence.

² On the subject of Architecture, Syed Amír 'Alí in his *Life of Muhammad* says: "The superiority of the Muslims in architecture requires no comment." At all events none is given, and the reader is left to suppose that the praise sometimes given to them on account of the beauty of many Muhammadan buildings is rightly awarded, and that Islām is thus shown to be a system which has produced culture. The fact is that just as Islām borrowed its philosophy from the Greeks, so did it get its ideas about architecture from the Byzantines and the Persians. The Arabs, inspired by the teaching of Muhammad, originated neither

Ismá'il quotes with approval the following Tradition. "Áyeshá said, 'I purchased a carpet on which were some figures. The Prophet stood in the doorway and looked displeased.' I said, 'O messenger of God, I repent to God and His Messenger; what fault have I committed that you do not enter?' His Highness then said, 'What is this carpet?' I replied, 'I have bought it for you to sit and rest upon.' Then the messenger of God replied, 'Verily, the makers of pictures will be punished on the day of resurrection, when God will desire them to bring them to life. A house which contains pictures is not visited by the angels.'" In a Tradition quoted by Ibn 'Abbás, the Prophet classes artists with murderers and parricides. Wahhábism approves of all this, and thus by forbidding harmless enjoyments it would make society an

the one nor the other. Ibn Khaldún says of the Arabs: "When they ceased to observe the strict precepts of their religion and the desire of dominion and luxurious living overcame them, the Arabs employed the Persian nation to serve them, and acquired from them the arts and architecture. They then made lofty buildings. This was near the end of the Empire." He also says that when the Khálifa Wálid ibn Abdu'l-Málik wished to construct mosques at Madina, Jerusalem, and Damascus, he sent to the Emperor at Constantinople for "workmen skilled in the art of building" (Ibn Khaldún, vol. ii, p. 375). Thus, on the testimony of this Muhammadan historian, it is clear that the origin of Muslim architecture is to be traced to Persian and Greek sources. In connection with this subject there is a valuable article on Arabian architecture in an appendix to the second volume of Lane's *Modern Egyptians*. The writer, Stanley Lane-Poole, the best living authority on the subject, says: "To the architecture of these kings (i.e., of the Sassanian dynasty) the Arabs owed more than had been commonly supposed." "Besides the Persians, the Arabs were also indebted to the Copts for assistance." "The influence of Byzantium on the art of the Arabs cannot be doubted." "Their workmen were commonly Copts, Greeks, and Persians, and though they (i.e., Arabs) must have learnt from these peoples, they appear never to have been able to dispense altogether with their services." "The modern fashion of assuming everything Muhammadan to be of true Arabian art has misled art critics." There is much misconception on this subject, and modern Muslim apologists for Islām quite ignore the testimony of their own great historian—Ibn Khaldún.

organised hypocrisy. It would spread abroad a spirit of contempt for all mankind except its own followers, and, where it had the power, it would force its convictions on others at the point of the sword.

Wahhābism was reform after a fashion in one direction; in the history of Islām there have been attempts at reform in other directions; there will yet be such attempts, but so long as the Qur'ān and the Sunnat (or, in the case of the Shi'ah, its equivalent) are to form, as they have hitherto done for every sect, the sole law to regulate all conditions and states of life, enlightened and continued progress is impossible.

From the account given in this chapter, it is plain that Musalmāns are not all of one heart and soul.¹ In the next chapter I hope to show that Islām is a very dogmatic and complex system in spite of the simple form of its creed.

¹ "In no part of the world is there more of secret division, aversion, misbelief (taking Muhammadanism as our standard), and unbelief than in those very lands which to a superficial survey seem absolutely identified in the one common creed of the Qur'ān and its author." (Palgrave, *Central and Eastern Arabia*, vol. i, p. 10.)

CHAPTER IV

THE CREED OF ISLĀM¹

FAITH is defined by Muslim theologians as "Confession with the tongue and belief with the heart."² It is said to "stand midway between hope and fear." It is subdivided into Imānu'l-mujmal and Imānu'l-mufasssal. The former is an expression of the following faith: "I believe in God, His name and attributes, and accept all His commands." The latter is the acceptance of the following dogmas: "I believe in God, Angels, Books, Prophets, the Last Day, the Predestination by the Most High God of good and evil, and the Resurrection after death." These form the articles of faith which every Muslim must believe, to which belief, in order to render it perfect, he must add the performance of the "acts of practice," viz.: (1) Tashahhud—the recital

¹ Strictly speaking, this chapter should be entitled the "Faith of Islām," as the subject of it is technically called Imān, or faith. The creed, or kalima, is simply the expression of belief in one God, and in Muḥammad as His apostle. I use the word creed here in the usual sense of a body of dogmas.

² There is much dispute as to whether faith can increase or not. Imām Abū Ḥanifa says: "It does not change. It is not affected by sin or the omission of religious duties, though such misconduct will be punished." Imām ash-Shāfi'i says that faith does decrease if religious duties are neglected. Abū Ḥanifa replies that women do not, at certain times, say the namāz, nor the poor give alms. Is their faith decreased? The words "it increased their faith" (iii. 167) seem to support ash-Shāfi'i. Abū Ḥanifa and his disciples define faith as belief of the mind and confession by the tongue, without any reference to good works. The Mu'tazilas, on the contrary, consider good works essential.

of the kalima or creed:—"There is no deity but God, and Muḥammad is the Apostle of God."¹ (2) Ṣalāt—the five daily prayers. (3) Roza—the thirty days' fast of Ramaḍān. (4) Zakāt—the legal alms. (5) Ḥajj—the pilgrimage to Mecca.

1. GOD.—This article of the faith includes a belief in the existence of God, His unity and attributes, and has given rise to a large number of sects. Tauḥīd, or unity, is said by Abū Muntahā to be of two kinds—tauḥīdu'r-rūbiyat and tauḥīdu'l-ulūhiyat. The first means that God who creates and sustains all is one; but belief in this does not necessarily make a man a believer, for Kāfirs, it is said, can accept this dogma; so, to be a true believer, a man must accept as an article of faith the tauḥīdu'l-ulūhiyat, that is, worship only one God, and look upon Him as the only object of worship, the one without a second.² It is wrong also to worship angels and saints.

The author of the Risālah-i-Barkavi,³ speaking of the divine attributes, says:—

(1) Life (Hyāt). God Most High is alone to be adored. He has neither associate nor equal. He is neither begotten nor does He beget. He is immutable, invisible, without figure, form, colour, or parts. His existence has neither beginning nor end. If He so wills, He can annihilate the world in a moment or recreate it in an instant. If all the

¹ The first clause is called the nasy u ithbāt, rejection and affirmation: "there is no god" is the nasy, "but God" is the ithbāt.

² Idolatry is strongly denounced in the Qur'ān. The statues of the pagan Arabs are called "an abomination of Satan" (v. 92) and idol worship is spoken of with contempt. (vi. 74: xiv. 38).

³ The quotations are taken from M. Garcin de Tassy's *L'Islamisme d'après le Coran* in which (p. 154) he speaks of the Risālah thus: "The elementary work on the religion of the Musalmāns which enjoys the highest esteem and the widest circulation in Turkey." A short epitome of the dogmas about God and the divine attributes as taught by Imām ash-Ash'arī, Imām al-Ghazālī, an-Nasafī, and al-Fudālī will be found in Macdonald's *Muslim Theology*, pp. 293-351.

infidels became believers, He would gain no advantage; if all believers became infidels, He would suffer no loss.

(2) Knowledge (ʿIlm). God has knowledge of all things hidden or manifest, whether in heaven or on earth. Events past and future are known to Him. He knows what enters into the heart of man and what he utters with his mouth. He is free from forgetfulness, negligence, and error. His knowledge is eternal: it is not posterior to His essence.

(3) Power (Qudrat). God is almighty. If He wills, He can raise the dead, make stones talk, trees walk, annihilate the heavens and the earth, and re-create them. His power is eternal *a priori* and *a posteriori*. It is not posterior to His essence.

(4) Will (Irāda). He can do what He wills, and whatever He wills comes to pass. Everything, good or evil, in this world exists by His will. He wills the faith of the believer and the piety of the religious. He willeth also the unbelief of the unbeliever and the irreligion of the wicked. All we do we do by His will: what He willeth not does not come to pass. We must acknowledge that the will of God is eternal, and that it is not posterior to His essence.

(5) Hearing (Sama'). He hears all sounds, whether low or loud. He hears without an ear, for His attributes are not like those of men.

(6) Seeing (Baṣr). He sees all things, even the steps of a black ant on a black stone in a dark night; yet He has no eye as men have.

(7) Speech (Kalām). He speaks, but not with a tongue as men do. He speaks to some of His servants without the intervention of another, even as He spoke to Moses, and to Muḥammad on the night of the ascension to heaven. He speaks to others by the instrumentality of Gabriel, and this is the usual way in which He communicates His will to the prophets. It follows from this that the Qur'ān is the word of God, and is eternal and uncreated.

These are the "ṣifātu's-sab'a," or seven attributes of God. There is unanimity of opinion as to the

number of attributes, but not as regards their nature and the extent of the knowledge concerning them to which men can attain. Thus some say that the knowledge¹ of God is the first thing to acquire; but Imām Shāfi' and the Mu'tazilas say that a man must first attain to the idea of the knowledge of God. The meaning of the expression "knowledge of God" is the ascertaining the truth of His existence, and of His positive and privative attributes, as far as the human understanding can enter into these matters. The unity is not a mere numerical unity, but absolute, for the number one is the first of a series and implies a second, but God has not a second.² He is "singular without anything like Him, separate, having no equal;" for, "had there been either in heaven or earth gods beside God, both surely had gone to ruin" (xxi. 22). God is not a substance, for substance has accidents, but God has none: otherwise His nature would be that of "dependent existence." God is without parts, for otherwise He would not exist till all the parts were formed, and His existence would depend on the parts, that is, on something beside Himself.

The orthodox strictly prohibit the discussion of minute particulars, for, say they, "just as the eye turning to the brightness of the sun finds darkness

¹ The knowledge of God is said to be gained from the Qur'ān in three ways: (1) "Ilmu'l-yaqln, that is, by reason and outward apprehension, and this is the knowledge gained by the ordinary 'Ulamā; (2) 'Aimu'l-yaqln, that is, knowledge gained by the inward eye or intuition. This is gained by few of the 'Ulamā; (3) Haqqu'l-yaqln, that is the highest form of knowledge, which includes the lower kinds, gained only by the Prophets." ('Iqd'id-i-Abū Muntahā, p. 58.)

² "He in His essence is One without any partner. Single without any similar, Eternal without any opposite, Separate without any like. He is One, Prior (*qadim*) with nothing before Him, from eternity (*azali*) without any beginning, abiding in existence, with none after Him, to eternity (*abadi*) without any end, subsisting without ending, abiding without termination." (From the *Diya'i* of Imām Ghazālī, quoted in: Macdonald's *Muslim Theology*, p. 300).

intervene to prevent all observation, so the understanding finds itself bewildered if it attempts to pry into the nature of God." All the attributes of God are declared to be beyond explanation (*bilā kayfa*), and so cannot be understood either by reason or by analogical deduction.

The Prophet said: "We did not know the reality of the knowledge of Thee;" and to his followers he gave this advice: Think of God's gifts, not of His nature: certainly you have no power for that." The Khalifa Akbar said: "To be helpless in the search of knowledge is knowledge, and to inquire into the nature of God is shirk (infidelity)." A slight acquaintance with Muslim theology shows that neither the advice of the Prophet nor the warning of the Khalifa has been heeded.

According to the early Muslims, the Companions and their followers, inquiries into the nature of God and His attributes were not lawful. The Prophet, knowing what was good for men, had plainly revealed the way of salvation and had taught them:—"Say: He is God alone: God the eternal! He begetteth not, and He is not begotten; and there is none like unto Him." (cxii.)

This was sufficient for them to know of the mystery of the Godhead. God is far beyond the reach of the human understanding. Men should therefore mistrust their own perceptive faculties and notions, and should obey the inspired legislator Muḥammad, who loving them better than they love themselves, and knowing better than they do what is truly useful, has revealed both what they ought to believe and what they ought to do. It is true that men must exercise their reason, but they must not do so with regard to the divine attributes.¹

¹ The above statements form the substance of several pages in the *Prologomènes* d'Ibn Khaldūn, in which also occurs the following:

Dogma is divided into two portions, *uṣūl* and *farū'*—(i.e., roots and branches). The former include the doctrine about God; the latter consist of truths which result from the acceptance of the former. The orthodox belief is that reason has only to do with the *farū'*, for the *uṣūl* being founded on the Qur'ān and Sunnat have an objective basis. Differences of opinion about various branches of the *farū'* led to discussions which did not stop there, but went on to the "*uṣūl*," and so paved the way for the rise of scholastic theology (*'Ilmu'l-kalām*). I have already in the chapter on the exegesis of the Qur'ān explained the difference in meaning between *muḥkam* and *mutashābih* verses. This difference lies at the very foundation of the present subject. It is, therefore, necessary to enter a little into detail. The question turns very much on the interpretation of the 5th verse of the 3rd Sūra: "He it is who hath sent down to thee 'the Book.' Some of its signs are of themselves perspicuous (*muḥkam*): these are the basis of the Book, and others are figurative (*mutashābih*). But they whose hearts are given to err follow its figures, craving discord, craving an interpretation; yet none knoweth its interpretation but God. And those who are firm in knowledge say, 'We believe in it: it is all from our Lord.' But none will bear this in mind save men endued with understanding."¹ Here it is clearly stated (1) that no one except God can know the interpretation of *mutashābih* verses, and

"This, however, furnishes no ground for depreciating our intelligence and our perceptive faculties. Intelligence is a perfectly even balance, furnishing us with fixed and certain results; but this balance ought not to be employed in weighing matters which concern the Unity of God, the future life, the nature of prophecy, or the true character of the Divine attributes. To wish to do so is absurd" (vol. iii, p. 45).

¹ Bukhārī relates how 'Āysha said, "One day the Prophet recited the 5th verse and said to me, 'When thou seest those who follow its figures, these are they whom God has named men of error—avoid them.'"

(2) that wise men, though they know not their interpretation, yet believe them all. Many learned men, however, say that the full stop should not be placed after the word "God," but after "knowledge." The difference will be seen thus:—

FIRST READING.

None knoweth its interpretation but God. And those who are firm in knowledge say "We believe in it: it is all from our Lord."

SECOND READING.

None knoweth its interpretation but God and those who are firm in knowledge. They say "We believe in it: it is all from our Lord."

On this slight change in punctuation,¹ which shows that "those who are firm in knowledge" can interpret the *mutashābih* verses, opposite schools of theology have arisen in Islām. The latter reading opens the way to a fearless investigation of subjects which all the early Muslims avoided as beyond their province. In the early days of Islām it was held that all parts of the Qur'ān, except the *muḥkam* verses and the purely narrative portions, were *mutashābih*; that is, all verses which related to the attributes of God, to the existence of angels and genii, to the appearance of Antichrist, the period and signs of the day of judgment, and generally all matters which are beyond the daily experience of mankind. It was strongly felt that not only must there be no discussion on them,² but no attempt should be made to understand or act on them. Ibn

¹ The commentator Bukhārī says: "Some consider that the letter waw" (and) after the word 'God' is a copulative conjunction or waw'l-'atf, and that consequently there is no full stop after God;" others, however, treat the waw as waw'l-isti'nāf, i.e., it commences a sentence, and is therefore preceded by a full stop. This is the opinion of most commentators.

Baidāwī accepts the second reading and considers that "They say, 'we believe in it'" يقولون آمنا به "is a fresh sentence, explaining the conduct of those who are firm in knowledge" (vol. i, p. 146).

² "Such is the rule followed by the ancient Musalmāns in respect of the *mutashābih* verses: they also applied the rule to expressions of

'Abbās, a Companion, says: "One must believe the *mutashābih* verses, but not take them for a rule of conduct." 'Ayesha said, "Avoid those persons who dispute about the meaning of the Qur'ān, for they are those whom God has referred to in the words, 'whose hearts are given to err.'"

The first reading, which puts the full stop after the word "God," is the one adopted by the *Ashāb*, the *Tābi'ūn*, and the *Taba'u't-Tābi'īn*, and the great majority of commentators. The Sunnis generally are of this opinion. Those who take the opposite view are the commentators *Mujāhid* (A.H. 101), *Rābi' bin Anas*, and others. The scholastic theologians (*Mutakalliman*)¹ generally adopt the second reading, which puts the full stop after the word "knowledge." They argued thus: How could men believe what they did not know? to which their opponents answered, that the act of belief in the unknown is the very thing here praised by God. The scholastics then inquired why, since the Qur'ān was sent to be a guide and direction to men, were not all its verses *muḥkam*? The answer was, that the Arabs acknowledged two kinds of eloquence. One kind was to arrange words and ideas in a plain and simple style, so that the meaning might be at once apparent, the other was to speak in figurative language. Now, if the Qur'ān had not contained both these styles of composition, it could not

the same kind in the Sunnat because they came from the same sources as the Qur'ān." (Ibn Khaldūn, vol. iii, p. 67.)

This passage is of some interest as maintaining the common source and origin of the Qur'ān and the Sunnat.

¹ "The Musalmān authors distinguish between the earlier and later *Mutakalliman*. The former (of whom we here treat) were occupied with purely religious questions; the latter, who arose after the introduction of the Greek philosophy amongst Muslims, embraced many philosophic notions, though they tried to make them fit in with their religious opinions." (Munk, *Mélanges de Philosophie Juive et Arabe*, p. 320.)

have claimed the position it does as a book absolutely perfect in form as well as in matter.

Bearing in mind this fundamental difference of opinion we can now pass on to the consideration of the attributes. The essential attributes are life, knowledge, power, will, for without these the others could not exist. Then the attributes of hearing, seeing, speech give us a further idea of perfection. These are the *Ṣifātu'th-Thabūtiyah*, or affirmative attributes, the privation of which would imply loss; there are also *Ṣifātu's-Salbīyah*, or privative attributes, such as God has no form, is not limited by place, has no equal. The attributes are also called *Ṣifātu'dh-Dhatiyyah* and *Ṣifātu'l-Fi'liyyah*. The former are those which have no opposite, as life, for death cannot be predicated of God; the latter are those which have an opposite, as mercy, for God can have its opposite—anger. The acts of sitting, rising, descending, the possession of face, hands, eyes, being connected with the idea of corporeal existences, imply imperfection, and apparently contradict the doctrine of "exemption" (*tanzih*), according to which God is, in virtue of His essence, in no way at all like the creatures He has made. This was a difficulty, but the four great Imāms all taught that it was impious to inquire into these matters, for all such allusions were *mutashābih*. "The Imām *Ḥanbal* and other early divines followed in the path of the early Muslims and said: 'We believe in the Book and the Sunnat, and do not desire explanations. We know that the High God is not to be compared to any created object: nor any creature with Him.'" *Mālik ibn Anas* said: "God's sitting on the throne is known; how it is done is unknown; it must be believed and questions about it are an innovation (*bid'at*)."¹ Imām *ash-Shāfi'ī* said that a man who inquired into such matters should be tied to a stake and carried about, and that the following proclamation should be made before him: "This

is the reward of him who left the Qur'ān and the Traditions for the study of scholastic theology." Imām Ḥanbal says: "Whosoever moves his hand when he reads in the Qur'ān the words, 'I have created with my hand,' ought to have his hand cut off; and whoever stretches forth his finger in repeating the saying of Muḥammad, 'The heart of the believer is between two fingers of the Merciful,' deserves to have his finger cut off." At-Tirmidhī, when consulted about the statement of the Prophet that God had descended to the lowest of the seven heavens, said: "The descent is intelligible, the manner how is unknown; the belief therein is obligatory; and the asking about it is a blamable innovation." But all such attempts to restrain discussion and investigation failed.¹

The two main points in the discussion of this question are (1) whether the attributes of God are internal or external? whether they are part of His essence or not? and (2) whether they are eternal or not?

The two leading sects were the Ṣifātians and the Mu'tazilas. The Ṣifātians, according to Shahrastānī,² taught that the attributes of God are eternally inherent in His essence, without separation or change. Every attribute is conjoined with Him as life with knowledge or knowledge with power.³ They also taught that the mutashābih verses were not to be explained. So at

¹ A similar discussion went on amongst the Jewish Philosophers, who were divided into attributists and non-attributists. The latter won the day and their chief leader Maimonides said:—"If you give attributes to a thing, you define that thing, and defining a thing means to bring it under some head, to compare it with something like it. God is sole of His kind. Determine Him, circumscribe Him, and you bring Him down to the modes and categories of created things." *Literary Remains of Emmanuel Deutch*, p. 193.

² *Al-Milal wa'n-Nihāl*, p. 67.

³ "He has qualities (ṣifat) from all eternity existing in His essence. They are not He nor are they any other than He." (An-Nasāfi, quoted in Macdonald's *Muslim Theology*, p. 309).

first they did not attempt to give the meaning of the terms "hands, eyes, face," &c., when applied to God. They simply accepted them as they stood.

The Mu'tazilas were the great opponents of the Ṣifātians. They rejected the idea of eternal attributes, saying that eternity was the formal attribute of the essence of God. "If," said they, "we admit the eternal existence of an attribute, then we must recognise the multiplicity of eternal existences." They also rejected the attributes of hearing, seeing, and speech, as these were accidents proper to corporeal existences. They looked upon the divine attributes as mental abstractions, and not as having a real existence in the divine essence.¹ The expression "hand of God," they said, meant simply His power or His favour. To this the orthodox replied, that in this case then the Devil (Iblīs) could say that he had been created by the "favour of God," for God had said, "I created thee with my two hands." Again, they urged, if "hand" means "power," then God has two powers; and as the Prophet gave no explanation of such a mutashābih expression, it is clear that none is possible, and therefore the Mu'tazila explanation is not to be accepted.

The Mu'tazilas were the Free-thinkers of Islām. The origin of the sect was as follows:—al-Ḥasan, a famous divine, was one day seated in the mosque at Baṣra when a discussion arose on the question whether a believer who committed a mortal sin became thereby an unbeliever. The Kharijites affirmed that it was so. The orthodox denied this, saying that, though guilty of sin, yet that as he believed rightly he was not an infidel.² One of the scholars, Wāṣil ibn 'Atā (who was born at Madina, A.H. 80), then rose up and said: "I maintain that a Muslim who has committed a mortal

¹ On account of their views on this subject, the orthodox call them al-Mu'attila—the divestors.

² Ibn Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 34

sin should be regarded neither as a believer or an unbeliever, but as occupying a middle station between the two." He then retired to another part of the mosque, where he was joined by his friend 'Umar ibn 'Ubayd and others. They resumed the discussion. A learned man, named Qatāda, entering the mosque, went up to them, but on finding that they were not the party in which al-Ḥasan was, said, "These are the Seceders (al-Mu'tazila)."¹ Al-Ḥasan soon expelled them from his school. Wāṣil then founded a school of his own, of which, after the death of his master, 'Umar ibn 'Ubayd became the head.

Wāṣil felt that a believer, though sinful, did not merit the same degree of punishment as an infidel, and thus starting off on the question of degrees of punishment, he opened up the whole subject of free-will. This soon brought him into conflict with the orthodox on the subject of predestination, and that again to the subject of the inspiration, the interpretation and the eternity of the Qur'ān, and of the divine attributes. His followers rejected the doctrine of the "divine right" of the Imām, and held that the entire body of the Faithful had the right to elect the most suitable person, who need not necessarily be a man of the Quraish tribe, to fill that office. The principles of logic and the teaching of philosophy were brought to bear on the precepts of religion. According to Shahrastānī² the Mu'tazilas hold:—

"That God is eternal, and that eternity is the peculiar property of His essence; but they deny the existence of any eternal attributes (as distinct from His nature). For they say, He is Omniscient as to His nature; Living as to His nature; Almighty as to His nature; but not through any

¹ Another account is that Ḥasan of Baṣra said to those around him "I'tazala 'an-nā"—he hath seceded from us—and that this was the origin of the name.

² *al-Milal wa'n-Nihal*, p. 30.

knowledge, power, or life existing in Him as eternal attributes; for knowledge, power, and life are part of His essence, otherwise, if they are to be looked upon as eternal attributes of the Deity, it will give rise to a multiplicity of eternal entities."

"They maintain that the knowledge of God is as much within the province of reason as that of any other entity; that He cannot be beheld with the corporeal sight. They also maintain that justice is the animating principle of human actions, and that justice means the following out the dictates of reason."

"Again, they hold that there is no eternal law as regards human actions; that the divine ordinances which regulate the conduct of men are the results of growth and development; that God has commanded and forbidden, promised and threatened by a law which grew gradually. At the same time, he who works righteousness merits rewards, and he who works evil deserves punishment. Knowledge is attained only through reason. The cognition of good and evil is also within the province of reason; nothing is known to be right or wrong until reason has enlightened us as to the distinction; and thankfulness for the blessings of the Benefactor is made obligatory by reason, even before the promulgation of any law upon the subject. Man has perfect freedom; is the author of his actions both good and evil, and deserves reward or punishment hereafter accordingly."

The following story, narrated by Jalālu'd-dīn as-Syūṭī, illustrates Shahrastānī's statement that the Mu'tazilas denied that God could be seen by the eye of man.¹ The Khālifa al-Wāṭhiq (227-232 A.H.) summoned the Traditionist Aḥmad bin Naṣru'l-Khuzā'i to Baghdād, and questioned him regarding the creation of the Qur'ān, which he denied, and the vision of God at the day of judgment. Aḥmad replied, "Thus goes the tradition, 'Ye shall see your Lord in the day of judgment, as

al-Milal wa'n-Nihal, p. 30.

ye see the moon."¹ Al-Wāthiq said, "Thou liest;" to which Ahmad replied, "Nay, it is thou that liest." The Khalifa added, "What! will He be seen as a circumscribed and corporeal form which space can contain and the eye observe? Verily, I deny a God with such attributes. What say ye?" Then some of the Mu'tazilas who were present said, "It is lawful to put him to death." The Khalifa said, "When I rise against him, let no one rise with me; for verily I throw the burden of my sins on this infidel, who worships a God whom I do not worship, and whom I do not recognise with such attributes."² The Khalifa then, with his own hand, slew Ahmad.³

Ahmad bin Hāyat, a Mu'tazila, explains the tradition thus: "It is not God, but the 'primary intelligence' ('aql-i-kull) which will be seen." This 'aql-i-kull is another name for the "primary reason" (jauharu'l-awwal), which in the Šūfī cosmogony is the first thing created. However, the orthodox view, as opposed to that of the Mu'tazilas, is that God will be seen, but that it cannot be said that He will appear on this side or that, in this manner or that. They hold that all Musalmāns (though some exclude women) will see God, and that those persons before Muḥammad's time who followed the teaching of the prophets will also see Him. There is a difference of opinion about angels and genii;

¹ ثورون ربكم يوم القيامة كما ترون القمر The narrators say, "We were sitting on the fourteenth night of the month with the Prophet, who said, 'Certainly, you will see your Lord just as you see this moon.'" (*Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī*, chapter on *Sūratu'l-Qāf*.) See also *Sūratu'l-Arāf* (vii. 139.)

² Syūṭī, *History of the Khalīfas*, p. 355.

³ The body was impaled, and the following inscription was attached to it. "This is the head of Naṣr, the son of Mālik. The servant of God, the Imām Harūn, invited him to affirm the creation of the Qur'ān and to deny the similitude of God to human form, but he refused except to continue in his obstinacy, therefore may God hasten his descent into hell fire" (Syūṭī, *History of the Khalīfas*, p. 355.)

some say they also will see God, and some deny this privilege to them.

During the reigns of the 'Abbāsside Khalīfas Māmūn, Mu'tasim, and Wāthiq (198—232 A.H.) at Baghdād, the Mu'tazilas were in high favour at court.¹ Under the 'Abbāsside dynasty the ancient Arab society was revolutionised; Persians filled the most important offices of state; Persian doctrines took the place of Arab ones. The orthodox suffered bitter persecution. The following story will show how, at length, the Khalīfa Wāthiq relented. An old man, heavily chained, was one day brought into his presence. The prisoner obtained permission to put a few questions to Ahmad Ibn Abū Dā'ūd, a Mu'tazila and the President of the Court of Inquisition. The following dialogue took place: "Ahmad," said the prisoner, "what is the dogma which you desire to have established?" "That the Qur'ān is created," replied Ahmad. "This dogma, then, is without doubt an essential part of religion, insomuch that the latter cannot without it be said to be complete?" "Certainly." "Has the Apostle of God taught this to men, or has he left them free?" "He has left them free." "Was the Apostle of God acquainted with this dogma or not?" "He was acquainted with it." "Wherefore, then, do you desire to impose a belief regarding which the Apostle of God has left men free to think as they please?" Ahmad remaining silent, the old man turned to Wāthiq and said, "O Prince of Believers, here is my first position made good." Then turning to Ahmad, he said, "God has said, 'This day have I perfected religion for you, and have filled up the measures of my favours upon you, and it is my pleasure that Islām be your religion'

¹ Mas'ūdi, *Murīju'dh-Dhahab*, vol. viii, pp. 301-2.

² "This was the most splendid epoch of the Empire of the Arabs, when their power and, at the same time, their intellectual culture and literature attained their culminating point." (*Journal Asiatique*, 4me Série, tome xii, p. 104.)

(v. 5). But according to you, Islám is not perfected unless we adopt this doctrine that the Qur'án is created. Which now is most worthy of credence—God, when He declares Islám to be complete and perfect, or you when you announce the contrary?" Ahmad was still silent. "Prince of Believers," said the old man, "there is my second point made good." He continued, "Ahmad, how do you explain the following words of God in His Holy Book?—'O Apostle! proclaim all that hath been sent down to thee from thy Lord; for if thou dost not, thou hast not proclaimed His message at all.' Now this doctrine that you desire to spread among the Faithful, has the Apostle taught it, or has he abstained from doing so?" Ahmad remained silent. The old man resumed, "Prince of Believers, such is my third argument." Then turning to Ahmad he said, "If the Prophet was acquainted with the doctrine which you desire to impose upon us, had he the right to pass by it in silence?" "He had the right." "And did the same right appertain to Abú Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmán, and 'Alí?" "It did." "Prince of Believers," said the prisoner, "God will, in truth, be severe on us if He deprives us of a liberty which He accorded to the Prophet and his Companions." The Khalifa assented, and at once restored the old man to liberty.¹ So ended one of the fiercest persecutions the orthodox have ever had to endure, but so also ended the attempt to break through the barriers of traditionalism. The next Khalifa al-Mutawakkil, a ferocious and cruel man, restored the orthodox party to place and power. "He summoned the Traditionists to Sámarra, loaded them with presents, honoured them, and commanded them to bring forward traditions on the attributes of God, and on the personal vision of Him at the day of judgment."² This was done

¹ This story is given in a shorter form by Syúfí, *History of the Khalifas*, p. 356.

² Syúfí, *History of the Khalifas*, p. 360.

to refute the views of the Mu'tazilas on these points. The people were much pleased, and one man said, "The Khalifas are but three—Abú Bakr for his waging war on the apostates, 'Umar for his removal of abuses, and Mutawakkil for his revival of traditional doctrine. Now, to-day orthodoxy has been honoured as if it had never been in reproach, and the innovators in religion have fled into hell-fire disgraced and unaccepted of God." The Khalif also issued a fatwá (decree) declaring that the dogma that the Qur'án was created was an utter falsehood. He instituted severe measures against Christians, Jews, Shi'ahs, and Mu'tazilas.¹ Ahmad Ibn Abú Dá'úd was one of the first to be disgraced. Heresy and latitudinarianism were banished. The final blow to the Mu'tazilas, however, came not from the Khalifa but a little later on from al-Ash'arí (260—after 320 A.H.), who had been brought up in the very strictest orthodoxy, but, when able to think for himself, took a wider view of things, and became and remained, until he was forty years of age, a Mu'tazila.

The Mu'tazilas when expelled from power in Baghdád still flourished at Basra, where one day the following incident occurred. Abú 'Alí al-Jubbá'í, a Mu'tazila doctor, was lecturing to his students when al-Ash'arí propounded the following case to his master: "There were three brothers, one of whom was a true believer, virtuous and pious, the second an infidel, a debauchee and reprobate, and the third an infant; they all died. What became of them?" Al-Jubbá'í answered, "The virtuous brother holds a high station in Paradise, the infidel is in the depths of hell, and the child is among

¹ "The non-Muslim population had to wear yellow head-coverings and also collars of wood or iron round their necks. The figures of devils were placed in front of their houses. In 236 A.H. the Khalifa ordered the tomb of Husain to be destroyed and its neighbourhood to be laid waste. Pilgrimages to it were stopped." (Syúfí, *History of the Khalifas*, p. 362.) For fuller details, see my *Essays on Islám*, chapter on the Status of the Dhimmis.)

those who have obtained salvation." "Suppose now," said al-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 al-Jubbá'ī, "it would be said to him, 'Thy brother arrived at this place through his numerous works of obedience to God, and thou hast no such works to set forward.'" "Suppose then," said al-Ash'ari, "that the child should say, 'This is not my fault; thou didst not let me live long enough, neither didst thou give me the means of proving my obedience.'" "In that case," said al-Jubbá'ī, "the Almighty would say, 'I knew that if I had allowed thee to live, thou wouldst have been disobedient and have incurred the punishment of hell; I acted, therefore, for thy advantage.'" "Well," said al-Ash'ari, "and suppose the infidel brother were here to say, 'O God of the Universe! since Thou knewest what awaited him, Thou must have known what awaited me; why then didst Thou act for his advantage and not for mine?'" Al-Jubbá'ī was silent, though very angry with his pupil, who was now convinced that the Mu'tazila dogma of man's free-will was false, and that God elects some for mercy and some for punishment without any motive whatever. Disagreeing with his teacher on this point, he soon began to find other points of difference, and soon announced his belief that the Qur'an was not created. This occurred on a Friday in the great mosque at Bagra. Seated in his chair he cried out in a loud voice, "They who know me know who I am; as for those who do not know me, I shall tell them: I am 'Alī Ibn Ismā'īl al-Ash'ari, and I used to hold that the Qur'an was created, that the eyes (of men) shall not see God, and that we ourselves are the authors of our evil deeds; now I have returned to the truth: I renounce these opinions, and I take the engagement to refute the Mu'tazilas and expose their infamy and turpitude."

Another account says that, standing on the steps of the pulpit in a mosque at Bagra, he threw away his kaftan and said, "O ye who are here met together! Like as I cast away this garment, so do I renounce all I formerly believed." It is no uncommon thing in the history of religious beliefs for a man to give up broad and liberal views and to return to the narrower ways of orthodoxy, but it is an uncommon thing for such an one to retain in the new sphere the methods of the old; but this is just what al-Ash'ari did. He enlisted on the side of orthodox Islām all the dialectical skill of the Mu'tazilas, and gave to the side of the orthodox the weapons of the sceptic. He then adopted the scholastic methods, and started a school of thought of his own, which was in the main a return to orthodoxy. He thus overthrew the liberal school, and his principles and methods have ruled the greater part of the world of Islām ever since. His own dying words are said to have been, "The curse of God be on the Mu'tazilas: their work is delusion and lies." The result of this retrogression of so able a man is to be regretted, for it undoubtedly retarded the progress of free thought, and helped to make Islām still more conservative and immobile. It is this which makes the defection of al-Ash'ari from the Mu'tazila ranks so important an event in Muslim history. Had it been otherwise, and had al-Ash'ari maintained his liberal views, it may be that the system of Islām would have been largely modified, its fierce bigotry softened, its culture less pedantic, its susceptibility to foreign and outside influences greater, and the lands in which it has flourished more progressive and enlightened. But so it has not been, and all has become hard and fast, and apparently immobile and unprogressive.

The Ash'arian doctrines differ slightly from the tenets of the Shī'atians, of which sect al-Ash'ari's disciples form a branch. The Ash'arians hold—

(i) That the attributes of God are distinct from His essence, yet in such a way as to forbid any comparison being made between God and His creatures. They say that they are not "ain" nor "ghair," not of His essence, nor distinct from it—i.e., they cannot be compared with any other things.

(ii) That God has one eternal will from which proceed all things, the good and the evil, the useful and the hurtful.¹ The destiny of man was written on the eternal table before the world was created. So far they go with the Šifātians, but in order to preserve the moral responsibility of man they say that he has power to convert will into action.² But this power cannot create anything new, for then God's sovereignty would be impaired; so they affirm that God in His providence so orders matters that whenever "a man desires to do a certain thing, good or bad, the action corresponding to the desire is, there and then, created by God, and, as it were, fitted on to the desire."³ Thus it seems as if it came naturally from

¹ "Nothing exists upon earth, be it good or bad, but that which God wills, but all things are by God's will. The works of creatures are created and predestined by God, as He said 'God has created you and what ye make' (xxxvi. 94). Man is able to create nothing" (al-Ash'arī, quoted by Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 294). This idea of unlimited power has so filled the Muslim mind that sin is looked upon, not so much as a breach of the moral law as a violation of some arbitrary decree. Some actions of the Prophet were, according to any law of righteousness, evil; but no Muslim would admit that in doing them he committed a sin, for, it is believed, that he performed them by the command of God. Muḥammad does not seem to have been able to look upon God as a moral Being, or to have understood that there is an eternal law of righteousness. Sin is not so much sin on account of its being a transgression of a moral law, but of an arbitrary decree.

² "Thus, if a man becomes an infidel, it is not to be said that it is by the decree of God, although it is written on the 'Concealed Tablet'; it is not by the decree or will of God, but by kasb and choice." (Ḥāshiyah, or marginal notes of the 'Aqd'id-i-Abū'l-Muntahā," p. 25.

³ خَلَقَ الْقُدْرَةَ وَالْمَقْدُورَ جَمِيعاً خَلَقَ الْإِنْسَانَ وَالْمَخْتَارَ جَمِيعاً (Ghazālī, quoted by Klein, p. 58).

the will of the man, whereas it does not. This action is called kasb (acquisition), because it is acquired by a special creative act of God. "The servant of God, with his actions, confession, and knowledge, is created; so when he is a doer, the thing done is the creation of God, for to the servant there is no power, but kasb is lawful." Shahrastānī states that the Mu'tazilas entirely denied this idea of kasb. They said, "For servants there is no kasb, only intention; the actions of a servant are produced from his own nature." Kasb, then, is an act directed to the obtaining of profit or the removing of injury; the term is, therefore, inapplicable to the Deity. The Imām al-Ḥaramayn (419-478 A.H.) held "that the actions of men were effected by the power which God has created in man." Abū Ishāqu'l Isfarayain says, "That which maketh impression, or hath influence on action, is a compound of the power of God and the power of man."

(iii) They say that the word of God is eternal, though the vocal sounds used in the Qur'ān, which is the manifestation of that word, are created. They say that the Qur'ān contains the eternal word which existed in the essence of God before time was, and the word which consists of sounds and combinations of letters. This last they call the created word.

Thus al-Ash'arī traversed the main positions of the Mu'tazilas, denying that man can by the aid of his reason alone rise to the knowledge of good and evil. He must exercise no judgment, but accept all that is revealed. He has no right to apply the moral laws which affect men to the actions of God. It cannot be asserted by the human reason that the good will be rewarded or the bad punished in a future world.¹ Man must always approach God as a slave, in whom there is no light or knowledge to judge of the actions

¹ The Mu'tazilas taught that God must reward the good and punish the wicked.

of the Supreme. Whether God will accept the penitent sinner or not cannot be asserted, for He is an absolute Sovereign, above all law.¹

The opinion of the more irrational subdivisions of the Šifātians need not be entered into at any length.

The Mushābihites (or Assimilators),² interpreting some of the Mutashābih verses literally, held that there is a resemblance³ between God and His creatures. They quoted in support of their opinion a Tradition: "My God met me, took my hand, embraced me and put one hand between my shoulders: when I felt His fingers they were cold." They said that the Deity was capable of local motion, of ascending, descending, &c. These they called "declarative attributes." The Mujassimians (or Corporealists) declared God to be corporeal, by which some of them meant a self-subsisting body, whilst others declared the Deity to be finite. They are acknowledged to be heretics.

The Jabarians gave great prominence to the denial of free agency in man, and thus opposed the Mu'tazilas, who in this respect are Qadarians, that is, they deny "Al-Qadar," God's absolute sovereignty, and recognise free will in man. The Ash'arians say of themselves that they are neither Jabarians nor Qadarians, but between the two.

¹ Ibn Khaldūn says: "The establishing of proofs (founded on reason) was adopted by the early scholastics for the subject of their treatises, but it was not, as with the philosophers, an attempt to arrive at the discovery of truth, and to obtain by means of this demonstration a knowledge of what had been hitherto unknown. The scholastics sought after intellectual proofs with a view to confirm dogmas, to justify the opinions of the early Muslims, and to rebut the erroneous doctrines of the innovators" (vol. iii, p. 169).

² "As regards the views held on mutashābih verses by the Ahlu's-Sunnat, the Mushābihites held quite different views, but they considered the Qur'ān to be eternal." (Shahrastāni, *al-Milal wa'n-Nihal*, pp. 85, 87).

³ "It was a resemblance only. This body (God's) is not like the bodies (of men)." (Shahrastāni *al-Milal wa'n-Nihal*, p. 87).

These and various other subdivisions are not now of much importance. The Sunnis follow the teaching of al-Ash'arī, whilst the Shī'ahs incline to that of the Mu'tazilas.

Connected with the subject of the attributes of God is that of the names to be used when speaking of Him. The term Allāh is said to be the "great name" (Ismu'l-A'zam); it is also the name of the divine essence (Ismu'dh-dhāt): all other titles are names based on qualities or attributes (Asmā'aṣ-Šifāt). All sects agree in this, that the names "the Living, the Wise, the Powerful, the Hearer, the Seer, the Speaker," and so on, are to be applied to God; but the orthodox belief is that all such names must be "tauqifi," that is, dependent on some revelation. Thus it is not lawful to apply a name to God expressive of one of His attributes, unless there is some statement made or order given by Muḥammad to legalise it. God is rightly called Shāfi (healer), but He cannot be called Ṭabīb, which means much the same thing, for the simple reason that the word Ṭabīb is never applied in the Qur'ān or the Traditions to God. In like manner the term 'Alim (knower) is lawful, but not so the expression 'Aqil (wise). Mu'tazilas say that if in the Qur'ān or Traditions there is any praise of an attribute, then the adjective formed from the name of that attribute can be applied to God even though the actual word does not occur in any revelation. Al-Ghazālī says, "The names of God not given in the Law, if expressive of His glory, may be used of Him, but only as expressive of His attributes, not of His nature." On the ground that it does not occur in the Law, the Persian word "*Khudā*" has been objected to, an objection which also holds good with regard to the use of such terms as God, Dieu, Gott. To this it is answered, that as "*Khudā*" means "one who comes by himself," it is equivalent to the term Wājibu'l-Wajūd,

"one who has necessary existence," and therefore, so long as it is not considered as the *Ismu'dh-dhát*, it may with propriety be used.

The opinion now seems to be that the proper name equal to the term *Alláh* current in a language can be used; provided always that such a name is not taken from the language of the Infidels; so God, Dien, Gott, still remain unlawful. The names of God authorised by the *Qur'án* and Traditions are, exclusive of the term *Alláh*, ninety-nine in number.¹ They are called *al-Asmá'u'l-Husna* the most excellent names, according to the verse, "Most excellent names has God: by these call ye on Him, and stand aloof from those who pervert His titles"² (vii. 179). There is a Tradition to the effect that the *Ismu'l-A'zam* is known only to prophets and to saints, and that whosoever calls upon God by this name will obtain all his desires. The result is that *Šúffis* and *Darwishes* profess to spend much time in the search for this name, and, when they say they have found it, they acquire much influence over the superstitious.

The following texts of the *Qur'án* are adduced to prove the nature of the divine attributes:—

(1) Life. "There is no God but He, the Living, the Eternal" (ii. 256). "Put thy trust in Him that liveth and dieth not" (xxv. 60).

(2) Knowledge. "Dost thou not see that God knoweth all that is in the heavens, and all that is in the earth" (lviii. 8). "With Him are the keys of the secret things; none knoweth them but He: He knoweth whatever is on the land and in the sea; and no leaf falleth

¹ The name of father is not found amongst them; so man must ever be to Him in the relation of a slave. He can never attain to the freedom and dignity of a son.

² The reference is to the idolatrous Arabs, who derived the names of their idols from the names of the true God; e.g., *al-Lát* from *Alláh* *al-'Uzza* from *al-'Azíz* and so on. (*Tafsir-i-Ilusaini*, vol. i, p. 227).

but He knoweth it; neither is there a grain in the darknesses of the earth, nor a thing green or sere, but it is noted in a distinct writing" (vi. 59).

(3) Power. "If God pleased, of their ears and of their eyes would He surely deprive them. Verily God is almighty" (ii. 19). "Is He not powerful enough to quicken the dead?" (lxxv. 40). "God hath power over all things" (iii. 159).

(4) Will. "God is worker of that He willeth" (lxxxv. 16). "But if God pleased, He would surely bring them, one and all, to the guidance" (vi. 35). "God misleadeth whom He will, and whom He will He guideth—God doeth His pleasure" (xiv. 4, 32). As this last attribute is closely connected with the article of the Creed which refers to Predestination, the different opinions regarding it will be stated under that head.

There has never been any difference of opinion as to the *existence* of these four attributes so clearly described in the *Qur'án*: the difference is with regard to the *mode* of their existence and their operation. There is the ancient *Šifátian* doctrine that the attributes are eternal and of the essence of God, the *Mu'tazila* theory that they are not eternal, and the *Ash'arían* dogma that they are eternal but distinct from His essence.

There is great difference of opinion with regard to the next three attributes of hearing, sight, speech. For the existence of the two first of these the following verses are quoted:—"He truly heareth and knoweth all things" (xliv. 5); "No vision taketh in Him, but He taketh in all vision" (vi. 103). The use of the terms sitting, rising, hands, face, eyes, has also given rise to much difference of opinion. The commentator *Baidáwí* says: "Certainly 'sitting on the throne' is an attribute of God, but its manner is not known." He considers the verse which speaks of it to be metaphorical (*mutashábih*). *Al-Ghazálí* says: "He is seated firmly upon His throne after the manner which He has said,

and in the sense which He Himself means, which is a sitting far removed from contact and fixity of location."¹ This is the Ash'arian idea. The followers of Imām Ibn Ḥanbal say that such words represent the attributes existing in God. The words "God sits on His throne" mean that He has the power of sitting. They say, "We keep the literal meaning of the words; we allow no figurative interpretation. To do so is to introduce a dangerous principle of interpretation, for the negation of the apparent sense of a passage may tend to weaken the authority of revelation. At the same time we do not pretend to explain the act, for it is written, 'There is none like unto Him' (cxii. 4); 'There is none like unto Him' (xlii. 9); 'Unworthy the estimate they form of God'" (xxii. 73). To prove that God occupies a place, they produce the following Tradition: "Ibnu'l-Ḥākim wished to give liberty to a female slave, Saouda, and consulted the Prophet about it. Muḥammad said to her, 'Where is God?' 'In heaven,' she replied. 'Set her at liberty; she is a true believer.'" Not, say the commentators, because she believed that God occupied a place, but because she took the words in their literal signification. The Shī'ahs consider it wrong to attribute to God movement and quiescence, for these imply the possession of a body. They hold, too, in opposition to the orthodox, that God will never be seen, for that which is seen is limited by space.

The seventh attribute, speech, has been fruitful of a very long and important controversy connected with the nature of the Qur'ān, for the word "kalām" means not mere speech, but revelation and every other mode of communicating intelligence. Al-Ghazālī in the "Iḥyā' 'ulūmu'd-dīn" says: "He doth speak, command, forbid, promise, and threaten by an eternal ancient word, subsisting in His essence. Neither is it like to the word of the creatures, nor doth it consist in a voice

¹ *Iḥyā' 'ulūmu'd-dīn*, quoted in Macdonald's *Muslim Theology*, p. 301.

arising from the commotion of the air and the collision of bodies, nor letters which are separated by the joining together of the lips or the motion of the tongue. The Qur'ān, the Law, the Gospel, and the Psalter are books sent down by Him to His Apostles, and the Qur'ān, indeed, is read with tongues, written in books, and is kept in hearts; yet, as subsisting in the essence of God,¹ it doth not become liable to separation and division whilst it is transferred into the hearts and on to paper. Thus Moses also heard the word of God without voice or letter, even as the saints behold the essence of God without substance or accident."² An-Nasafi (d. 537 A.H.) says: "He whose majesty is majestic, speaks with a Word (kalām). This Word is a quality from all eternity... God Most High speaks with this Word, commanding and prohibiting and narrating. The Qur'ān is the uncreated Word of God"³ Abū Ḥanīfa, in the Wasiyāt (p. 3), says: "The Qur'ān is the kalāmu'llāh, inspired, sent by Him, and His attribute. It is not He, nor other than He (la hū wa lā ghairahū); written in books, read with tongues, remembered in hearts, but not entering into them. The letters, ink, paper, writing—all these are created, for these are the work of servants. The kalām is not created, for the writing, letters, words, and verses are only the instruments of the Qur'ān, needed for servants of God. He who says the kalām is created is a Kafir." Abū'l-Muntahā in the "Aqā'id" (p. 15) says: "al-kalām

¹ The orthodox believe the kalām to be of God's nature (Qā'im bi Dhātihī), as other attributes are, without reference to letters and sounds. (Bāzu'l-Ma'āni, p. 14.) Others say it has two meanings (1) the eternal Word inherent in God's essence (الكلام النفسى القديم بذاته) and (2) the spoken Word created by God (الكلام اللغوى).

² See Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, pp. 300-7 for a translation of the first section of the *Iḥyā'* which treats of the nature and attributes of God.

³ Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 309.

is not created, but the letters, paper, and writing are, being the work of men; these letters are the instruments of the Qur'ān. If a person says the 'Word of God' is created, he is a Kāfir: if he says 'it is created,' meaning the kalāmu'n-nafsi, he too is a Kāfir, because he denies an eternal attribute: if he says 'it is created,' meaning thereby only the words, &c., but not the eternal attribute, he commits a fault by this way of speaking, for his orthodoxy may be doubted." Though the words of the Qur'ān which are read are recent, it is wrong to say the Qur'ān is recent (*hādith*), except for the sake of instruction, such as a Professor gives in a class.

The orthodox believe that God is really a speaker: the Mu'tazilas deny this, and say that He is only called a speaker because He is the originator of words and sounds. They also bring the following objections to bear against the doctrine of the eternity of the Qur'ān:—(1) It is written in Arabic, it descended, is read, is heard and is written. It was the subject of a miracle. It is divided into parts, and some verses are abrogated by others. (2) Events are described in the past tense, but if the Qur'ān had been eternal the future tense would have been used. (3) The Qur'ān contains commands and prohibitions; if it is eternal, who were commanded and who were admonished? (4) If it has existed from eternity it must exist to eternity, and so even in the last day, and in the next world, men will be under the obligation of performing the same religious duties as they do now, and of keeping all the outward precepts of the law. (5) If the Qur'ān is eternal, then there are two eternals. (6) Men can produce its like in eloquence and arrangement.¹

¹ This last objection seems to contradict the statements in Sūras ii, 21; xi, 16; xvii, 90; lii, 34-5 in which the Prophet challenges any one to produce a book like it. For a criticism of this claim, see *ante* pp. 66-7.

The position thus assailed was not at first a hard and fast dogma of Islām. It was more a speculative opinion than anything else, but the opposition of the Mu'tazilas soon led all who wished to be considered orthodox to become stout assertors of the eternity of the Qur'ān, and to give up their lives in defence of what they believed to be true. The Mu'tazilas, by asserting the subjective nature of the Qur'ānic inspiration, brought the book itself within the reach of criticism. They looked upon it as the production of Muḥammad under divine influence, but maintained that it had a human side. The idea of an absolutely divine book placed a limit on their intellectual freedom. They recognised fully both the divine and human side of the Qur'ān and could look on things which needed change or removal as part of the human element and so transitory. This reasonable view of the matter was inconsistent with the idea of a miraculous book sent down from heaven. The Mu'tazilas saw this quite clearly, and consistently rejected the orthodox belief in the eternity of the Qur'ān. A more important objection arose from their view of God's qualities (*ṣifāt*) and the limitation placed on them. They saw a danger, especially as regards the Kalām, of these qualities being hypostatized in separate persons like the persons in the Christian Trinity. Now all this was too much for orthodox Islām to bear, even though the Khalīfa Māmūn in the year 212 A.H. issued a fatwā declaring that all who asserted the eternity of the Qur'ān were guilty of heresy. Jalālu'd-dīn as-Syūṭī, in his "History of the Khalīfas" (p. 321) says: "In the year 212 A.H. al-Māmūn made public his doctrine on the non-creation of the Qur'ān, but the people shrank from it with aversion, so for a while he remained quiet; but in the year 218 he wrote to his prefect in Baghdād, Ishāq bin Ibrāhīmu'l-Khuzā'i, as follows: 'Verily the Prince of the Faithful is aware that the

public at large, and the general herd of the rabble and vulgar mob, who have no insight nor knowledge, nor seek illumination from the light of wisdom and its demonstration, are a people ignorant of God and blind in regard to Him, and in error as to the truth of His doctrine, and fail to estimate Him according to the reality of His transcendence, and to arrive at a true knowledge of Him, and to distinguish between Him and His creature, and that inasmuch as they have formed an ill opinion of the difference between Him and His creation and what He hath revealed in the Qur'án, for they are agreed upon its being from the beginning, not created by God, nor produced by Him, yet the Most High hath said: 'Verily we have made the same an Arabic Qur'án' (xl. 111). Now, indeed, whatever He hath made He hath created, as the Most High hath said: 'Who hath created the heavens and the earth' (vi. 1), and 'We relate unto thee the histories of the apostles' (xi. 121), viz., of what had previously occurred, wherefore He announceth that He relateth events subsequent to which He produced the Qur'án.¹ Again He says: 'This book, the verses of which are guarded against corruption,² and are also distinctly explained' (xi. 1). Therefore is He the guardian of this book and its expounder. He is therefore its maker and originator." The Khalífa goes on to accuse all who differ from him of spiritual pride, and calls them "vessels of ignorance and beacons of falsehood, men whose testimony should be rejected." He says to Isháq bin Ibráhím: "Assemble the Qádis that are with thee, and read to them my letter, and question them as to what they maintain, and discover from them what they believe in regard to the creation of the Qur'án, and inform them that I seek no assistance in my service, nor do I put any confidence in one who

¹ See also Súratu Yúsuf (xii. 3, 103).

² Rodwell translates this, "whose verses are established in wisdom."

is untrustworthy in his faith. If they allow it, and are of one accord, then command them to interrogate those witnesses that come before them as to their belief in the matter of the Qur'án." Seven famous Qádis were accordingly sent for to hold a personal interview with al-Mámún. Many, including Hanbal,¹ Wálid, and other famous doctors, were also summoned to the presence of Isháq bin Ibráhím and examined. The following is a fair sample of what then took place. Isháq said to ibnu'l-Baká, "What dost thou say?" Baká replied, "I declare, on the authority of the revealed text, that the Qur'án was made and brought into existence." Isháq said, "And what is made is created?" "Yes." "Therefore," rejoined Isháq, "the Qur'án is created." So nothing satisfactory came out of this inquiry, and al-Mámún wrote yet again: "What the pretenders to orthodoxy and the seekers after the authority for which they are unfitted have replied has reached me. Now, whoso doth not admit that the Qur'án is created, suspend his exercise of judicial powers and his authority to relate traditions." Individual messages were also sent: "Tell Bishar that if he denieth that the Qur'án is created, that his head shall be smitten off and sent to me." To another he said, "The sword is behind thee." All were threatened, and were in mortal fear lest they should lose their lives, for al-Mámún, hearing that they had assented under compulsion only, had summoned them to his presence; but on their way they heard that he was dead.² "Thus," says the historian, "the Lord was merciful to them and banished their fear."

¹ He, a strong man to whom scholastic theology was an abomination, was the hope of the orthodox. After the persecution was over, his influence was greatly strengthened and his disciples continued the conflict and maintained his principles long after the Mu'tazilas had passed away.

² "It did not matter that he (Mámún) ranged himself on the progressive side; his fatal error was that he invoked the authority of

It was during the persecution carried on by the next Khalifa, al-Mu'tasim, that the Imám Ahmad Ibn Hanbal was severely beaten and then imprisoned, because he refused to assent to the truth of the decree issued by the Khalifa al-Mámún in the year 212 A.H. Al-Buwaiti, a famous disciple of ash-Sháfi'i, used an ingenious argument to fortify his own mind when being punished by the order of the Khalifa. He was taken all the way from Cairo to Baghdád, and told to confess that the Qur'án was created. On his refusal, he was imprisoned at Baghdád, and there remained in chains till the day of his death. As ar-Rábi ibn Sulaimán says: "I saw al-Buwaiti mounted on a mule: round his neck was a wooden collar, on his legs were fetters, from these to the collar extended an iron chain to which a clog was attached weighing fifty pounds. Whilst they led him on he continued repeating these words, 'Almighty God created the world by means of the word Be! Now, if that word was created, one created thing would have created another;' " which he held to be impossible. Al-Buwaiti here refers to the verse, "Verily our speech unto a thing when We will the same is that We only say to it 'Be,' and it is,—(kun fayakúna)." (xxxvi. 82). This, in the way al-Buwaiti applied it, is a standing argument of the orthodox to prove that the Qur'án was not created.¹

the State in matters of the intellectual and religious life. Thus, by enabling the conservative party to pose as martyrs, he brought the prejudices and passions of the populace still more against the new movement. He was that most dangerous of all beings, a doctrinaire despot." Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 154. For an excellent description of the character and influence of al-Mámún, see also pp. 155—7.

¹ The verse, "Nay, but it (Qur'án) is a warning, written on honoured pages, exalted, purified" (lxxx. 11-12), is said to refer to the eternal copy on the Lauḥu'l-Maḥfúz, or the concealed Tablet; but Zamakhsharí, a Mu'tazila commentator, says that the words "honoured pages" refer to books of preceding Prophets with which the Qur'án agrees in substance.

When times changed men were put to death for holding just the opposite opinion. The Imám ash-Sháfi'i held a public disputation in Baghdád with Ḥafṣ, a Mu'tazila preacher, on this very point. Sháfi'i quoted the verse, "God said Be, and it is," and asked, "Did not God create all things by the word Be?" Ḥafṣ assented, for, unlike al-Buwaiti, he considered it quite possible. "If then the Qur'án was created, must not the word Be have been created with it?" Ḥafṣ could not deny so plain a proposition. "Then," said Sháfi'i, "all things, according to you, were created by a created being, which is a gross inconsistency and manifest impiety." Thus he too proved to his own satisfaction that the Qur'án was not created. Ḥafṣ, who had asserted that it was created, was reduced to silence, and such an effect had Sháfi'i's logic on the audience that they put Ḥafṣ to death as a pestilent heretic. In this way did the Ash'arian opinions of the subject of the Divine attributes again gain the mastery.

The Mu'tazilas failed, and the reason why is plain.¹ They were, as a rule, influenced by no high spiritual motives; often they were mere quibblers. They sought no light in an external revelation. Driven to a reaction by the rigid system they combated, they would have made reason alone their chief guide. The nobler spirits among them were impotent to regenerate the faith they professed to follow. It was, however, a great movement, and at one time it threatened to change the

¹ "The Mu'tazilites, on their side, having seen the shipwreck of their hopes and the growing storm of popular disfavor, seem to have turned again to their scholastic studies. They became more and more theologians affecting a narrower circle, and less and less educators of the world at large. Their system became more metaphysical and their conclusions more unintelligible to the plain man. The fate which has fallen on all continued efforts of the Muslim mind was coming upon them. Beggarly speculations and barren hypotheses, combats of words over names, sapped them of life and reality." (Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 158.)

whole nature of Islām. This period of Muslim history, famed as that in which the effort was made to cast off the fetters of the rigid system which Islām was gradually tightening by the increased authority given to traditionalism and to the refinements of the four Imāms, was undoubtedly a period of, comparatively speaking, high civilization. Baghdād, the capital of the Khalīfate, was a busy, populous, well-governed city. This it mainly owed to the influence of the Persian family of the Barmecides, one of whom was Vizier to the Khalīfa Hārūn-r-Rashīd. Hārūn's fame as a good man is quite undeserved. It is true that he was a patron of learning, that his empire was extensive, that he gained many victories, that his reign was the culminating point of Arab grandeur. But for all that, he was a morose despot, a cruel man, thoroughly given up to pleasures of a very questionable nature. Drunkenness, in this brilliant period of Muslim history, is said to have been common at court.¹ Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal says: "A man came to me and said, 'May I say namāz behind an Imām who drinks wine?' I replied 'No.' He again said, 'May I say it after one who says that the Qur'ān is created?' I replied, 'What! have I forbidden you to say it after a Musalmān, and wilt thou say it after an infidel?'" The man who drank remained a Muslim, the man who exercised freedom of thought became an infidel—a curious illustration of the relative value attached to what was deemed moral and speculative error. Plots and intrigues were ever at work. Such was the state of one of the greatest periods of Muslim rule, a

¹ It is, however, only fair to state that Ibn Khaldūn (vol. i, pp. 85-86) maintains that what they drank was date-wine or date-wort (nabīd), which, according to the tenets of the Ḥanīfite sect, is not unlawful. He considers that drunkenness was a crime of which they were not capable, but the effort which he makes to avert the suspicion seems to show that it was very generally believed.

time most favourable for the development of any good which Islām might have possessed. Whatever glory is attached to this period is, however, connected with an epoch when heresy was specially prevalent and orthodoxy was weak in Baghdād. The culture of the time was in spite of, not on account of, the influence of orthodox Islām.

Colonel Osborn ("Islām under the Khalīfs," p. 148) says: "The free-thinkers (Mu'tazilas) left no traces of themselves except in the controversial treatises they had written. These were destroyed, and with their destruction, the last vestiges of the conflict between free thought and the spirit of Islām were obliterated."¹ This was true a few years ago, but recent movements in India show that the influence of the Mu'tazilas is not altogether lost. Thus, a recent writer, speaking of the development and growth of new ideas amongst Indian Musalmāns, goes on to use these words: "Belonging, as I do, to the little known, though not unimportant, philosophical and legal school of the Mu'tazilas, and thus occupying a vantage-ground of observation as regards the general progress of ideas among other sections of the Musalmāns in India, I cannot but observe the movement which has been going on for some time among them. The advancement of culture and the development and growth of new ideas have begun to exercise the same influence on them as on other races and peoples. The younger generation is

¹ "The political power of the Mu'tazilas ceased soon after the accession of al-Mutawakkil, the tenth 'Abbāside Caliph (A.D. 847), but the school was powerfully represented nearly three centuries later, by Zamakhsharī the great commentator of the Qur'ān." "Abū'l Ḥusain of Baṣra, a contemporary of Ibn Sīnā, was the last who gave independent treatment to their teaching" (Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, vol. i, p. 289.) Muir calls the Mu'tazila development a "perversion of Islām" and says, "the Prophet, had he revisited the earth, would hardly have recognised his own religion" (*Annals of the Early Caliphate*, p. 451).

tending unconsciously towards the Mu'tazila doctrines."¹ I have already shown that the general tendency of the Mu'tazila movement was towards a more liberal view of inspiration and the use of reason in matters of religion. This view has been now reasserted with much force by Maulavi Cherāgh 'Alī Shāhib, a great scholar in both Eastern and Western learning, formerly a distinguished official in the service of the Nizām of Haidarābād. He says: "A prophet is neither immaculate nor infallible. A prophet feels that his mind is illumined by God, and the thoughts which are expressed by him and spoken or written under this influence are to be regarded as the words of God. This illumination of the mind, or effect of the divine influence, differs in the prophet according to the capacity of the recipient, or according to the circumstances—physical and moral and religious—in which he is placed."² This is quite contrary to the orthodox view of inspiration, or waḥī, and is not in accordance with the received teaching of the orthodox divines; nor, so far as I know, has this liberal view ever been propounded by a Musalmān scholar unacquainted with Western and Christian modes of thought. Another writer, approaching the subject from a different standpoint, says: "The present stagnation of the Muḥammadan community is principally due to the notion which has fixed itself in the minds of the generality of Muslims that the right to the exercise of private judgment ceased with the early legists, that its exercise in modern times is sinful, that a Muslim, in order to be regarded as an orthodox follower of Muḥammad, should abandon his judgment absolutely to the interpretations of men who lived in the ninth century and could have no conception of the nineteenth. . . . No account is taken of the altered circumstances in

¹ Syed Amīr 'Alī, *Personal Law of the Muḥammadans*, p. xi.

² Cherāgh 'Alī, *Critical Exposition of Jihād*, p. lxix.

which Muslims are now placed. The conclusions at which these learned legists arrived several centuries ago are held to be equally applicable to the present day."¹

I have shown in the first chapter of this book that the glory of orthodox Islām is the finality of the revelation and of its law, and that its fixed and final nature is the real barrier to any enlightened improvement in purely Muḥammadan states. This is also admitted by the men whom we may call the modern Mu'tazilas. Syed Amīr 'Alī says: "The Church and State were linked together; the Khalif was the Imām—temporal chief as well as spiritual head. With the advance of time, and as despotism fixed itself upon the habits and customs of the people, and as the Khalif became the arbiter of their fate, without check or hindrance from jurisconsult or legist, patristicism took hold of the minds of all classes of society. . . . What had been laid down by the Fathers is unchangeable and beyond the range of discussion. The Faith may be carried to the land of the Esquimaux, but it must go with rules framed for the guidance of 'Irāqians."² Maulavi Cherāgh 'Alī writes in the same strain: "Slavish adherence to the letter, and the taking not the least notice of the spirit of the Qur'ān, is the sad characteristic of the Qur'ānic interpreters and of the deductions of the Muḥammadan doctors. . . . There are certain points in which the Common Law is irreconcilable with the modern needs of Islām, whether in India or in Turkey, and requires modification. . . . It was only from some oversight on the part of the compilers of the Common Law that, in the first place, the civil precepts of a transitory nature, and as a mediate step leading to a higher reform, were taken as final; and, in the second place, the civil precepts adapted for the dwellers of the Arabian desert were pressed

¹ Syed Amīr 'Alī, *Spirit of Islām*, p. 287.

² *Ibid.*, p. 521.

upon the necks of all ages and countries. A social system for barbarism ought not to be imposed on a people already possessing higher forms of civilization."¹

These quotations fully support all that I have said in previous pages on this subject. It is true that all this is not approved; indeed it is severely condemned. Still these statements do bear witness to the accuracy of the conclusions, at which European writers competent to deal with the subject have arrived. These statements also show that the deductions made by such European writers from the history of the past, and from Muslim theological literature have been correct. Palgrave, for example, says nothing stronger than these Indian Muḥammadan writers state when, speaking of the stagnation of Islām, he says: We cannot refrain from remarking that "the Islāmic identification of religion and law is an essential defect in the system, and a serious hindrance to the development of good government and social progress."

From the writings of these enlightened Musalmāns it is clear that to the Sharī'at, as viewed in its finality by the orthodox, the following objections more or less apply, viz.: that an imperfect code of ethics has been made a permanent standard of good and evil and a final irrevocable law; that the Sharī'at deals with precepts rather than with principles; that it has led to formality of worship; that by it Islām is rendered stationary and unable to adapt itself to the varying circumstances of time and place. In order to remove these difficulties, it is said that the Sharī'at is not really the sacred and final code which the canonical legists have stated it to be; but that it is Common Law which can be changed when circumstances require it. Thus, Maulavi Cherāgh 'Alī says: "The Muḥammadan Common Law or Sharī'at, if it can be called Common Law, as it does not contain

¹ Cherāgh 'Alī, *Reforms under Moslem Rule*, p. ii.

any Statute Law, is by no means unchangeable or unalterable."¹ "The legislation of the Muḥammadan Common Law cannot be called immutable; on the contrary, it is changeable and progressive."² I am not aware that any responsible Muḥammadan ruler holds this view that the Sharī'at is Common Law and therefore changeable, nor has any Musalmān state, so far as I know, except when compelled by some stronger and more civilized non-Muslim Government, attempted to make any such changes. The Sultān of Turkey, who, as the nominal Khalīfa, is the religious head and guide of the Sunnī Musalmāns has, at times, to bend to the superior will and power of his stronger neighbours and to make departures from the Sharī'at; but this, which to the orthodox mind is a dereliction of duty, is excused because he must submit to *force majeure*. It is indeed fully admitted by the men of what we may call the New Islām in India that the great body of the authorized teachers of the past is against them; but it is said that no "regard is to be paid to the opinions and theories of the Muqallids."³

The movement of the ancient Mu'tazilas was almost entirely an intellectual one; they left moral questions alone. In this respect the modern Mu'tazilas are far ahead of their predecessors. It would take me far beyond my subject to pursue this aspect of the case; but the opinion of some of the most cultured and enlightened of the Indian Musalmāns is in full accordance with the words of Syed Amīr 'Alī, who says: "The conviction is gradually forcing itself on all sides, in all advanced Muslim communities, that polygamy is as much opposed to the teachings of Muḥammad as it is to the general progress of civilized society and true culture."⁴ The statement that polygamy is opposed to

¹ Cherāgh 'Alī, *Critical Exposition of Jihād*, p. xcii.

² Cherāgh 'Alī, *Reforms under Moslem Rule*, p. xiii.

³ Ibid, p. vii.

⁴ Syed Amīr 'Alī, *Spirit of Islām*, p. 327.

the teachings of Muhammad cannot be substantiated; but the fact that many enlightened Musalmáns now repudiate the practice is correct. Although the liberal views of these writers to whom I have referred do not alter the fact of the non-progressive nature of Islám, nor show that the opinions of the orthodox theologians are not correct; yet this movement, on the part of men, deeply influenced by Western culture and affected by the environment of a higher civilization, towards freedom of thought and a truer moral life, is one of the deepest interest. It is not in lands under Muslim rule where the Law and Faith of Islám have full sway, but in British India we find men of these advanced views. They are entirely out of touch with the many millions of Indian Muslims who repudiate entirely all such liberal ideas.¹ The popular opinion, which classes them as persons who have rejected a revealed religion for a mere religion of nature, is not correct; but the fact that they are so looked upon detracts materially from their claim to be regarded as trustworthy exponents of Islám as it has been, and is now, known and received in all Muslim lands. If Islám possesses in itself all the regenerative power claimed for it, if the wonderful words of the Prophet breathed new force and infused new life into the dormant heart of humanity, if the Arabs went forth inspired by the teaching of Muhammad to "elevate and civilize," we may surely look to Arabia

¹ "A remarkable instance of enlightened Muhammadanism has recently been seen in Mr. Justice Syed Amír 'Alí's "Spirit of Islám," in which the Ijmá', or scholastic tradition, is wholly set aside; the right of private interpretation of the Qur'án is maintained, and the adaptability of Islám to the most advanced ideas of civilization is warmly upheld. But such men as Syed Amír 'Alí are very rare, and cannot strictly be called Muslims; no respectable member of the 'Ulamá or religious jurists would tolerate them. They may be Islámitical theists—just as there is a Theism formed upon Christianity—but they are not orthodox Muslims. To the true Muhammadan, authority is everything, and his authority, the Qur'án, Sunnat, and Ijmá', tells them. . . ." (Stanley Lane-Poole, *Studies in a Mosque*, p. 324.)

to see some fruit of it all. Yet that land, the centre of Islám under its most revered teachers, the Muffihs, the great legal systems, the home of its most sacred spot, a pilgrimage to which ensures salvation; the land in which its sacred language—the language of the uncreated Qur'án and so of heaven—is the mother-tongue of the people; this land is now hopelessly behind almost every other land, Christian or non-Christian, in the world to-day. The backward state of Muhammadan nations is sometimes said to be due to the invasion of the Mogul hordes; but these men accepted Islám. Other peoples have suffered from invaders, fierce and strong; but ferocious though the Visigoth, Frank and Vandals were, they blotted out that ferocity in the light of the civilization they had tried to extinguish, and were fitted to be the leaders in the world by the religion they accepted. It has not been so with the Turk. If his failure is due to racial and national characteristics, how is it that the religion which is said "to elevate and civilise," to be a beneficent force in the world has here so utterly failed? At distant intervals there have been brilliant periods under Muslim rule; but it has always been when heterodoxy has been supreme, as in the day of al-Mámún at Baghdád and under Akbar in India. The Moors in Spain attained to some degree of culture, which they entirely lost when they retired to Africa. A modern Muslim writer accounts for this by saying that "the retention of culture depends on the surroundings,"¹ a statement which unwittingly admits that not to Islám, but to the Christian and Jewish culture of Spain the Moors owed what they then had gained. Still, the protest against the traditionalism of the past and the bigotry of the present is a noble one, and if we place it in its true relation to orthodox Islám, we may watch its

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, September 1895, p. 378.

growth with much interest. It will raise individuals, purify the family life, stir up in its adherents a desire for useful knowledge, and create a more tolerant and liberal spirit; but on Islám generally as a religion and a polity its effect will, at least for a very long time, be small.¹

Mr. Macdonald in his admirable work "Muslim Theology" (pp. 196, 286) speaks somewhat slightly of this modern Mu'tazila movement. He says, "the use of this name by the present-day broad school Muslims of India is absolutely unhistorical and highly misleading." "Of the modern Indian Mu'tazilism no account need here be taken. It is derived from Europe and is ordinary Christian Unitarianism, connecting with Muḥammad instead of with Jesus." There is much truth in the latter sentence, but I value the movement much more than this writer seems to do. I have had the pleasure of personal acquaintance with some of its leaders, and nowhere else, and in no other class of Muslims in India, do I see the least hope of reform or of progress in Islám.

With this digression we must now return to the consideration of the second article of the creed.

2. ANGELS.—Of this article of the creed Muḥammad al-Barkavi says:—

"We must confess that God has angels who act according to His order, and who do not rebel against Him. They neither eat nor drink, nor is there amongst them any difference of sex. They are on earth, and in heaven, some have charge of men and record all their actions. Some angels are high in stature and are possessed of great power. Such an one is Gabriel (Jibrá'il) who in the space of one hour can descend from heaven to earth, and who with one wing can lift up a mountain.

"We must believe in 'Izrá'il, who receives the souls of

¹ For a good account of "The New Islám in India," by Dr. Weithrecht, see *Muhammadanism in the world to-day*, pp. 187—204.

men when they die, and in Isráfil, into whose charge is committed the trumpet. When he receives the order, he will blow such a terrible blast that all living things will die. This is the commencement of the last day" (xxxix. 68-9: vi. 93).

This confession of faith makes no mention of Miká'il (Michael), the fourth of the archangels. His special duty is to see that all created beings have what is needful for their sustenance. Isráfil is said to have a very pleasant voice, to which an allusion is made in the *Mathnawí* of Jalálu'd-dín Rúmfí, where a good minstrel is spoken of as one whose song is

"Like voice of Isráfil, whose trump on Judgment Day
Will wake the dead to life; his made the saddest gay."

The one desire of angels is to love and to know God. "All beings in the heaven and on the earth are His: and they who are in His presence disdain not His service, neither are they wearied: they praise Him day and night" (xxi. 19, 20). They are free from all sin. They did not wish for the creation of Adam, and this may seem like a want of confidence in God, but their object was not to oppose God, but to relieve their minds of the doubts they had in the matter. Thus "When the Lord said to the angels, 'Verily, I am about to place one in my stead on earth,' they said, 'Wilt thou place there one who will do ill therein, and shed blood when we celebrate thy praise and extol thy holiness?' God said, 'Verily I know what ye know not'" (ii. 28). It is also true that Iblís was

¹ At the hour of death, 'Izrá'il, with the aid of his assistants, draws the spirit of the dying man up to the throat, and, piercing it with a poisonous lance, detaches it from the body. To the wicked his appearance is terrible, to the faithful his shape is lovely and his assistants look like angels of mercy. Dr. Fairbairn (quoted by Phillips, *The Teaching of the Vedas*, p. 165) says, "The Homeric men believed that the soul so soon as death loosened its bands, quitted the body by the mouth or by a mortal wound." So the Muslim idea is not original.

disobedient, but then he belonged not to the angelic order, but to that of the jinn. "When We said to the angels, 'Prostrate yourselves before Adam,' they all prostrated themselves save Iblis, who was of the jinn, and revolted from his Lord's behest" (xviii. 48; ii. 33).¹

Angels sometimes appear in human form, but usually they are invisible. They intercede for man: "The angels celebrate the praise of their Lord and ask forgiveness for the dwellers on earth" (xlii. 3). They also act as guardian angels: "Each hath a succession of angels before him and behind him, who watch over him by God's behest" (xiii. 12). "Is it not enough for you that your Lord aideth you with three thousand angels sent down from on high?" (iii. 120). "Supreme over His servants, He sendeth forth guardians who watch over you, until, when death overtaketh any one of you, our messengers take his soul and fail not" (vi. 61). In the Traditions it is said that God has appointed for every man two angels to watch over him by day, and two by night. The one stands on the right-hand side of the man, the other on his left. They are called the *Mua'qqibāt*, i.e., those who succeed one another: also "the illustrious recorders" (*Kirāman Kātibīn*) (lxxxii. 10). They are referred to in the *Qur'ān*. "They think that We hear not their secrets and their private talk? Yes, and our angels who are at their sides write them down" (xliii. 80). Also, "Truly they are the guardians over you, illustrious recorders, cognisant of your actions." "When the two angels charged with taking account shall take it, the one sitting on the right hand, the other on the left" (i. 16). A Tradition records that the angel on the right-hand is more merciful than the angel on the left. If the latter has to record a bad action, the other says, "Wait a little for seven hours; perhaps he

¹ See also *Sūras* ii. 32; xvii. 63; xx. 115. Probably Muḥammad got the idea from Heb. i. 6 and thought that the "first-begotten" meant not Christ, but Adam. (Tisdall, *Sources of the Qur'ān*, p. 196).

may pray for or ask pardon."¹ There is an angel who rolls up the record taken by the "illustrious recorders." "On that day We will roll up the heavens as *Sijil* rolls up the books" (xxi. 104). It is said that *Sijil* is the name of the angel who rolls up the Books of Actions;² or the name of a written scroll, in which case the translation would be "as the rolling up of the written scroll." At the last day "every soul shall come and with it (angels), a driver and a witness (i. 20). This idea is taken from an apocryphal work, "The Testament of Abraham" (p. 90). Abraham sees two fierce angels dragging the souls before the Judge for trial.

There are eight angels who support the throne of God. "And the angels shall be on its sides, and over them on that day eight shall bear up the throne of thy Lord" (lxix. 17). Nineteen have charge of hell. "Over it are nineteen. None but angels have We made guardians of the fire" (lxxiv. 30).

There is a special arrangement made by Providence to mitigate the evils of Satanic interference. "Iblis," says Jābir Maghrabī, "though able to assume all other forms, is not permitted to appear in the semblance of the Deity, or any of His angels or prophets. There would otherwise be much danger to human salvation, as he might, under the appearance of one of the prophets, or of some superior being, make use of this power to seduce men to sin."

The story of Hārūt and Mārūt³ is of some interest from its connection with the question of the impeccability of the angels. Speaking of those who reject

¹ "When a Muslim at Madīna blesses the Prophet, the angels are not allowed to record his sins for three days, thus giving him time for repentance." (Burton, *Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Meccah*, vol. i, p. 314.)

² Baidāwī, vol. i, p. 625.

³ This story is taken from Jewish writers and two angels called Horot and Morot were in ancient times worshipped by the pagan Armenians

God's Apostle, the Qur'án says: "And they followed what the Satans read in the reign of Solomon; not that Solomon was unbelieving, but the Satans were unbelieving. Sorcery did they teach to men, and what had been revealed to the two angels Hárút and Márút at Bábel. Yet no man did these two teach until they had said, 'We are only a temptation. Be thou not an unbeliever'" (ii. 96). The story goes that in the time of the prophet Enoch, when the angels saw the bad actions of men, they said: "O Lord! Adam and his descendants, whom Thou hast appointed as Thy vicegerents on earth, act disobediently." To which the Lord replied: "If I were to send you on earth, and to give you lustful and angry dispositions, you too would sin." The angels thought otherwise; so God told them to select two of their number who should undergo this ordeal. They selected two renowned for devotion and piety. God having implanted in them the passions of lust and anger, said: "All day go to and fro on the earth, put an end to the quarrels of men, ascribe no equal to Me, do not commit adultery, drink no wine, and every night repeat the Ismu'l-A'zam, and return to heaven." This they did for some time, but at length a beautiful woman named Zuhra (Venus) led them astray. One day she brought them a cup of wine. One said, "God has forbidden it;" the other, "God is merciful and forgiving." So they drank the wine, killed the husband of Zuhra, to whom they revealed the "exalted name," and fell into grievous sin. Immediately after, they found that the "name" had gone from their memories, and so they could not return to heaven as usual. They then begged Enoch to intercede for them. The prophet did so, and with such success

who seem to have obtained the custom from the Persians. In the *Avesta*, Horot and Morot are known as Haurvat and Ameretát; (Tisdall, *Sources of the Qur'an*, p. 99.)

that the angels were allowed to choose between a present or a future punishment. They elected to be punished here on earth. They were then suspended with their heads downwards in a well at Bábel. Some say that angels came and whipped them with rods of fire, and that a fresh spring ever flowed just beyond the reach of their parched lips. The woman was changed to a star. Some assert that it was a shooting star which has now passed out of existence. Others say that she is the star Venus.

The Qádl 'Ayáz, Imám Fakhrú'd-dín Rázi (544-606 A.H.), Qádl Náşiru'd-dín Baidáwí (620-685 A.H.), and most scholastic divines deny the truth of this story. They say that angels are immaculate, but this does not meet the difficulty which the Qur'án itself raises in connection with Hárút and Márút. As to the woman, they think the whole story absurd, not only because the star Venus was created before the time of Adam, but also because it is inconceivable that one who was so wicked should have the honour of shining in heaven for ever. A solution, however, they are bound to give, and it is this: magic is a great art which God must allow mankind to know. The dignity of the order of prophets is so great that they cannot teach men what is confessedly hurtful. Two angels were therefore sent, and so men can now distinguish between the miracles of prophets, the signs of saints, the wonders of magicians and others. Then Hárút and Márút always discouraged men from learning magic. They said to those who came to them, "We are only a temptation. Be not thou an unbeliever." Others assert that it is a Jewish allegory,¹ in which the two angels represent reason and benevolence, the woman the evil appetites. The woman's ascent to heaven represents death.

¹ It was borrowed from a Jewish source. See Tisdall's *Sources of the Qur'an*, pp. 98-108.

To this solution of the difficulty, however, the great body of the Traditionists do not agree. They declare that the story is a *Ḥadīthu's-Ṣaḥīḥ*, and that the isnād is sound and good. Such divines are Imām Ibn Ḥanbal, Ibn Ma'sūd, Ibn 'Umar, Ibn 'Abbās, Ḥāfiẓ 'Asqallānī, and others. They say that angels are immaculate only so long as they remain in the angelic state; that, though confined, Hārūt and Mārūt can teach magic, for a word or two is quite sufficient for that purpose; that some men have no fear, and, if they have, it is quite conceivable that the two angels may teach through the instrumentality of devils or jinn. With regard to the woman Zuhra, they grant that to be changed into a bright star is of the nature of a reward; but they say the desire to learn the "exalted name" was so meritorious an act that the good she desired outweighs the evil she did. With regard to the date of the creation of the star Venus, it is said that all our astronomical knowledge is based on observations made since the Flood, whereas this story relates to the times of Enoch, who lived before the days of Noah. So the dispute goes on, and men of great repute for learning and knowledge believe in the story, although it seems to discredit the orthodox theory of the sinlessness of angels.

Munkar and Nakīr¹ are two fierce-looking black angels, who visit every man in his grave, and examine him with regard to his faith in God and in Muḥammad. Some authorities say that the spirit of the believer immediately after death passes through the seven heavens into the presence of God, then returns to the body in

¹ "These are two awful and terrible beings who will cause the creature to sit up in his grave, complete, both soul and body; and they will ask him, 'Who is thy Lord, and what is thy religion (dīn), and who is thy Prophet?' They are the two testers in the Grave and their questioning is the first thing after death." (Al-Ghazālī in the *Diyā' ul-ilmu'd-dīn*, quoted in Macdonald's *Muslim Theology*, p. 305.)

time for this examination. The dead are supposed to dwell in 'Ālamu'l-barzakh, a state of existence intervening between the present life and the life of mankind after the resurrection. This is the meaning of the word "grave" when used in this connection. Unbelievers and wicked Muslims suffer trouble in that state; true believers who can give a good answer to the angels are happy. There is a difference of opinion with regard to children. The general belief is that the children of believers will be questioned, but that the angels will teach them to say, "Allāh is my Lord, Islām my religion, and Muḥammad my Prophet." With regard to the questioning of the children of unbelievers, Imām Abū Ḥanīfa hesitated to give an opinion. He also doubted about their punishment. Some think they will be in A'rāf, a place between heaven and hell; others suppose that they will be servants to the true believers in Paradise. The verse, "Twice, O our Lord, hast thou given us death, and twice hast thou given us life" (xl. 11), is said to refer to the visit of these angels. It is said in the Tafsīr-i-Ibn 'Abbās, that death takes place in the world, and again a second time after the corpse has been raised to answer the questioning in the grave: life is thus given temporarily in the grave, and will also be given at the general resurrection.

The angel in charge of heaven, the guardian of Paradise, is called Ridwān: the angel in charge of hell is Mālik. He presides over the torments of the lost. "They shall cry 'O Mālik! would that thy Lord would make an end of us!' He saith: 'Here ye must remain'" (xliii. 77).

Distinct from the angels there is another order of beings made of fire, called jinn (genii),¹ created thousands of years before Adam came into existence. "We created man of dried clay, of dark loam moulded, and

¹ For the Persian origin of the word, see Tisdall's *Sources of the Qur'ān*, p. 240.

the jinn had been before created of subtle fire" (xv. 26, 27). They eat, drink, propagate their species, and are subject to death, though they generally live many centuries. Some are believers in Islám; some are infidels, and will be punished. "I will wholly fill hell with jinn and men" (xi. 120). The *Súratu'l-Jinn* (lxxii.) refers to their belief in Islám. Their earnest desire to hear the Qur'án is referred to in the verse, "When the servant of God stood up to call upon him, they almost jostled him by their crowds" (lxxii. 19). All the commentators say the phrase "Servant of God" refers to Muḥammad and the word "they" to the jinn. Some try to hear what is going on in heaven. "We guard them (i.e., men) from every stoned Satan, save such as steal a hearing" (xv. 18). They were under the power of Solomon and served him (xxxviii. 36). An 'Ifrit of the jinn said, "I will bring it thee (Solomon) ere thou risest from thy place: I have power for this, and am trusty" (xxvii. 39). At the last day the jinn also will be questioned. Abú Ḥanífa doubted whether the jinn who are Muslims will be rewarded. The unbelieving jinn will assuredly be punished. Tradition classifies them in the following order: (1) Jánn, (2) Jinn, (3) Shaitán, (4) 'Ifrit, (5) Márid. Many fables have been invented concerning these beings, and, though intelligent Muslims may doubt these wonderful accounts, yet a belief in the order of jinn is imperative, at least as long as there is belief in the Qur'án. Those who wish to know more of this subject will find a very interesting chapter on it in Lane's "Modern Egyptians."

The teaching of Islám¹ about the angels, the jinn, the work and nature of evil spirits and the Houris, is derived from Zoroastrian or Magian sources directly, or

¹ Geiger, *Judaism and Islám*, (translation of *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?* ed. Bonn, 1893) pp. 62-64. Tisdall, *Sources of the Qur'án*, p. 84.

indirectly through the medium of later Jewish legends, and shows how much Muḥammad borrowed from Pagan sources.

3. THE BOOKS.—Al-Barkavi says:—

"It is necessary to believe that the books of God have been sent through the instrumentality of Gabriel to prophets upon the earth. The Qur'án was sent to Muḥammad portion by portion during a space of twenty-three years. The Pentateuch came to Moses, the Injil to Jesus, the Zabúr to David, and the other books to other prophets. The whole number of the Divine books is one hundred and four. The Qur'án, the last of all, is to be followed till the day of judgment. It can neither be abrogated nor changed. Some laws of the previous books have been abrogated by the Qur'án, and ought not to be followed."

The one hundred to which no distinctive name is given are known as the "*Ṣuḥúfu'l Anbiyá'*,"—Books of the Prophets. The Qur'án is also known as the *Furqán*, the distinguisher; the *Qur'ánu Sharíf*, noble Qur'án; the *Qur'ánu Majíd*, glorious Qur'án; the *Mushaf*, the Book. It is said to be the compendium of the *Taurát*, *Zabúr*, and *Injíl*; so Muslims do not require to study these books. The orthodox belief is that they are entirely abrogated by the Qur'án,¹ though Sir Syed Aḥmad, in his commentary on the Bible (vol. i, p. 268), denounces as ignorant and foolish those Musalmáns who say so. Their inspiration is considered to be of a lower order than that of the Qur'án. A large portion of the Injíl is looked upon as mere narrative. The actual words of Christ only are considered as the revelation which descended from heaven. It is so in the case of the Old Testament Prophets. "However, it was the rule to call a book by the name of the prophet, whether the subject-matter was pure

¹ *Sharḥ-i-'Aqd'id-i-Jámi*, p. 147: "*Mansúkh* shud tiláwatan wa kitábatan," i.e., abrogated both as regards reading and writing. Also *Takmilu'l-Imán*, p. 64: "This religion abrogates all religions"—*Dín-i-wai násikh-i-jámi' adían ast*.

doctrine only, or whether it was mixed up with narrative also. . . . It is to be observed that, in the case of our own Prophet, the revelations made to him were intended to impart a special miracle of eloquence, and they were written down, literally and exactly, in the form in which they were communicated, without any narrative being inserted in them. . . . We do not consider that the Acts of the Apostles, or the various Epistles, although unquestionably very good books, are to be taken as part and parcel of the New Testament itself; nevertheless we look upon the writings of the Apostles in the same light as we do the writings of the Companions of our own Prophet; that is to say, as entitled to veneration and respect."¹

There are many verses in the Qur'ān which speak of previous revelations, thus: "When a prophet came to them from God, *attesting that (Scripture) which is with them*, a part of those to whom the Book was given cast the book of God behind their backs, as if they knew not" (ii. 95). The commentator Baidāwī says: "Cast it away," i.e., they acted in respect of the testimony of the Taurāt to the Prophet as if they knew not that he was the true Prophet "and it *the book of God*." Again, "O ye people of the Book! why do ye deny the revelation of God, and yet ye are witnesses of the same?" (iii. 68). By the "revelation" is meant the Taurāt and the Injīl, which Musalmāns say foretold Muḥammad's advent as a Prophet of God. "And how shall they make thee judge, since they already know the Taurāt, *in which is the judgment of God?*" (v. 47). "And let the people of the Gospel judge according to that which is revealed therein, and whoso judgeth not according to that which *God hath revealed*, these are the wicked ones" (v. 51). "We also caused Jesus, the son

¹ Sir Syed Aḥmad, *Commentary on the Holy Bible*, vol. i, pp. 22, 31.

of Mary, to follow the footsteps of the prophets, confirming the law (Taurāt) which was sent before him, and We gave him the Injīl with its guidance and light, confirmatory of the preceding law; a guidance and a warning to those that fear God" (v. 50). "We believe in God, and that which hath been sent down to us, and that which hath been sent down to Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and the tribes, and that which hath been given to Moses and to Jesus, and that which was given to the prophets from their Lord. No difference do we make between any of them: and to God are we resigned" (ii. 130). "In truth hath He sent down to thee the Book, which confirmeth those that precede it, for He had sent down the Law and the Injīl aforetime as man's guidance; and now hath He sent down the Furqān" (iii. 2). Verily we have sent down the Law (Taurāt) wherein are guidance and light (v. 48).¹

Practically, Musalmāns reject the Old and New Testaments, and, as some reason for this neglect of previous Scriptures must be given, Muslim divines say that the Jewish and Christian Scriptures have been corrupted. The technical expression is "taḥrīf," a word signifying to change, to turn aside anything from the truth. Then taḥrīf may be of two kinds: taḥrīfu'l-ma'nawī a change in the meaning of words; taḥrīfu'l-lafzī, an actual change of the written words. Most Musalmāns maintain that the latter kind of corruption has taken place, and so they do not feel bound to read or study the previous revelations so frequently referred to in the Qur'ān. The charge brought against the Jews of corrupting their Scriptures is based on the following verse of the Qur'ān: "Some truly are there among

¹ It is said that this refers to Jews and Christians only, and that for Muslims all other religions are abrogated by the verse "Whoso desireth any other religion than Islām, that religion shall not be accepted from him" (iii. 79).

you who torture the Scriptures with their tongues, in order that ye may suppose it to be from the Scripture, yet it is not from the Scripture. 'And they say, 'This is from God,' yet it is not from God; and they utter a lie against God, and they know they do so" (iii. 72). All the ancient commentators assert that this only proved *tahrifu'l-ma'nawi*; that is, that the Jews referred to misinterpreted what they read, or, whilst professing to read from the Scripture, used expressions not found therein. It does not mean that they altered the text of their Scriptures.¹ This, however, does not excuse Musalmāns for their neglect of the previous Scriptures, and so the orthodox divines of modern times maintain that the greater corruption, the *tahrifu'l-lafzi*, has taken place. Yet the Qur'ān is said to be "confirmatory of previous Scriptures and their *safeguard*"² (v. 52). The question is fully discussed, and the opinion of the earlier commentators endorsed by Syed Ahmad in his "Commentary on the Bible."

4. PROPHETS.³—Muhammad al-Barkavi says:—

"It is necessary to confess that God has sent prophets; that Adam is the first of the prophets and Muhammad the last; that between Adam and Muhammad there were a great number of prophets; that Muhammad is the most excellent of all; that each of the preceding prophets was sent to a special people, some with books, some without, but that Muhammad was sent to all men and also to the genii; that

¹ "Muhammad rarely accused the Jews and Christians of corrupting, but often of misinterpreting their sacred books, in order to evade his claims. His charges, however, are vaguely worded and his utterances on this subject are tantamount to a strong testimony in favour of the unimpeachable integrity of the sacred books, both of the Jews and Christians so far as he knew them" (Rodwell's Qur'ān, p. 434). See also Sūras iii, 72; v. 16, 18, in which the charge is not that of altering the written text of the scriptures, but of hiding the truth.

² "It preserves them from change and witnesses to their correctness." Baidāwī, vol. i, p. 310.

³ The necessary qualifications of a prophet are faithfulness, sinlessness, truthfulness, intelligence.

his law will remain until the end of the world; that one night he was transported from Mecca to Jerusalem, and from thence to heaven, where he saw both Paradise and Hell, conversed with the Most High, and returned to Mecca before morning. After him no other prophet will come, for he is "the seal of the prophets" (xxxiii. 40).

Tradition records that there have been about two hundred thousand prophets. Twenty-five are mentioned by name in the Qur'ān, of whom six are distinguished by special titles. Adam, *Ṣāfiyu'llāh*, the chosen of God; Noah, *Nabīyu'llāh*, the prophet of God; Abraham, *Khalīlu'llāh*, the friend of God; Moses, *Kalīmu'llāh*, the one with whom God speaks; Jesus, *Rūḥu'llāh*, the spirit of God;¹ Muhammad, *Rasūlu'llāh* the messenger of God. These are called the *Anbiyā' Ūlū'l-'Azm*

¹ In the *Sūratu'l-Baqarah* (ii. 254,) we read, "We gave unto Jesus, the Son of Mary, manifest signs and strengthened him with the Holy Spirit" and in the same *Sūra*, verse 81, it is said, "and (We) gave evident miracles unto Jesus the Son of Mary and strengthened him by the Holy Spirit." The *Tafsīr-i-Husaini* interprets the words "Holy Spirit" to be "(1) pure soul, (2) Gabriel who was always near Jesus, (3) *Ismu'l-A'azm*, the great name, by the blessing of which the dead come to life, (4) *Injīl*, or Gospel, in which is found the freshness and hope of heart and soul." Most commentators, however, consider the 'Holy Spirit' to be Gabriel. Baidāwī says the miracles are those of raising the dead to life and of healing, knowledge of future things and the *Injīl*. As regards the Qur'ānic testimony to the divinity of Christ, Jesus is said to be the Word proceeding from God. "Remember when the angel said, 'O Mary! Verily God announceth to thee the Word from Him.'" (iii. 40.)

In *Sūratu'l-Anbiyā'* (xxi. 91.) the immaculate conception is thus taught; "and her who kept her maidenhood, and unto whom We breathed of Our spirit and made her and her son a sign to all creatures." In the *Sūratu'n-Nisā'* (iv. 169.) Jesus is spoken of as "His word which He conveyed into Mary and a spirit proceeding from Himself." In the *Tafsīr-i-Husaini* "His Word" is said to refer to the birth of Christ without any touching (coition), or *be-misās*. The *Khalāṣatu't-Tafsīr* says the words mean, "(1) that Christ was created by means of the word *kun*, (Be), or (2) the word which came to Mary by Gabriel." These and similar passages seem clearly to admit the divinity of Christ; but it is certain that Muhammad did not accept this doctrine, for the last verse quoted is followed by a strict injunction not to say there

(possessors of purpose) because they were the heads of their respective dispensations, and because they will be permitted by God to intercede in the day of judgment for their followers. They are the greatest and most exalted of the prophets.

There are degrees of rank amongst the prophets, for "Some of the Apostles have we endowed more highly than others.¹ Those to whom God hath spoken,² He hath raised to the loftiest grade, and to Jesus, the Son of Mary, We gave manifest signs, and We strengthened him with the Holy Spirit" (ii. 254). It is said that the "first appearance of prophetship was in Adam, and its perfection in the 'Seal of the prophets.'"³ In the "Mathnawí" of Jalálu'd-dín Rûmí it is said—

"The name of Aḥmad includes the names of prophets all,
Just as one hundred, when received, includes ninety all."

are three gods. Muḥammad ignorantly supposed the Holy Trinity to consist of God, Jesus and Mary. The Qur'án also inveighs against the idea of a divine sonship in Súratu't-Taubah (ix. 30): Súratu Maryam (xix. 36); Súratu'z-Zukhruf (xlili. 59). There is much inconsistency in the teaching of the Qur'án on this subject. The explanation of it is probably that Muḥammad used the expressions about the person of Christ current among the Christians, either to commend his teaching to them, or simply because he himself did not understand their full import. In the Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv. 169), Jesus is called "Apostle of God and His Word—Kalimatuhu (كَلِمَتُهُ) i.e., the word, not Kalimatu (كَلِمَة),

a word. Thus the Qur'án recognises Jesus as the one expression of God's Will. The crucifixion of Christ is denied in Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv. 156). Muḥammad borrowed this idea from the Manichæans. See on this point Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, p. 162.

¹ It is said that prophets in their previous existence, (as spirits) declared their submission to Muḥammad and were in this world merely his representatives. This, however, is contrary to the verses, "We make no difference between them" (iii. 78); "We make no distinction between any of His Apostles" (ii. 285).

² Moses at Sinai and Muḥammad in the night of the Mi'rāj. (Baidáwí, vol. i, p. 130). Some say to the Anbiyá' Ūlū'l-'Azm also.

³ "Our Prophet is the seal of the Apostles, and his law will not be abrogated till time is fulfilled. And Isa (Jesus), after his descent, will judge according to the law of our Prophet. It is said that he

Traditions, as usual, support this position. "I am the chief of the sons of men." "Adam and all beside him will be ranged under my flag in the judgment-day." 'There will be no prophet after me.' It is said that the law given by Moses was harsh and severe; that by Christ, was mild and gracious; but that the law given by Muḥammad is perfect, for it combines both the quality of strictness and that of graciousness; according to the Tradition: "I always laugh and by laughing kill." Each prophet is said to have been sent to his own tribe, but Muḥammad was sent for all men. A Tradition states: "I was raised up for all men whether white or black, other prophets were not, except for their own tribe."

Many Sunnis hold that prophets are superior to angels, and sometimes quote the verse, "Verily, God chose Adam and Noah and the family of Abraham and the family of Imrán out of the worlds" (iii. 30), as a proof of it.¹ The Mu'tazilas say that the angels are superior to the prophets. Al-Jubbá'í, a Mu'tazila, quotes the verse, "Neither do I say unto you, 'Verily I am an angel'" (vi. 50), to prove that prophets are inferior. Qáḍi 'Abdu'l-Jubbár in his commentary denies this, and says that al-Jubbá'í interprets the words as if Muḥammad meant that he had not the *glory and dignity* of an angel, whereas all that he meant to declare was that he had not the *rank* of an angel, because, as a matter of fact, his glory was greater.² The Shí'ahs assert that the twelve Imáms are superior to prophets. There is also a Tradition which says,

will take it from the Qur'án and the Sunnat." Al-Fudáḥ, quoted in Macdonald's *Muslim Theology*, p. 345.

¹ Baidáwí, vol. i, p. 152.

² "The Apostles of mankind are more excellent than the Apostles of the angels; and the Apostles of the angels are more excellent than the generality of mankind; and the generality of mankind of the true believers is more excellent than the generality of the angels." (An-Nasáfi, quoted by Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 315.)

"The 'Ulamá of my faith are as the prophets of the children of Israel."

Ibn Khaldūn (vol. i., pp. 196—205) gives a very interesting account of prophetic inspiration. He speaks somewhat as follows. If we contemplate the world and the creatures it contains, we shall recognise a perfect order, a regular system, a sequence of cause and effect, a connection between different categories of existence, and a transformation of beings from one category of existence to another. Then the phenomena of the visible world indicate to us the existence of an agent whose nature is different from that of the body, who is, in fact, a spiritual existence. This agent, which is the soul, must, on the one hand, be in contact with the existences of this world, and, on the other, with the existences of the next category of superiority, and one whose essential qualities are pure perception and clear intelligence. Such are the angels. It follows, then, that the human soul has a tendency towards the angelic world. All this is quite in accordance with the idea that, according to a regular order, all the categories of existences in the universe are in mutual contact by means of their faculties and on account of their nature.

The souls of men may be divided into three classes. The first kind of soul is too feeble by nature to attain to a perception of the spiritual: it has to content itself with moving in the region of sense and imagination. Thus it can understand concepts and affirmations. It can raise itself high in its own category, but cannot pass its limit.

The souls of the second class are carried by a reflective movement and a natural disposition towards a spiritual intelligence. They can enter into a state of contemplation which results in ecstasy. This is the intuition of the saints (*Auliya'*),¹ to whom God has given this divine knowledge.

¹ That the "*Auliya'*" are distinguished above ordinary mortals is

The souls of the third class are created with the power of disengaging themselves altogether from their human bodies in order that they may rise to the angelic state, where they become like angels. In a moment of time such a soul perceives the sublime company (of angels) in the sphere which contains them. It there and then hears the speech of the soul and the divine voice. Such are the souls of the prophets. God has given to these souls the power of leaving the human body. Whilst thus separate from it, God gives to them His revelation. The prophets are endowed by God with such a purity of disposition, such an instinct of uprightness, that they are naturally inclined to the spiritual world. They are animated by an ardour quite peculiar to their order. When they return from the angelic state they deliver to men the revelations they have received. The journey to, the journey from the angelic state, and the comprehension of the revelation received there, occupy less time than the twinkling of an eye. So rapidly do the souls of prophets move. So instantaneously do they receive and understand God's revelations. This is why inspiration is called *wahī*, a word which, according to Ibn Khaldūn, means to make haste.

A *Nabī* (who must be a wise and a free man, that is, one who is not a slave of another, and one also who is free from imperfection either of body or mind) receives *wahī*, but has not necessarily to deliver to men the orders of God. A *Rasūl*, who must possess the same qualifications as a *Nabī*, is one who is commanded to deliver God's message to men, though he does not necessarily abrogate what preceding *Rasūls* have delivered. Some *Rasūls* do so, but the distinguishing mark of the *Rasūl* is that he delivers to men commands

maintained on the authority of: "Are not the friends (*auliya'*) of God those on whom no fear shall come, nor shall they be put to grief" (x. 63).

direct from God, and is specially commissioned so to do. Thus every Rasūl is a Nabī, whilst every Nabī is not a Rasūl.¹

The orthodox belief is that prophets are free from sin.² The Ash'arians believe that the power of sinning is not created in them. The Mu'tazilas deny this, but admit the existence of some quality which keeps them from evil. These theories do not agree with actual facts. Prophets, like other men, commit faults, but here comes in the Muslim distinction of sins into "great sins" (kabīra), and "little sins" (saghīra).³ The "great sins" are murder, adultery, disobedience to God and to parents, avoiding fighting against infidels, drunkenness, usury, neglecting the Friday prayers and the Ramadān fast, forgetting the Qur'ān after reading it, swearing falsely or by any other than God, magic, gambling, calling on the names of deceased persons and beating the breast at such times,⁴ dancing, music, disrespect to a Ḥafīz, shaving the beard, omitting to say the "darūd" (i.e., on whom and on whose family be the peace and mercy of God) whenever the name of Muḥammad is mentioned. These are all "great sins," and can only be forgiven after due repentance; the "little sins" are forgiven if some good actions are done. "Observe prayer at early morning, at the close of day, and at the approach of night; for the *good deeds*

¹ There is some dispute as to whether a woman can attain to the rank of prophets. The Ash'arians say she can, and mention as possible prophetesses the Virgin Mary, the wife of Pharaoh, Sarah, Hagar, and some add the names of Eve and of the mother of Moses.

² Some of the subsections of the Shī'ahs, in order to exalt the Imāms, hold that prophets can sin. The Hashāmīyah, for example, say: "The prophets sin, but the Imāms are pure" (Shahrastānī, *al-Mīlāl wa'n-Nihāl*, p. 142).

³ "To those who avoid great crimes and scandals, but commit only lighter faults, verily thy Lord will be diffuse of mercy" (liii. 33).

⁴ This is an orthodox blow at the Shī'ah practices in the month of Muḥarram. Shī'ahs consider this a good act.

drive away the evil deeds" (xi. 116). It is the universal belief that a prophet never commits the greater sins, but there is a difference of opinion with regard to the lesser sins. Some limit even this frailty to the period before waḥī comes upon them. The general opinion, however, is that the frailties which they show are merely faults and slight imperfections not amounting to sin.¹

This, to the Muslim mind, at once disposes of a difficulty the Qur'ān itself raises on this point. With the exception of Jesus Christ, the Anbiyā' Ūlū'l-'Azm are spoken of as doing what every one except an orthodox Muslim would call sin. Adam's transgression² is referred to in Sūra ii. 29-37, and in Sūra vii. 10-24. "They said, 'O our Lord! with ourselves have we dealt unjustly; if Thou forgive us not and have not pity on us, we shall surely be of those that perish.'" (vii. 22). The sin of Noah is plainly hinted at in "Unless Thou forgive me and be merciful to me, I shall be one of the lost" (xi. 49). There is a similar request in Sūra lxxi. 29. Abraham also is represented as saying, "When I am sick, He healeth me, and who will cause me to die and again quicken me, and who, I hope, will forgive me my sins in the day of reckoning" (xxvi. 80-82). Moses is described as having done "a work of Satan" in killing a man, and as saying, "'O my Lord, I have sinned to my own hurt; forgive me.' So God forgave him; for He is the forgiving, the merciful. He said: 'Lord, because Thou hast showed

¹ Klein, *Religion of Islām*, p. 73.

² It is said Adam's sin was a mere slip, but it brought good to the world. Had he remained in Paradise the world would not have been peopled; and the word of God, "I have not created men and jinns except for worship," would not have been fulfilled. It is also said that the sin of Adam was not like the sins of other men, and, that that which was forbidden to him outwardly, was commanded to him inwardly (منهين ظاهراً مأموراً بائناً), and that there was a secret understanding between him and God which we do not know.

me this grace, I will never again be the helper of the wicked'" (xxviii. 15, 16).

The following passages refer to Muḥammad. "Be thou steadfast and patient; for true is the promise of God; and seek pardon for thy sin" (xl. 57). Baidāwī says that this refers to his remissness in propagating Islām. According to the *Tafsīr-i-ibn 'Abbās*, it is "the deficiency in giving thanks for the blessings God bestowed on thee and thy Companions;" according to the *Tafsīr-i-Ḥusainī*, it is "that the Prophet as an act of worship sought pardon, and so rose to a high rank, or that he did it to set an example, according to his Tradition, 'I seek pardon seventy times daily;' ¹ or it means simply, 'Seek pardon for the sins of thy people.'" In reply to all these ingenious attempts to get rid of a very troublesome fact, it may be noted that the word used for the Prophet's sin (*ḍhanb*) is also used in describing the sin of ordinary people. Thus, "Others have owned their sins (*ḍhanb*)" (ix. 103). "But the wicked shall not be asked of their sins (*ḍhunūb*)" (xxviii. 78). The crime of Potiphar's wife is called *ḍhanb* (xii. 29). See also Sūras lv. 39; xli. 14, for the same use of this word.

"Ask pardon for thy sin, and for believers, both men and women" (xlvi. 21). Mu'ālim says that the Prophet was told to ask pardon for his sins, not because he had any sin, or really personally needed any pardon, but because, if he so asked, it would become a sunnat practice for the people. Thus each one can now say, "Pardon my sin." In the book known as "*Tibyān*" it is said that "seek pardon for thy sin" means "ask for purity, which will keep away sin."² Ibn 'Abbās quotes the verse, "Have We not opened thine heart for thee

¹ Another Tradition quoted by Ghazālī is, "I ask the Almighty for pardon and repent unto Him seventy times daily." For the original, see Klein, *Religion of Islām*, p. 73.

² These quotations are taken from the *Tafsīr-i-Ḥusainī*, vol. ii, p. 348.

and taken off from thee thy burden?" (xciv. 1-2), and says "thy burden" means "thy sin." A more common interpretation is to refer this to anxiety or to trouble of mind. The scandal caused by the Prophet's conduct with the wife of Zaid and with the Egyptian slave Mary necessitated a pretended revelation of God's will in reference to these events. The circumstances will be found fully detailed in Sūra xxxiii. 36-38, and in Sūra lxvi. 1-5. One of the most important verses is: "Verily, We have won for thee an undoubted victory, in token that God forgiveth thy earlier and later fault" (xlvi. 1-2). It is not quite clear what victory is here referred to.¹ Ḥusain and Baidāwī say that it is the taking of Mecca, the past tense being prophetically used for the future. The following explanations are given of the expression "earlier and later fault." (1) God has forgiven thy sin committed before and after the descent of waḥī, (2) before and after the taking of Mecca, or (3) before the descent of this Sūra. (4) Salmī says: "The earlier sin refers to the sin of Adam committed when Muḥammad was in the loins of his great ancestor and thus connected with him; the later sin refers to the followers of the Prophet, and in that way is connected with him, just as the sin of Adam was the predecessor and cause of their sin." (5) Imām Abū'l-Lais says: "The words refer to the sin of Adam, and to those of the followers of the Prophet. Both are connected with Muḥammad, because the former is forgiven by the blessing, and the latter by the intercession of Muḥammad."

Muslim and Bukhārī say that one day the Prophet said to his followers: "Not one of you shall enter Paradise except through the mercy of God," and was asked "Not even thou, O apostle of God?" He said "not even I." Abū Huraira says that he heard

¹ *Tafsīr-i-Ḥusainī*, vol. ii, p. 331; Baidāwī, vol. ii, p. 266.

Muḥammad say: "Verily, I ask God for pardon." It is said that Muḥammad felt such remorse for slight faults that he gave the serious name of sin to them. The reply to this plea is obvious, for, from a Muslim standpoint, the Qur'án is God's word and so it is God and not Muḥammad who speaks of Muḥammad's sin.

From the extracts from the Qur'án it appears that sin is imputed to the prophets, though Muslims evade the charge by the casuistry described. Still it is a striking fact that the one sinless member of the Anbiyá'—Úlú'l-'Azín, the one sinless prophet of Islám, is none other than the Lord Jesus Christ. There is no passage in the Qur'án which hints at sin, even in the modified form in which Muslims attribute it to other prophets, being committed by him: no passage which speaks of his seeking for pardon.

In the Traditions (Ṣaḥíḥu'l Bukhárí, vol. iii. 194) there is the same absence of any imputation of evil to Christ. Thus Muḥammad is reported to have said: "The people will be gathered together at the day of judgment and will say, 'If some one would only intercede for us with our Lord.' They will go to Adam and say, 'Thou art the father of men. God created thee with His own hand. Angels made sijda to thee and taught thee the names of everything. Intercede for us with thy Lord, so that we may be happy in one place.' Adam replied, 'I am not fit for this work for you,' and he remembered his sin (*dhanb*), and was ashamed. Then they went to Noah. Certainly he was the first prophet raised up by God for the ruler of the world. He replied, 'I am not fit for this work for you,' and remembered his questioning of God on that which was not for him to know. He will be ashamed and will say, 'Go to the friend of God.' They will then go to Abraham, who will say, 'I am not fit for this; go to Moses, to whom God spake and gave the Taurát.'

They will go to him, and he will say, 'I am not fit for it,' and will remember his killing a man, and will be ashamed, and will say, 'Go to Jesus, the servant of God and the messenger, the word of God and His spirit;' but Jesus will say, 'I am not fit for this; go to Muḥammad, the servant to whom God hath forgiven the former and the latter sin' (*dhanb*)."¹ In sharp contrast to the case of Muḥammad and the other prophets, all reference to sin is omitted in the case of Jesus.¹

It is the universal belief that prophets work miracles.² A miracle is defined to be "*Kharqu'l-'ádat*," that is, something contrary to the usual course of nature. The object for which a miracle is performed must be a moral one, and chiefly to attest the truth of the statements made by the prophet. Muḥammad makes, in the Qur'án, no distinct claim to the power of working miracles; on the contrary, he seems to disclaim such a power. The Quraish said: "By no means will we believe on thee till thou cause a fountain to gush forth for us from the earth; or till thou have a garden of palm-trees and grapes, and thou cause forth-gushing rivers to gush forth in its midst; or thou make the heaven to fall on us, as thou hast given out, in pieces; or thou bring God and the angels to vouch for thee, &c. Say, 'Am I more than a man, an Apostle?'" (xvii. 92-95). "The unbelievers say, 'Why hath not a sign been given him by his Lord?' Nay, but thou art only a warner, and unto every people hath been

¹ The Qur'án speaks of the immaculate and miraculous birth of Jesus Christ, "When God had given them a perfect child" (vii. 190). "Verily Jesus is as Adam in the sight of God. He created him of dust: He then said to him 'Be and he was'" (iii. 52). Thus, according to the Qur'án, neither Jesus nor Adam had a human father.

² Muslim theologians name seven characteristics of a true miracle. These definitions are given in Arabic and in English by Klein, *Religion of Islám*, p. 75.

given a guide" (xiii. 8).¹ The commentator Baidáwí says: "When the people demanded miracles such as those wrought by Moses and Jesus, Muḥammad is told that he is only a warner. The demand was withheld because it was made perversely and not with sincerity." "Nothing hindered Us from sending thee with the power of working miracles, except that the people of old treated them as lies" (xvii. 60). The reason here given is that such power was useless in the case of former prophets, a statement which scarcely accords with facts. Other passages on this point are Sūras vi. 37; vii. 204; xvii. 58; xix. 48. Former prophets, Muḥammad used to say, were sent to their own sect, but he was sent for all. Their miracles were confined to their own times. The Qur'án, the great miracle of Islám, was for all ages. He needed no other sign than this. But his followers maintain that in this, as in all other respects, he was equal to all and superior to some prophets, and produce various passages of the Qur'án in support of their view. Thus, according to Jalálu'd-dín as-Syutí, if to Adam was given the power of naming everything, Muḥammad also possessed the same power. Enoch was exalted on high, but Muḥammad was taken to the "Qába Qausain," the "two bows' length," where Gabriel, "one mighty in power," appeared to him (liii. 5-9). Ishmael was ready to be sacrificed, but Muḥammad endured the splitting of his chest;² Joseph was to some extent handsome, but

¹ These words occur in Sūratu'r R'ad, the last Sūra delivered at Mecca. To the Quraish who pressed him to give a miraculous sign the message came, "Whom God causeth to err, no guide shall there be for him. Chastisement awaiteth them in this present life and more grievous shall be the chastisement of the next" (xiii. 34). Thus with words of warning and threatening of eternal fire and everlasting punishment on those who rejected his claims, the Prophet left the city in which for thirteen long years he had preached and pleaded in vain.

² "Have We not opened thine heart for thee?" (xciv. 1). Tradition relates that when young, two angels cut open his breast and took out a black drop. Many other marvels are also connected with this event.

Muḥammad was the very perfection of beauty; Moses brought water from the rock, but Muḥammad produced it from his fingers. The sun was stayed in its course by Joshua, and so it was by Muḥammad. Solomon had a great kingdom, Muḥammad a greater, for he possessed the keys of the treasuries of the earth. Wisdom was given to John the Baptist whilst yet a child, so also were wisdom and understanding granted to Muḥammad at an early period of his life. Jesus could raise the dead,¹ so also could Muḥammad. In addition to all these, the special miracles of the Prophet are the splitting of the moon asunder (the truth of which Nizám, a Mu'tazila, denied), the mi'rāj, the coming of a tree into his presence, and above all the wonderful miracle of the Qur'án itself. The splitting of the moon asunder is referred to in "The hour of judgment approacheth, and the moon hath been split in sunder" (liv. i). The following accounts are given by Bukhárí—Mas'úd says: "The moon was split into two parts, one above the mountain, one under; and the Prophet said, 'Bear witness.'" 'Abdu'lláh says: "We were with the Prophet; the moon became two parts, and the Prophet said to us, 'Bear witness.'" Imám Záhíd says that Abú Jahl and a Jew visited the Prophet, and demanded a sign from him on pain of death. The Prophet made a sign with his little finger, and at once the moon separated into two parts, one of which remained in the sky, the other went off to a long distance. The Jew believed in Islám forthwith. Baidáwí says: "Some infidels asked the Prophet of God for a sign, then he split the moon." (vol. ii. p. 296). Some, however, refer the passage to the future, as they consider the splitting of the moon to

¹ The miracles said to have been performed by Jesus in his childhood (xix. 31-2: iii. 43) are called mu'jizát, the name given to miracles performed by a true prophet, for, even when a babe, he said: "He hath made me a prophet" (xix. 31).

be one of the signs of the last day. Some commentators on the verse, "When they (Meccans) see a sign, they fall to mocking" (xxxvii. 14), say the "sign" referred to is "the splitting of the moon or some such marvel."

The mi'rāj, or night ascent, is mentioned in "Glory be to Him who carried His servant by night from the sacred temple (of Mecca) to the temple that is more remote, whose precinct We have blessed, that We might show him of Our signs" (xvii. 1). Muslim writers, who are fond of the marvellous, narrate at length the wonderful things the Prophet saw and did on this eventful night; but some maintain that it was only a vision, and quote the words, "We ordained the vision which We showed thee," (xvii. 62) in proof of this assertion. Baidāwī supports this view¹ but also gives other explanations. The general consensus of opinion is on the side of a bodily migration. Be that as it may, all orthodox Muslims maintain the superiority of Muḥammad as a worker of miracles over all other prophets.²

5. THE RESURRECTION AND THE LAST DAY.—These two articles of the faith may be considered together. The following is a summary of the remarks of al-Barkavi on this point. It is necessary to acknowledge:—

1. That the torments of the tomb are real and certain, and that Munkar and Nakir will interrogate the dead person

¹ "All that Muḥammadans must believe respecting the mi'rāj is that the Prophet saw himself, in a vision, transported from Mecca to Jerusalem, and that in such a vision he really beheld some of the greatest signs of his Lord." (*Essays* by Syed Aḥmad, Essay vi, p. 34.) This, though a legitimate, is not, however, an orthodox opinion, which is, that he who denies an actual bodily migration from Mecca to Jerusalem is a kāfir (infidel), as he denies the statement of a "naṣṣ," or plain text of the Qur'ān. He who denies the ascension to heaven and the wonderful account of the night's proceedings preserved in the Traditions is a fāsiq (sinner), though he remains a Muslim.

² The miracle worked by a prophet is called mu'jiza; by a saint, karāmat; by an evil spirit or an opposer of God, istidrāj.

concerning his God, his Prophet, his faith, and his Qibla. The faithful will reply, "Our God is God; our Prophet is Muḥammad; our religion, Islām; our Qibla, the Ka'ba.

2. That all the signs of the last day mentioned by the Prophet will come to pass; such as the appearance of Dajjāl, or Antichrist; the descent of Jesus from heaven; the appearance of Imām Mahdi and of Gog and Magog; and the rising of the sun from the west.

3. That all living things will die; that the mountains will fly in the air like birds; that the heavens will melt away; that after some time has thus passed, God Most High will raise the dead; that prophets, saints, doctors of the law, and the faithful will find near them the robes and the horses of Paradise. They will put on the robes, and mount the horses, and go into the shade of the throne of God. Other men, hungry, thirsty and naked, will go on foot. The faithful will go to the right, the infidels to the left.

4. That there will be a balance, in which the good and bad actions of men will be weighed. Those whose good deeds outweigh the bad will go to Paradise; if the bad predominate, they will go into the fire, unless God has mercy on them, or the prophets or saints intercede for them. If, however, they were not Muslims, there will be no intercession for them, nor will they come out from the fire. The Muslims who enter the fire will, after having purged their crimes, enter Paradise.

5. That the bridge Širāt, which is sharper than a sword, is raised above the fire; that all men must pass over this. Some will pass over with the speed of lightning, some will go very slowly over; others will fall and certainly enter into the fire.

6. That each prophet has a pool where he, with his people, will quench their thirst before entering Paradise; that the pool of Muḥammad is the largest of all. Its water is sweeter than honey, whiter than milk.

7. That Paradise and Hell actually exist; that the chosen remain for ever in the former; they neither die nor grow aged. The Houris and the females are exempted from the

infirmities of their sex. They will no longer bear children. The elect will find there the meat and the drink they require, without taking upon themselves any trouble. The ground of Paradise is of musk; the bricks of its edifices are of gold and of silver.

The unbelievers and the demons will remain for ever in hell, tormented by serpents as thick as the neck of a camel, by scorpions as large as mules, by fire and by scalding water. Their bodies will burn till they become reduced to a coal, when God will revive them so that they may endure fresh torments. This will last for ever.

The following additional remarks are based on the *Sharḥ-i-‘Āqá'id-i-Jámí*. They fall under four heads:—

(1) The sounding of the trumpets. The Prophet said: "The last hour will not be till no one is found who calls on God." Then, "There shall be a blast on the trumpet, and all who are in the heavens and all who are in the earth shall expire, save those whom God shall vouchsafe to live. There shall be another blast on it, and lo! arising they shall gaze around them" (xxxix. 68). Abú Huraira relates that the Prophet, speaking of the trumpet, said: "After the creation of the heavens and the earth, God created the trumpet and gave it to Isráfíl, who, with his mouth placed to it, is ever looking up and waiting for the order to blow it. He will blow three times.¹ The first time, the blast of consternation, to terrify; the second, the blast of examination, to slay; the third, the blast of resurrection, to quicken the dead." Most persons believe that everything, save God and His attributes, will perish.

¹ Some commentators make no distinction between the first and second blast, as only two are distinctly mentioned in the *Qur'án*.

The place of assembly will be on earth, some say at Jerusalem, others a barren plain which affords no hiding place, but nothing definite is known beyond the words of the *Qur'án*: "On the day when the earth shall be changed into another earth, and the heavens also, men shall come forth unto God, the Only, the Victorious" (xiv. 49).

The resurrection of the body is thus proved: "They say, 'Who will bring us back?' Say: 'He who created you at first'" (xvii. 53). "'Who shall give life to bones when they are rotten?' Say: 'He shall give life to them who gave them being at first, for in all creation is He skilled'" (xxxvi. 79). "Man saith: 'What! after I am dead, shall I in the end be brought forth alive?' Doth not man bear in mind that We made him at first, when he was nought?" (xix. 68). "The infidels will say, 'Shall we indeed be restored as at first? What! when we have become rotten bones?' 'This then,' say they, 'will be a return to loss.' Verily, it will be but a single blast, and lo! they are on the surface of the earth" (lxxix. 10-14). "Is He not powerful enough to quicken the dead?" (lxxv. 40). This resurrection will be to judgment. "'Never,' say the unbelievers, 'will the hour come upon us.' Say: 'Yea, by my Lord who knoweth the unseen, it will surely come upon you, . . . to the intent that God may reward those who have believed, . . . but, as for those who aim to invalidate Our signs, a chastisement of painful torment awaiteth them'" (xxxiv. 3, 4). "A terrible chastisement doth await them on the Day when faces shall turn white and faces shall turn black. 'What! after your belief have ye become infidels? Taste, then, the chastisement for that ye have been unbelievers.' And as to those whose faces shall have become white, they shall be within the mercy of God" (iii. 102).

The Prophet did not know the time when all this would take place. "They will ask thee of the 'Hour,' when will be its fixed time? But what knowledge hast thou of it? Its period is known only to thy Lord; and thou art charged with the warning of those who fear it" (lxxix. 41-45). According to the *ijmá'* of the Faithful, he who has any doubts on this article of the faith is an infidel. The *Mu'tazilas* show from

reason that a resurrection of the body is necessary in order that rewards and punishment may be bestowed. The orthodox agree with the conclusion, but hesitate to base it on reason.

The learned are not agreed as to the state of the soul during the time when the body is dead, and therefore disagree with regard to its revival. Some assert that it is wrong to speak of a resurrection of the soul, for it exists in the body as "fire in coal," hence its revival is included in the resurrection of the body; others maintain that, as it is a distinct entity, it is not annihilated with the body. The scholastics favour the first idea. Practically the result seems the same in both cases. The resurrection body had a soul. Wise and foolish, devils and beasts, insects and birds—all will arise at the last day. This is according to the Tradition: "He will raise up animals at the last day to receive reward, and to show His perfection and His justice. Then the hornless goat will be revenged on the horned one. At length God will say to all the animals, 'Turn again to dust,' and to dust they will return." Muḥammad will come first in order, and be the first to enter Paradise.

(2) The descent of the Books. After the resurrection men will wander about for forty years, during which time the books which contain the record kept by the recording angels will be given up. Men will rise up naked and confused; some will walk about, some stand for forty years, looking up towards the heavens (i.e., expecting the books). They will perspire profusely through excess of sorrow. Then God will say to Abraham, "Put on clothes." He will put on a robe of Paradise. The Prophet said: "I will also put on a dress, and will stand near the throne, where no one else will be allowed to stand, and God will say: 'Ask and it shall be granted to thee; intercede, thy intercession shall be accepted.'" Each book flies from the treasury under the Throne of God, and is given to

its proper owner.¹ "Every man's fate have We fastened about his neck; and on the day of resurrection will We bring forth to him (every man) a book which shall be proffered to him wide open: 'Read thy book; there needeth none but thyself to make out an account against thee this day'" (xvii. 14). A portion of verse 78 of Súra xxviii., "But the wicked shall not be asked of their crimes," seems to contradict this; but commentators say that this verse simply means that God knows all,² or that their sinfulness will appear on their foreheads. "One day We will summon all men with their leaders (Imáms). They whose books shall be given into their right hands, shall read their book, and not be wronged a thread" (xvii. 73). "He into whose right hand his book shall be given shall be reckoned with an easy reckoning, and shall turn rejoicing to his kindred. But he whose book shall be given behind his back (i.e., into his left hand) shall invoke destruction"³ (lxxxiv. 8-11). "He who shall have his book given into his left hand will say: 'O that my book had never been given me, and that I had not known my reckoning'" (lxix. 25). But the command goes forth, "Lay hold of him and chain him; then at the hell-fire burn him" (lxix. 30). It is said that wicked Musalmáns will be seized by the right hand before they are cast into the fire, which is held a proof that they are not always to remain there. Some consider that the expression "Read thy book" implies a literal reading; others, that it is a metaphorical expression, which simply means that all the past actions will be known. Those who believe in a literal reading say

¹ The books of the wicked are kept in Sijjín, a prison in Hell (lxxxiii. 7-10); the registers of the righteous are kept in Illiyún, a lofty apartment in Paradise (lxxxiii. 18).

² "God knows all their sins and certainly will punish them" (Baidáwí, vol. ii, p. 89).

³ The former are called Ashábu'l-Yamín, men of the right; the latter, Ashábu'sh-Shimál, men of the left.

that each believer will read the account of his faults only, and that other persons will read that of his good deeds. The face of the believer as he reads will shine resplendently, but black will be the face of the infidel.

(3) The Balances. This belief is based on the authority of the Qur'án, Sunnat, and the Ijmá'; no Muslim, therefore, can have any doubt about it. Thus: "They whose balances shall be heavy shall be the blest; but they whose balances shall be light, these are they who shall lose their souls, abiding in hell for ever" (xxiii. 104). "They whose balances shall be heavy, these are they who shall be happy; and they whose balances shall be light, these are they who have lost their souls, for that to Our signs they were unjust" (vii. 7, 8). "As to him whose balances are heavy, his shall be a life that shall please him well: and as to him whose balances are light, his dwelling-place shall be the pit. And who shall teach thee what the pit (al-Háwiya) is? A raging fire!" (ci. 5-8). Prophets and angels and, according to some authorities, believers will be exempt from this trial. This test is not required for the unbelievers, for their state is very evident: "By their tokens shall the sinners be known, and they shall be seized by their forelocks and their feet" (lv. 41). "Vain, therefore, are their works, and no weight will we allow them on the day of resurrection" (xviii. 105).¹ Some, however, say that all that is here denied is the fact of "a weighing in their favour." The place where the weighing will take place is situated midway between heaven and hell. Gabriel, standing by, watches the movement of the scales, and Michael guards the balance. There is a difference of opinion as to whether the works themselves, or the books will then be weighed.

¹ See also Sûras, xxi. 48; xlii. 16. Muḥammad probably got this idea from an apocryphal work, *The Testament of Abraham*, published in *Text and Studies*, vol. ii, No. 2. Copious extracts from this are given in Tisdall's *Religion of the Crescent*, Appendix: c, pp. 241-249.

Tirmidhí says: "The Prophet said: 'Ninety-nine registers will be distributed. God will say: 'What! dost thou deny this, or have the recording angels treated thee unjustly?' Each will say: 'No, O Lord.' 'Hast thou then any excuse?' 'No, O Lord.' Then God will display a cloth on which the Kalima is written. This will be put into one scale, and God will say: 'To thee will be no evil if thou hast a register in one scale and this cloth in the other, for the first scale will be light.'" This is considered conclusive testimony with regard to the weighing of the books. The Mu'tazilas objected to statements such as these, for said they, "Actions are accidents, and the qualities of lightness and heaviness cannot be attributed to accidents." They explained the verses of the Qur'án, and the statements of the Traditions on this point, as being a figurative way of saying that perfect justice will be done to all in the day of judgment. To this the orthodox reply, that "it is not known *how* God will do this (i.e., the weighing of the books), but this ignorance does not make God's actions vain."¹

(4) The Bridge. The literal meaning of the word Širát² is a road, a way. "If We pleased, We would

¹ Al-Ghazālī says that the good Muslim "should believe in the Balance with the two scales and the tongue, the magnitude of which is like unto the stages of the heaven and the earth. In it deeds are weighed by the power of God Most High; and its weights in that day will be of the weight of motes and mustard seeds, to show the exactitude of its justice. The leaves of the good deeds will be placed in a beautiful form in the scale of light; and then the balance will be weighed down by them according to the measure of their degree with God, by the grace of God. And the leaves of evil deeds will be cast in a vile form into the scale of darkness, and the balance will be light with them, through the justice of God." (*Iḥyá' 'ulūmu'd-dīn*, quoted by Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 306).

² Muḥammad was indebted to Zoroastrianism for this idea. The ancient Persians called this bridge or road over hell the Chinavat. The word Širát does not come from an Arabic root (Tisdall, *Religion of the Crescent*, p. 173). In II Esdras vii. 7, 8, the entrance to the city is described as "narrow and set in a dangerous place to fall, like as if there

surely put out their eyes: yet even then would they speed on with rivalry in their path (Ṣirāt)" (xxxvi. 66). "Gather together those who have acted unjustly, and their consorts (demons), and the gods whom they have adored beside God, and guide them to the road (Ṣirāt) for hell" (xxxvii. 23). It is not called a bridge in the Qur'ān, but Tradition so calls it. The Prophet said: "There will be a bridge sharper than the edge of a sword, finer than a hair, suspended over hell. Some will pass over it in the twinkling of an eye, some like a flash of lightning, others with the speed of a swift horse. The angels will call out, 'O Lord! save and protect.' Some Muslims will be saved, some will fall headlong into hell, and afterwards be released." The infidels will all fall into hell and there remain for ever. Al-Ghazālī says, "it is a bridge stretched over the back of Hell, sharper than a sword, finer than a hair. The feet of the unbelievers slip upon it, by the decree of God and fall with them into the fire; but the feet of believers stand firm upon it, by the grace of God, and so they pass into the Abiding Abode."¹ The Mu'tazilis deny the existence of such a bridge. "If we admit it," say they, "it would be a trouble for the believers, and such there is not for them in the day of judgment." To this the orthodox reply that the believers pass over it to show how they are saved from fire, and that thus they may be delighted with Paradise, and also to annoy the infidels.²

were a fire on the right hand and one on the left. A deep water and one only path between them both that there could but one man only go there at once."

¹ *Iḥyā' 'ulūmū'd-dīn*, quoted by Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 306.

² Some theologians say that the words, "No one is there of you who shall not go down unto it . . . then will We deliver those who had the fear of God." (xix. 72, 73) refer to the passing over ṣirāt in safety, but the general opinion is that believers will enter hell and that that these verses refer to their so doing. But in any case they will go through very rapidly and the heat will be lessened whilst they are

Al-A'raf is situated between heaven and hell. It is described thus: "On (the wall) al-A'raf shall be men who know all by their tokens,¹ and they shall cry to the inhabitants of Paradise, 'Peace be on you!' but they shall not yet enter it, although they long to do so. And when their eyes are turned towards the inmates of the fire, they shall say, 'O our Lord! place us not with offending people'" (vii. 44, 45). Sale thus sums up the opinions regarding al-A'raf:

"They call it Al Orī, and more frequently in the plural Al Arāf, a word derived from the verb Arafa, which signifies to distinguish between things, or to part them; though some commentators give another reason for the imposition of this name, because, say they, those who stand on this partition will know and distinguish the blessed from the damned by their respective marks or characteristics: and others say the word properly intends anything that is high, raised or elevated, as such a wall of separation must be supposed to be. Some imagine it to be a sort of limbo for the patriarchs and prophets, or for the martyrs and those who have been most eminent for sanctity.² Others place here such whose good and evil works are so equal that they

passing. An anecdote related by Jalālū'd-dīn Rūmī throws some light on the meaning of the verses. "A monk once said to Jalālū'd-dīn, 'as all come to the fire of hell, in what way is Islām superior to Christianity?' For a while he was silent and then went to the city. I followed. We entered a bake-house. He took my black cassock, wrapped it in his own cloak and cast both into the heated oven. A great smoke came forth. He said to me, 'behold'! The baker drew forth the cloak and put it on the saint. It was exquisitely clean, whereas my cassock was so burnt that it fell into pieces. Then he said, 'thus shall we enter therein and thus shall you enter.'" (Translation of the first book of the *Mathnawī* by Redhouse, ed. London, 1881, p. 87.)

¹ As regards the children of infidels, some say that they are placed in al-A'raf, and others that they are sent to hell. The best authorities say that they go to heaven.

² They will know the inhabitants of Paradise by their whiteness, and the people of Hell by the blackness of their faces. (Baidāwī, and the people of Hell by the blackness of their faces. (Baidāwī, vol. i, p. 826.) The idea is Jewish. (See Tisdall's *Sources of the Qur'ān*, p. 124.)

exactly counterpoise each other, and therefore deserve neither reward nor punishment; and these, say they, will on the last day be admitted into Paradise, after they shall have performed an act of adoration, which will be imputed to them as a merit, and will make the scale of their good works to overbalance. Others suppose this intermediate space will be a receptacle for those who have gone to war without their parents' leave, and therein suffered martyrdom; being excluded from Paradise for their disobedience, and escaping hell because they are martyrs."¹

There is also an interval between the death of the body in this world and the Last Day, called al-Barzakh. "Behind them shall be a barrier (barzakh), until the day when they shall be raised again" (xxiii. 102). When death takes place, the soul is separated from the body by the Angel of Death; in the case of the good with ease, in that of the wicked with violence. It then enters into al-Barzakh.²

The Mushrik, one who ascribes plurality to God, will remain in hell for ever, for as kufr, infidelity, is an eternal crime, its punishment must also be eternal. "The unbelievers among the people of the Book, and among the Polytheists, shall go into the fire of Gehenna, to abide therein for aye. Of all creatures are they the worst" (xcviii. 5). "Cast into hell every infidel, every hardened one, the hinderer of the good, the transgressor, the doubter who set up other gods with God. Cast ye him into the fierce torment" (l. 23-25).

Muslims who commit great sins, though they die unrepentant, will not remain in hell for ever, for "who-soever shall have wrought an atom's weight of good shall behold it" (xcix. 7). It is asserted that the fact of believing in Islām is a good work and merits a reward. Baiḍāwī says that the teaching of the verse,

¹ Sale's *Qur'ān*, Preliminary Discourse, Section iv.

² For some curious opinions with regard to the state of the soul there, see Sale's *Qur'ān*, Preliminary Discourse, Section iv.

"Every soul shall be paid what it wrought" (iii. 24), is that "Service done is not lost. The believer will not be left in hell for ever, because, as the reward for his faith and his works cannot be paid in hell or before he enters it, it can only be given after he is released from it."¹ Al-Ghazālī says, "there will not remain in Hell an attester of God's Unity . . . there shall not abide eternally in the fire a single believer."² Perfect faith consists in believing with sincerity of heart and acting in accordance thereto, but the actions are not the faith itself. Great sins prevent a man from having 'perfect faith,' but do not destroy faith, nor make the Muslim an infidel, but only a sinner.³ The Mu'tazilas teach that the Muslim who enters hell will remain there for ever, that the person who, having committed great sins, dies unrepentant, though not an infidel, ceases to be a believer, and hence suffers as the infidels do, though the punishment is lighter than that which an infidel receives. Al-Ash'arī says:—"The sinner who dies unrepentant is at the mercy of God, but the Prophet will intercede for him, as he said, 'My intercession is for those among my people who commit great sins.'"
"At last they enter Paradise, and, whilst being punished, they must not be in the same fire as the infidels. He in whose heart is one atom of faith cannot be finally lost." "If any man should repent,

¹ Baiḍāwī, vol. i, p. 150.

² *Iḥyā' 'ulūmū'd-dīn*, quoted by Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 307.

³ "A great sin does not exclude the creature who believes from the belief (imān) and does not make him an unbeliever. And God does not forgive him who joins another with Himself, but he forgives anything beneath that to whom He wills, of sins small or great" (An-Nasafi). "It must be believed that falling into great sins, other than unbelief (kufr), does not involve unbelief; but repentance from the sin is necessary at once. Repentance is not injured by returning to sin; but for the new sin a new repentance is necessary." (Al-Fudālī.) The quotations are from Macdonald's *Muslim Theology*, pp. 311-349.

I (Ash'arī) do not by my reason say, 'God must pardon him;' but so it is revealed."¹

The orthodox belief is that Muḥammad is now an intercessor, and will be so at the Last Day. This intercession is of several kinds. (1) The "great intercession," to which the words "It may be that thy Lord will raise thee to a glorious station" (xvii. 81) are supposed to refer. The "glorious station" is said to be the place of intercession, in which all persons will praise the Prophet. The people will be in great fear. Muḥammad will say, "O my people! I am appointed for intercession." Their fear will then pass away. (2) Intercession is made so that they may enter into Paradise without rendering an account. The authorities differ with regard to this. (3) Intercession is on behalf of those Muslims who ought to go to hell. (4) It is for those who are already there. No one but the Prophet can make these intercessions. (5) Intercession is for an increase of rank to those who are in Paradise. The Mu'tazilas, however, maintained that there would be no intercession for Muslims guilty of great sins, and quoted the verse, "Fear ye the day when soul shall not satisfy for soul at all, nor shall any ransom be taken, neither shall they be helped" (ii. 45).² The orthodox bring in reply this Tradition: "The Prophet said, 'My intercession is for the men of my following who have committed great sins.'" If this Tradition is disputed, they then say that the verse in the Qur'án just quoted does not refer to Muslims at all, but to the infidels. The orthodox hold that the Prophet will intercede for Muslims who commit the greater sins, and quote: "Who is he that can intercede with Him but by His own permission?"

¹ Shahrastání, *al-Milal wa'n-Nihál*, p. 73.

² Súra, xix. 35. "Each of them shall come to Him, on the day of Judgment singly," seems to bear on this point. The commentators say it means "be yár wa madadgár"—without friend or helper.

(ii. 256). This verse, however, only proves that intercession may be "by permission," not that Muḥammad is an intercessor in his own right. According to a Tradition related by Anas, the Prophet said, "In the day of resurrection Musalmáns will not be able to move; they will be greatly distressed and say, 'Would to God that we had asked Him to create some one to intercede for us, that we might be taken from this place, and be delivered from tribulation and sorrow.'" The Tradition goes on to state how they sought help from Adam and the prophets of the old dispensation, who one and all excused themselves on account of their own sinfulness. Jesus, it is said, will decline, because men have worshipped him as God. "Then," said the Prophet, "the Musalmáns will come to me, and I will ask permission to go into God's presence and intercede for them."

The second advent of Christ is a sign of the last day. "Jesus is no more than a servant whom We favoured . . . and he shall be a sign of the last hour" (xliii. 61).¹ He will not, according to the Qur'án, come as a judge, but, like other prophets, to be judged.² "We formed with them (i.e., prophets) a strict covenant, that God may question the men of truth as to their truth (i.e., how they discharged their prophetic functions)" (xxxiii. 7, 8). He will come to bear witness against the Jews who reject him:³ "In the day of resurrection, He will be a witness against them" (iv. 158).

¹ Other signs are the appearance of al-Mahdí, of al-Dajjal or Antichrist, of al-Dabba, the beast, the decay of faith on the earth, tumults and seditions, war with the Greeks and Romans, great distress, the refusal of the inhabitants of Iraq and Syria to pay tribute, the appearance of Gog and Magog and the rising of the sun from the west.

² Aḥmad bin Ḥayaf, a Mu'tazila, taught that Christ would judge men at the last day. (Shahrastání, *al-Milal wa'n-Nihál*, p. 42.)

³ It is believed that he will descend near the mosque at Damascus, at the time of afternoon prayer; that he will act as Imám in public devotions, live for forty years on earth and be buried at Madína. Peace and prosperity will abound during these forty years.

It is necessary to believe in the pond of the Prophet called *Haud*,¹ full of sweet and refreshing water, filled by the river *Kauthar* which flows from under the throne of God. This faith is founded on the verse "Truly We have given thee an abundance (*kauthar*)" (cviii. 1; xlvii. 16). Bukhārī says, "The meaning of *kauthar* is the 'abundance of good' which God gives to the Prophet." Baidāwī says it refers to the abundance of knowledge, good actions, and honour in this world and the next possessed by the Prophet.²

There are many degrees of felicity in heaven to which the believers are admitted. The Prophet, according to Tirmidhī, said there were one hundred. Some of these may possibly be meant by the eight names they give to Paradise. (1) *Jannatu'l-Khuld*. "Say: Is this, or the Garden of Eternity which was promised to the God-fearing, best?" (xxv. 16). (2) *Jannatu's-Salām*. "For them is a Dwelling of Peace with their Lord" (vi. 127). (3) *Dāru'l-Qarār*. "The life to come is the Mansion which abideth" (xl. 42). (4) *Jannatu'l-Adan*. "To the Faithful, both men and women, God promiseth gardens and goodly mansions in the Garden of Eden" (ix. 73). (5) *Jannatu'l-mā'wa*. "Near which is the Garden of Repose" (liii. 15). (6) *Jannatu'n-Na'im*. "Amid delights shall the righteous dwell" (lxxxii. 13). (7) *Jannatu'l-Ilīyūn*. "The register of the righteous is in Ilīyūn" (lxxxiii. 18). (8) *Jannatu'l-Firdaus*. "Those who believe and do the things that are right, they shall have the Gardens of Paradise for their abode" (xviii. 107).

Hell has seven divisions. "Verily hell (*Jahannam*) is the promise for them one and all; it hath seven

¹ "Whoever drinks of it a single draught will never thirst again thereafter. Its breadth is a journey of a month; its water is whiter than milk and sweeter than honey; around it are ewers like the stars of heaven; into it flow two canals from al-Kauthar" (*Ghazālī, Ihya' 'ulūmu'd-dīn*, quoted by Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 306).

² Baidāwī, vol. ii, p. 419.

portals, and at every door there is a separate party of them" (xv. 44). The Qur'ān, though it mentions the names of these divisions, does not state what classes of persons will be sent to each; but Muslim commentators have supplied the needed information.¹ They classify them thus:—(1) *Jahannam*, for sinners who die without repentance. This includes Muslims, for "There is not one of you who will not go down to it (hell)" (xix. 72). (2) *Laza*, for the infidels (i.e., Christians). "For *Laza*, dragging him by the scalp, shall claim him," &c. (lxx. 15-17). (3) *Hutamah*, a fire for Jews, and according to some for Christians (civ. 4). (4) *Sa'ir*, for devils, the descendants of Iblīs, for "Those who devour the property of orphans unjustly only devour into their bellies fire, and they broil in *Sa'ir*" (iv. 11). (5) *Saqar*, for the Magians; also for those who neglect prayer. "Taste ye the touch of saqar" (liv. 47 7: lxxiv. 44). (6) *Jahīm*, a boiling caldron for idolaters; also for Gog and Magog. "Thou shalt not be questioned as to the followers of al-Jahīm" (ii. 113). (7) *Hāwiya*, a bottomless pit for hypocrites that is, all those who outwardly professed Islām and inwardly were infidels. They were called *Munāfiqūn*. "As for him whose balance is light, his dwelling shall be *Hāwiya*" (ci. 7). It is said that heaven has one division more than hell, to show that God's mercy exceeds His justice.

At the last day hell will be brought to the seat of judgment. "And hell on that day shall be moved up" (xxxix. 24). In the *Tafsīr-i-Ḥusainī* it is said that seventy thousand angels with seventy thousand chains will hoist heaven up. The commentator Ibn 'Abbās, with most others, believes that this passage is to be interpreted literally.

¹ There is nothing in the Qur'ān to justify this classification of those who go to hell. The Qur'ān simply says that a separate party will be at each door.

The Mu'tazilas say that heaven and hell are not in existence now, but will be created after the day of judgment; for they maintain that if both are now in existence, they must be destroyed with the heavens and the earth at the last day. The orthodox declare that both do exist now, and quote this verse: "There shall be a blast on the trumpet, and all who are in the heavens and on the earth shall expire, save those whom God shall vouchsafe to live" (xxxix. 68). The "those whom" are said to be those in heaven and in hell, and therefore heaven and hell must exist now, as well as then. Again we read: "Near the Sidra tree which marks the boundary near which is the Garden of Repose" (Jannatu'l-Má'wa)¹ (liii. 14). The Mu'tazilas say for "Jannat" we should read "Janáh"—a wing—which by metonymy stands for Gabriel, and so there is no reference to heaven at all. The orthodox reply that no Qárí has ever adopted the reading Janáh for Jannat. The usual belief is that the statements in the Qur'an and the Traditions regarding the pleasures of Paradise are to be taken literally.²

¹ "A place for the God-fearing, or for the souls of martyrs" (Baidáwí, vol. ii, p. 293). Ibn 'Abbás says it is the place where Gabriel dwells.

² Syed Amír 'Alí in *The Spirit of Islām*, p. 394, says, "The descriptions are realistic, in some places almost sensuous; but to say that they are sensual, or that Muḥammad, or any of his followers, even the ultra-literalists accepted them as such is a calumny." Such an explanation commends itself to Muslims of high moral tone, especially where, as in India, they have been influenced by Western culture and Christian thought, but it is difficult to believe that Muḥammad so intended his words to be taken, or that his hearers so understood them. Muḥammad's mind was intensely practical and not in the least given to mysticism. The punishments of hell are material, no orthodox Commentator, so far as I know, attempts to allegorise them; why then should the material joys of paradise be set aside. An argument for the allegorical view is based on the fact that the descriptions of a voluptuous paradise are given at a time when Muḥammad was living a chaste and temperate life with a single wife. For a discussion of this point, see my *Historical Development of the Qur'an*, pp. 26-7.

6. THE PREDESTINATION OF GOOD AND EVIL.—I have in the section in which the attribute "will" is described given some account of the dogmatic statements concerning the doctrine of predestination; but as it always forms a distinct chapter in Musalmán books, I treat it separately here. It is only necessary now to make a short extract from al-Barkaví's dogmatic statement concerning predestination. He says:—

"It is necessary to confess that good and evil take place by the predestination and predetermination of God; that all that has been and all that will be was decreed in eternity and written on the preserved table;¹ that the faith of the believer, the piety of the pious and good actions are foreseen, willed, predestinated, decreed by the writing on the preserved table, produced and approved by God; that the unbelief of the unbeliever, the impiety of the impious and bad actions come to pass with the fore-knowledge, will, predestination and decree of God, but not with His satisfaction and approval. Should any ask why God willeth and produceth evil, we can only reply that He may have wise ends in view which we cannot comprehend."

There are three well-defined schools of thought on this subject of predestination:—

First, The Jabarians, so called from the word "jabr," compulsion, deny all free agency in man,² and say that man is necessarily constrained by the force of God's eternal and immutable decree to act as he does.³ They

¹ This, the Lauḥu'l-Maḥfúz, is referred to in Súra lxxxv. 22, as that on which the Qur'an is written. In Súra xxxvi. 11, the actions of men are said to be written in "the clear book of our decrees." This is called the Imámu'l-Mubín, "the clear prototype."

² "The honour of man lies in being under compulsion, not in having a share in free will." (*Gulshan-i-Ráz*, p. 56.)

³ "The Prophet of God said that Adam and Moses (in the world of spirits) maintained a debate before God, and Adam got the better of Moses, who said, 'Thou art that Adam whom God created and breathed into thee His own spirit, and made the angels bow down before thee, and placed thee in Paradise; after which thou threwest man upon the earth, from the fault which thou didst commit.' Adam replied, 'Thou

hold that as God is the absolute Lord, He can, if He so wills, admit all men into paradise or cast all into hell. This sect is one of the branches of the Ash'arīans, with whom on most points they agree. There are several subdivisions of the Jabarīan sect; those who say man has absolutely no power at all over his actions; those who say he has the power, but cannot exercise it, and those who, like the Ash'arīans, hold the dogma of kasb.

Secondly, The Qadarīans, who deny al-qadar, or God's absolute decree, say that evil and injustice ought not to be attributed to God, but to man, who is altogether a free agent. This sect is generally considered to be a branch of the Mu'tazila body, though in reality it existed before Wāṣil (died A.H. 131) quitted the school of his master Ḥasan. As Wāṣil, however, followed the opinions of Ma'badu'l-Juhani (died A.H. 80), the leading Qadarīan divine, the Mu'tazilas and Qadarīans are now practically one and the same.

Thirdly, The Ash'arīans maintained that God has one eternal will, which is applied to whatsoever He willeth, both of His own actions and those of men; that He willeth that which He knoweth and what is written on the preserved table; that He willeth both good and evil.¹ So far they agree with the Jabarīans; but then they seem to allow some power to man, a tenet I have already explained when describing their

art that Moses whom God selected for His prophecy and to converse with, and He gave thee twelve tables, in which are explained everything, and He made thee His confidant and the bearer of His secrets; then how long was the Bible written before I was created?' Moses said, 'Forty years.' Then said Adam, 'Didst thou see in the Bible that Adam disobeyed God?' 'Yes.' 'Dost thou reproach me on a matter which God wrote in the Bible forty years before creating me?'

¹"Nothing exists upon earth, be it good or bad, but that which God wills . . . good and evil happen according to destiny (qada) and decree (qadar) of God for good or evil." (Al-Ash'arī, quoted in Macdonald's *Muslim Theology*, p. 295.

idea of "kasb" (p. 205). The orthodox or Sunni belief is theoretically Ash'arīan, but practically the Sunnis are confirmed Jabarīans. The Mu'tazila doctrines are looked upon as quite heretical.

No subject has been more warmly discussed in Islām than that of predestination. Imām Abū Ḥanīfa puts the matter thus:—"Works are of three kinds; those ordered by God (farīdah); those which are good (fāḍilah); those which are evil (ma'siyah). The first came into existence by the direct order of God, by His decree, desire, power, creation, knowledge, and grace, and are written on the 'preserved table;' the second (fāḍilah) are not by direct order (farḍ) of God, but are by His decree, and are also written on the 'preserved table;' the third (ma'siyah) are not by order of God, but by His decree, yet not of His decree; by His appointment, though He has no pleasure therein; by His creation, though not of His grace. He knew of them, and they too are written on the 'preserved table.'"

The following abstract of some lengthy discussions will present the points of difference.

The Ash'arīans, who in this matter represent in the main orthodox views, formulate their objections to the Mu'tazila system thus:—

"(i) If man is the causer of an action by the force of his own will, then he should also have the power of controlling the result of that action.

(ii) If it be granted that man has the power to originate an act, it is necessary that he should know all acts, because a creator should be independent in act and choice. Intention must be conditioned by knowledge. To this the Mu'tazilas reply that a man need not know the length of a road before he walks, or the structure of the throat before he talks.

(iii) Suppose a man wills to move his body, and God at the same time wills it to be steady, then, if both intentions come to pass, there will be a collection

of opposites; if neither, a removal of opposites; if the exaltation of the first, an unreasonable preference.

(iv) If man can create an act, some of his works will be better than some of the works of God; e.g., a man determines to have faith: now faith is a better thing than reptiles, which are created by God.

(v) If man is free to act, why can he not make at once a human body? why does he need to thank God for grace and faith?

(vi) But better far than all argument, the orthodox say, is the testimony of the Book. "No mischance chanceth either on earth or in your own persons, but ere We created them it was in the Book¹" (lvii. 22). "Thou truly canst not guide whom thou desirest, but God guideth whom He will" (xxviii. 56). This verse is said to have been revealed on the following occasion. When Abū Ṭālib was about to die, the Prophet said: "O uncle! say the kalima, 'There is no god but God,' and I will testify to God concerning it on thy behalf;" but Abū Jahl and 'Abdu'llāh bin Abī said to the dying man, "What! dost thou turn from the sect of Abū'l-Maṭlab?" The Prophet ceased not to urge him to confess the faith of Islām, but the old man said, "I am of the sect of Abū'l-Maṭlab, and I refuse to say the kalima." Then replied the Prophet, "By God, until prohibited, I will seek pardon for thee." Then this verse was revealed, showing that God alone could will the change the Prophet desired.² We now return to the quotations from the Qu'rān. "All things have We created under a fixed decree" (liv. 49). "When God created you and that ye make" (xxxvii. 94). "Some of them there were whom God guided, and there were others decreed to err" (xvi. 38). As God decrees faith and obedience, He must be the causer of it, for "on the hearts of these hath God graven the

¹ That is, the Book of eternal decrees.

² *Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī*, *Sūratu'l-Qiṣaṣ*. See also Baidāwī, vol. ii, p. 85.

Faith" (lviii. 22). "It is He who causeth you to laugh and weep, to die and make alive" (liii. 44). "If God pleased, He would surely bring them, one and all, to the guidance" (vi. 36). "Had God pleased, He had guided you all aright" (vi. 150). "Had the Lord pleased, He would have made mankind of one religion" (xi. 120). "God will mislead whom He pleaseth, and whom He pleaseth He will place upon the straight path" (vi. 39). Tradition records that the Prophet said, "God is the maker of all makers and of their actions."¹

The Mu'tazilas took up the opposite side of this great question and said:—

(i) If man has no power to will or to do, then what is the difference between praising God and sinning against Him; between faith and infidelity; good and evil; what is the use of commands and prohibitions; rewards and punishments; promises and threats; what is the use of prophets and books?

(ii) Some acts of men are bad, such as tyranny and polytheism. If these are created by God, it follows that to tyrannize and to ascribe plurality to the Deity is to render obedience. To this the Ash'arians reply that orders are of two kinds, immediate and mediate. The former, which they call "Amru't-taqwiyat," is the order, "Be and it was." This comprehends all

¹ Ibn Kāh, commenting on the verse, "When thy Lord brought forth their descendants from the reins of the sons of Adam and took them to witness against themselves, 'Am I not,' said He, 'your Lord?' they said, 'Yes, we witness it'" (vii. 171), goes on to say, "God formed all the prophets and saints into one class, and the martyrs into another. The pious men, also, were separated into one, and the wicked into another. One class was formed of the obedient servants, while the unbelievers, namely, the Jews, the Christians, the Magians, the Hindus and others, were likewise divided into several parties. Then they were shaped into forms, that is, the shape in which he was to appear in the world was predestined for each one." This passage is quoted with full approval by the Wabbābī author of the *Taqwīyatul-Imān*.

existences, and according to it whatever is ordered must come to pass. The latter they call "Amru't-taahri," an order given in the Law. This comes to men through prophets, and thus is to be obeyed. True obedience is to act according to that which is revealed, not according to the secret intentions of God, for that we know not.

(iii) If God decrees the acts of men, He should bear the name of that which He decrees. Thus the causer of infidelity is an infidel; of tyranny a tyrant, and so on; but to speak thus of God is blasphemy.

(iv) If infidelity is decreed by God, He must wish it; but a prophet desires faith and obedience, and so is opposed to God. To this the orthodox reply, that God knows by His eternal knowledge that such a man will die an infidel. If a prophet intends by bringing the message of salvation to such an one to make God's knowledge become ignorance, he would be doing wrong; but as he does not know the secret decrees of God, his duty is to deliver his message according to the words of the Hadīth: "A prophet has only to deliver the clear message."

(v) The Mu'tazilas claimed as on their side all verses of the Qur'ān in which the words to do, to construct, to renew, to create, are applied to men. Such are the verses: "Whatever is in the heavens and in the earth is God's, that He may reward those who do evil according to their deeds: and those who do good will He reward with good things" (liii. 32). "Whoso shall have wrought evil shall not be recompensed but with its like; but whoso shall have done the things that are right, whether male or female, and is a believer, these shall enter Paradise" (xl. 43). "Say: The truth is from the Lord; let him then who will, believe; and let him who will, be an infidel" (xviii. 28)¹ "Those

¹ Imām Zāhid says that this verse is for the purpose of a warning and does not imply permission. The orthodox commentator 'Abbās says: "This verse refers to the decree, 'He whom God wills to believe

who add gods to God will say: 'If God had pleased, neither we nor our fathers had given Him companions.' Say: 'Verily ye follow only a conceit, ye utter lies'" (vi. 149). "Whatever good betideth thee is from God; whatever evil betideth thee is from thyself" (iv. 81). The Tradition is also very plain. "All good is in Thy hands, and evil is not to Thee." The Mu'tazilas also held that it was incumbent on God to guide all men and make them good; to which statement their opponents replied by saying that no one can predicate of God that anything is incumbent to Him.

The Ash'arians have one famous text which they bring to bear against all this reasoning and evidence. It is: "This truly is a warning; and whoso willeth, taketh the way of his Lord; but *will it ye shall not*, unless God will it, for God is knowing, wise" (lxxvi. 29, 30). To the Tradition they reply: (1) That there is a difference between acquiescence in evil and decreeing it. Thus the expression "God willeth not tyranny for His servants," does not mean that God hath not decreed it, but that tyranny is not one of His attributes: so "evil is not to Thee" means it is not an attribute of God; and (2) the Hadīth or Tradition must be explained in accordance with the teaching of the Qur'ān.¹

The Muslim philosophers tried to find a way out of the difficulty. Averhoes says: "We are free to act in this way or that, but our will is always determined

certainly will do so, and whom He wills to be an infidel will be one,' and not at all to man's free will." (*Tafsir-i-Husaini*, vol. ii, p. 9.) See also Baidāwī, vol. i, p. 561.

¹ Islām has not settled the great conflict. In theology as in law, Muḥammad was an opportunist. On the one hand his Allāh is the absolute Semitic despot who guides aright and leads astray . . . On the other hand, men are exhorted to repentance and punishment is threatened against them if they remain hardened in unbelief. All these phases of a wandering and subjective mind which lived only in the perception of the moment appear in the Qur'ān." (Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 128).

by some exterior cause. For example, we see something which pleases us, we are drawn to it in spite of ourselves. Our will is thus bound by exterior causes. These causes exist according to a certain order of things which is founded on the general laws of nature. God alone knows beforehand the necessary connection which to us is a mystery. The connection of our will with exterior causes is determined by the laws of nature. In theology we call this 'decrees and predestination.'"¹

As Islām grew into a system, the Muslims fell into a Cabbalism, and a superstitious reverence for the mere letters and words of the Qur'ān. With this declension came a still more distorted view of the character of God. The quotations made from the Qur'ān in the last few pages will have shown that whilst some passages seem to attribute freedom to man, and speak of his consequent responsibility, others teach a clear and distinct fatalism. The great strength of Islām lay in the energy with which Muḥammad preached the doctrine that God was a Divine Ruler, one who would deal righteous judgment, who "taught man that which he knew not." Emphasis is laid on the fear rather than on the love of God, men are made to do what is right by God's decree, not by His grace; by fear of punishment, not by desire of nearness to God. Thus Islām is defective in the higher aspects of spiritual life. It is, as its name implies, subjection to the works of the law. As the system became more complex and dogmatic, men lost the sense of the nearness of God. He became an unapproachable being. A harsh unfeeling Fate took the place of the Omnipotent Ruler.² It is this dark

¹ S. Munk, *Mélanges de Philosophie Juive et Arabe*, p. 458.

² The God of Islām has been described as:—

"An unconditioned, irrespective will,
Demanding simple awe,
Beyond all principles of good or ill,
Above idea of law." Monckton Milnes, *Palm Leaves*, p. 36.

fatalism which, whatever the Qur'ān may teach on the subject, is the ruling principle in all Muslim communities. It is this which makes all Muḥammadan nations decay. Careless of self-improvement,¹ heedless of the need of progress, the Muslim nations, still independent, are in all that relates to the higher aspects of intellectual and civilized life far behind the nations of the West, for "in his fatalism, no less than in his inconsistency of thought and action, the Muslim proclaims himself unfit to rule and thus predestined to the control of those who understand the arts of peace as well as of war."²

A Tradition states that when God created man from a lump of clay, He broke it into two pieces, cast one into hell and said, "These to eternal fire and I care not": the other He threw into heaven, saying, "These to Paradise and I care not." On this story, Palgrave remarks: "In this we have before us the adequate idea of predestination, or, to give it a truer name, pre-damnation, held and taught in the schools of the Qur'ān. Paradise and hell are at once totally independent of love and hatred on the part of the Deity, and of merits or demerits, of good or evil conduct, on the part of the creature; and, in the corresponding theory, rightly so, since the very actions which we call good or ill-deserving, right or wrong, wicked or virtuous, are in their essence all one and of one, and accordingly merit neither praise nor blame, punishment nor recompense, except and simply after the arbitrary value which the self-regulating will of the great despot may choose to impute to them."³

The subject of 'Ilmu'l-'Aqá'id, or the science of

¹ Thus the poet Faiz says: "Before thou and I were thought of, our free will was taken from our hands; be without cares, for the Maker of both worlds settled our affairs long before we were made."

² *Spectator*, (London) July 21, 1906, p. 83.

³ *Central and Eastern Arabia*, vol. i, pp. 367-8

dogma, properly ends here, but most Muslim treatises add a few practical remarks, such as the believer who commits murder, fornication, and other evil deeds, does not cease to be a Muslim, provided that he does not say that these are allowed. Should he die unrepentant, God can punish him for a while in hell, or forgive him without punishment.¹ It is right to call one who commits the greater sins a wicked Muslim, but not a káfir. The Mu'tazilas hold that such an one is neither a believer nor an infidel, but something between the two. The Mazdariah, a subdivision of the Mu'tazilas, believed that a sinner who died unrepentant would be in hell for ever. The Kharijites also agreed with this view, even though the man had confessed Islām with his lips. The Murjah declared that faith and faith alone saved. If the sinner believed in God and His Prophet he would not remain in hell for ever. This difference of view as to the effect of faith, the one making repentance an integral part of it, the other looking only to an outward confession led to a very important controversy as to the precise nature of faith. The Najjariah, who on some points hold Mu'tazila doctrines, say that unrepentant Muslims will go to hell, but will be released after a time, for "justice does not require equality of treatment of bad Muslims and Káfirs."

The ḥadd, a punishment based on a zāhir, or obvious, sentence of the Qur'án, requires that a Muslim who apostatises shall be put to death.² The hopeless condition of the infidels for whom no guidance was to be

¹ For a definition of repentance and the probability of its acceptance, see Klein, *Religion of Islām*, p. 109.

² The punishment of death is sometimes decreed for lesser offences. In the latter part of the year 1879, one of the Turkish 'Ulamá, named Ahmad was condemned to death for having assisted Dr. Koelle, an English clergyman residing in Constantinople, in the translation of the Book of Common Prayer and a tract on "Christ

sought and with whom no friendship was to be made until they fled their homes for the cause of God, that is, became Muslims, is described in the *Súratu'n-Nisá'* (iv. 90-1);¹ but should they apostatise then the order was "seize them and slay them wherever ye find them." Thus death is the penalty for apostasy. In the case of an apostate woman, Imám Abú Ḥanifa ruled that she should be imprisoned and beaten every day. The other three Imáms, Málík, Sháfi'í, and

the Word of God." Owing to the urgent representations of the British Ambassador the Khoja's life was spared, but he was banished to the island of Chio. The Porte promised to maintain his family whilst he was absent. It need scarcely be said that nothing of the kind was done.

On January 18th, 1844, the Earl of Aberdeen wrote to Sir Stratford Canning thus:—"The Christian powers will not endure that the Porte should insult and trample on their faith, by treating as a criminal any person who embraces it." All that was gained by this was the publication by the Porte of a Memorandum in the year 1856 containing these words:—"As all forms of religion are and shall be freely professed in the Ottoman dominions, no subject of His Majesty the Sultán shall be hindered in the exercise of the religion that he professes, nor shall he be in any way annoyed on this account. None shall be compelled to change their religion." It will be seen that this does not meet the case of a convert from Islām, but the British Ambassador advised the British Government to be content with this statement. In a despatch dated February 12th, 1856, he says:—"The law of the Qur'án is not abolished, it is true, respecting renegades, and the Sultán's Ministers affirm that such a stretch of authority would exceed even His Majesty's legal powers." The Ambassador goes on to say that, though this is the case, the British Government could remonstrate were the Qur'anic law applied and there the matter rested. (Koelle, *Muhammad and Muhammadanism*, p. 475.)

¹ "Why are ye two parties on the subject of the hypocrites, when God hath cast them off for their doings? Desire ye to guide those whom God hath led astray? But for him whom God leadeth astray, thou shalt by no means find a pathway."

They desire that ye should be infidels as they are infidels, and that ye should be alike. Take, therefore, none of them for friends, till all have fled their homes for the cause of God. If they turn back then seize them, and slay them wherever ye shall find them, but take none of them as friends or helpers" (iv. 90-1).

Hanball, said that she should be put to death in accordance with the Tradition which says, "He who changes his religion, kill." The Arabic word "man," usually translated "he who," is of common gender, and so these Imáms include women in the list of those who, after apostasy, are to be killed.¹ God does not pardon polytheism and infidelity, but He can, if He willeth, pardon all other crimes. If any one is asked, "Dost thou believe?" he should reply, "I am truly a believer," and not say, "If God willeth." If any one says to him, "Wilt thou die in the faith?" he should reply, "I do not know; God knows." Except when speaking of prophets, or of those of whom the prophets have spoken, such as Abú Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmán, and 'Alí, it must not be said of any one, "He is gone to Paradise," for God only knows his state. Prayer must be said for a deceased Muslim whether he was a good or bad man. To give alms, to read the Qur'án, to perform other good works, and to apply the merit thus gained to the souls of the dead, is a pious and beneficial act. This opinion, however, though very common, seems to be in direct contradiction to the following statements of the Qur'án: "He who commits kufr (infidelity), on him is h kufr,"² (xxx. 43). "No burdened one shall be another's burden" (vi. 164).

¹ *Journal Asiatique*, 4me Série, tome 17, p. 582.

² That is, the result of it.

NOTE TO CHAPTER IV

MUSLIM PHILOSOPHY

I HAVE shown in the preceding chapter how the earlier scholastics, or the Mu'tazilas, as they are called, were finally crushed by the orthodox party. The later scholastics, or the philosophers, form the subject of this note. The Khalifa al-Mámún (813-833 A.D.), a notorious free-thinker, was the first to give an impulse to philosophic researches.¹ It was then that Greek philosophical works were translated into Arabic. The Greek author most patronised was Aristotle, partly because his empirical method accorded with the positive tendencies of the Arab mind better than the pure idealism of Plato, and partly because his system of logic was considered a useful auxiliary in the daily quarrels between the rival theological schools. It was quite natural that Aristotle should be thus followed. "The Musalmán mind was trained in habits of absolute obedience to the authority of fixed dogmas. The Muslims did not so much wish to discover truth as to cultivate their own intellect. For that purpose a sharp and subtle systematist like Aristotle was the very man they required."² The Moors and Spanish Jews were devoted students of the peripatetic philosophy. Some idea of the range of subjects then discussed may be gained from an

¹ "The latest stronghold of paganism was the University of Athens. It was suppressed by the Emperor Justinian I in 529 A.D. Its teachers fled into Persia, and there laid the foundation of the later literary period of Islám under the ruling family of the 'Abbássides." (Kurtz, *Church History*, vol. i, p. 240).

² Kingsley, *Alexandria and her Schools*, p. 160.

account given by the Arab historian, Ma'sūdī, of a meeting held under the presidency of Yahya, one of the famous Barmecide family.¹ Yahya thus addressed the meeting: "You have discussed at length the theory of concealment (al-Kumūn) and manifestation (az-Zahūr), of pre-existence and creation, of duration and stability, of movement and quiescence, of the union and separation (of the Divine substance of existence and non-existence, of bodies and accidents, of the approval and the refutation (of the isnāds of the Traditions), of the absence or the existence of attributes in God, of potential and active force, of substance, quantity, modality and relation, of life and annihilation. You have examined the question as to whether the Imām rules by divine right or by popular election; you have had an exhaustive discussion on metaphysical subjects in their principles and corollaries. Occupy yourselves to-day with the subject of love."

The translation of the works of Aristotle and of other Greek authors was made by Syrian and Chaldean Christians, and especially by the Nestorians, who, as physicians, were in high favour with the liberal Khalīfas of the 'Abbāside dynasty. In some cases the translation into Arabic was made from Syriac versions, for in the time of the Emperor Justinian many Greek works had been translated into the latter language. The most celebrated translator was the Nestorian physician Hunain ibn Ishāq (died 876 A.D.), a man profoundly acquainted with the Syriac, Greek, and Arabic languages. He was at the head of a school of interpreters in Baghdād, to which his son Ishāq-bin-Hunain and his nephew Hubaish al-Asam also belonged. In the tenth century (A.D.) Yahya bin Adi and Isa bin Zarā'a translated some works and corrected earlier translations of others. It is to these men that the Arabs owe their chief acquaintance with Aristotle and Plato.

The study of Aristotle spread rapidly amongst the Muslim people, especially amongst the heretical sects. The orthodox looked with grave suspicion on the movement, but could not for a while stay the impulse. The historian Makrizi

¹ *Murīju'ah-Dhahab*, vol. vi, p. 368.

says: "The doctrine of the philosophers has worked amongst the Muslims evils most fatal. It serves only to augment the errors of the heretics and to increase their impiety."¹ It came into contact with Muslim dogmas in such subjects as the creation of the world, the special providence of God, and the nature of the divine attributes. To a certain extent the Mu'tazilas were supported by the philosophical theories they embraced, but this did not diminish the disfavour with which the orthodox looked upon the study of philosophy. Still it grew, and men in self-defence had to adopt philosophic methods. Thus arose a later system of scholasticism. The earlier system was confined mainly to matters of religion; the later school occupied itself with the whole range of philosophic investigation, and thus went farther and farther away from orthodox Islām.

The Muslims themselves did not write books on philosophy in the earlier period. Men of liberal tendencies imbibed its teaching, but orthodoxy finally gained the day over the earlier scholastics, and in the form known as that of the Ash'arian School became again supreme. The great intellectual movement of the philosophers proper, the later scholastics (Mutakallimūn), lasted longer; but by the end of the twelfth century (A.D.) the whole Muhammadan world had again become orthodox. Salāhu'd-dīn (Saladin) and his successors were strong supporters of the Ash'arians.

The period now under review was one prolific of authors of grammar, rhetoric, logic, exegesis, traditions, and the various branches of philosophy; but the men who stand out most prominently as philosophers were then, and are now, considered heretics. Strictly speaking, one should not speak of Arab, but of Muslim philosophy, for, curiously enough, only one famous philosopher, al-Kindi, was an Arab.

Al-Kindi² was born at Basra, on the Persian Gulf. He died about 870 A.D. He was a very scientific man, but a

¹ Munk, *Mélanges de Philosophie Juive et Arabe*, p. 315.

² "In the first generation of the philosophers of Islām, in the narrower sense, stands al-Kindi, commonly called the philosopher of the Arabs. The name belonged to him of right, for he is almost

thorough rationalist in theology. He composed commentaries on the logic of Aristotle. In his great work on the unity of God he has strayed far away from Muslim dogmas.

Al-Farābī,¹ another philosopher patronised by the 'Abbāsides, seems to have denied not only the rigid and formal Islāmic view of inspiration, but any objective revelation at all. He was for a while under the influence of Sūfism, and held that intuition was a true inspiration, and that all who had acquired intuitive knowledge were real prophets. This is the only revelation he admits. He received his philosophic training at Baghdād, where for a while he taught; but finally he went to Damascus, where he died, 950 A.D.

Ibn Sīnā, better known as Avicenna, a man of Persian origin, was a philosopher of great note, but of him it is said that, in spite of the concessions he made to the religious ideas of his age, he could not find favour for his opinions, which ill accord with the principles of Islām. He was devoted to the study of Aristotle and a mystic. His opponents assert that he defended dissimulation as to the religion of the country in which we might be, and that he said that a philosopher might perform religious ceremonies, though for him they might be devoid of meaning. He was born near Bukhāra in the year 980 A.D. For a while he taught medicine and philosophy in Isfahān.

Ibn Bājja (Avempace), a disciple of al-Farābī, was one of the most celebrated Muslim philosophers of Spain. He was born at Saragossa towards the end of the eleventh century. He is distinguished for having opposed the mystical tendencies of the teaching of al-Ghazālī, and for maintaining that

the only example of a student of Aristotle, sprung from the blood of the desert. His rôle was translating, and during the reigns of al-Māmūn and al-Mu'tasim a multitude of translations and original works *de omni scibili* came from his hands. In the orthodox reaction under al-Mutawakkil he fared ill, his library was confiscated but afterwards restored. He died about 260 A.H., and with him dies the brief, golden century of eager acquisition, and the scholastic period enters in philosophy as in theology" (Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 161).

¹ For a good account of the work of al-Farābī, see Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 162.

speculative science alone was capable of leading man to a true conception of his own proper nature. He was violently attacked by the orthodox divines, who declared that all philosophical teaching was "a calamity for religion and an affliction to those who were in the good way." It is said that he died by poison.

Al-Ghazālī was born 450 A.H. at Tūs, where also he died in 505 A.H.¹ He was a famous Muslim divine, and by some has been placed on a level with the four great Imāms. He adopted scholastic methods. For a while he was President of the Nizāmiyah College at Baghdād. He travelled much, and wrote many books to prove the superiority of Islām over all other religions and over philosophy. The first result of his wide and extensive study of the writings of the philosophers and of the heretics was that he fell into a state of scepticism with regard to religion and philosophy. At length the strain was so great that in 488 A.H. he left Baghdād seeking for peace of mind, which came to him at last. It has been well said that this flight of al-Ghazālī marked the greatest epoch in the church of Islām after the return of al-Ash'ari to orthodox views. "It meant that the reign of mere scholasticism was over; that another element was to work openly in the future church of Islām, the element of the mystical life in God, of the attainment of truth by the soul in direct vision."² From this state of doubt and despair he emerged into Sūfism, in which his restless spirit found satisfaction. On Sūfism, however, he exercised a very notable influence, and his great work, the *Ihyā' 'ulūmu'd-din*, or "Revivification of the Religious Sciences," codifies the theology and the morality of the mystics; but the scepticism which he still retained as regards philosophy rendered him a very formidable opponent to those who were trying to bring Islām into accord with philosophic theories. His works, "Tendency of Philosophers" and "Destruction of the Philosophers," had an

¹ He was possessed of an enquiring mind. For a range of his studies, see his own statement, quoted in Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, p. 422.

² Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 226.

immense influence. In the preface to the latter book he speaks of "those who arrogate to themselves a superior intelligence, and who, in their pride, mistaking the precepts of religion, take as a guide the authority of certain great men, instead of revealed religion." "Al-Ghazālī's fundamental position is that the ultimate source of all knowledge is revelation from God. It may be major revelation, through accredited prophets who come forward as teachers, divinely sent and supported by miracles and by the evident truth of their message appealing to the human heart, or it may be minor revelation—subsidiary and explanatory—through the vast body of saints of different grades, to whom God has granted immediate knowledge of Himself. Where the saints leave off, the prophets begin; and, apart from such teaching man, even in physical science, would be groping in the dark."¹ It is, however, and with some show of reason, supposed that Ghazālī did not really object to all that he condemned, but that to gain the orthodox he wrote what he did. Indeed, Moses of Narbonne states that Ghazālī later on in life wrote a book, circulated only amongst a few select friends, in which he withdrew many of the objections he had raised in the "Destruction of Philosophers." Be that as it may, it is acknowledged that he dealt a blow to philosophy from which in the East it never recovered; that is, as far as the Muslim world is concerned. His course marks a reaction of the exclusively religious principle of Islām against philosophical speculation, which, in spite of all accommodation, never made itself orthodox.²

In Spain philosophy still found an ardent defender in Ibn Rushd, better known as Averhoes. This celebrated man was born at Cordova in the year 1126 A.D., or about 520 of the Muhammadan era. "Without dispute he was one of the most learned men of the Muslim world, and one of the profoundest commentators of Aristotle. He knew all the sciences then accessible to the Muslims, and was a most

prolific writer."¹ He had a great reverence for Aristotle, and considered him to be the man among all men whom God permitted to reach the highest summit of perfection, and looked upon him as the founder and perfecter of scientific knowledge. He has been called the last of the great Aristotelians. One of his most famous works was the "Refutation of the Destruction of Philosophers." Notwithstanding his philosophical opinions Averhoes claimed to pass for a good Muslim. He held that the philosophic truths are the highest object of research, but that only a few men could by speculation arrive at them, and that, therefore, a divine revelation through the medium of prophets was necessary for spreading amongst men the eternal verities which are proclaimed alike by philosophy and religion. "He said that a positive religion was required to meet the religious needs of the multitude, but the philosopher might reach and maintain the truth independently of any revealed religion."² He also held, it is true, that the orthodox had paid too much attention to the letter, and too little to the spirit, and that false interpretations had deduced principles not really to be found in religion. This profession and a rigid adherence to outward forms of worship, however, did not save him from suspicion. He was accused of preaching philosophy and the ancient sciences to the detriment of religion. He was deprived of his honours and banished by the Khalifa al-Mansūr to Lucena, near Cordova. In his disgrace he had to suffer many insults from the orthodox. One day on entering the mosque with his son he was forcibly expelled by the people. He then took refuge in Africa and his property was confiscated. He died in Morocco in 1198 A.D. (595 A.H.). Thus passed away in disgrace the last of the Muslim philosophers worthy of the name.³

In Spain a strict prohibition was issued against the study

¹ Munk, *Mélanges de Philosophie Juive et Arabe*, p. 429.

² Kurtz, *Church History*, vol. ii, p. 101.

³ "After him, we find no single philosopher among the Arabs worthy of the name." (Munk, *Mélanges de Philosophie Juive et Arabe*, p. 458.) For an account of his system, see Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 256.

¹ Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 236.

² For a good account of al-Ghazālī's life and work, see Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, pp. 215-40; 300-7.

of Greek philosophy, and many valuable works were committed to the flames. Soon after the rule of the Moors in Spain began to decline. The study of philosophy came to an end, and liberal culture sank under the pressure of the hard and fast dogmatic system of Islām.¹ In Spain, as in Baghdād, orthodoxy gained the day. Here are the words of a thoughtful Musalmān: "It must always be borne in mind that, in spite of the enormous progress made by Muḥammadans in the early centuries of their power, learning has never been popular among them as a nation, and science only flourished when there happened to be a man willing to protect it."² There was much of doubtful value in the speculations of the Muslim philosophers, but they were Muslims, and if they went too far in their efforts to rationalise Islām, they also tried to cast off what to them seemed accretions added on by the Traditionalists and the Canonical Legists. They failed because, like the earlier scholastics, they had no gospel to proclaim to men, no tidings to give of a new life which could enable wearied humanity to bear the ills to which it was subject. Another strong reason was that the orthodoxy against which they strove was a logical development of the foundations of Islām, and these foundations were too strongly laid for any power other than a spiritual one to uproot. They were men

¹ "With no class of fanatics did intolerance exist in greater intensity than among the orthodox masses in Muḥammadan Spain . . . narrow views so prejudicial to mental development were diligently fostered by the doctors of the law. As a result the philosopher was an object of aversion to the conscientious Muḥammadan" (Scott, *History of the Moorish Empire in Europe*, vol. iii, p. 5).

Muslim rule in Spain is often referred to as an instance of the height of culture and the liberality of sentiment which may exist in a Muḥammadan state. I have shown that the culture was not due to the teaching of the Arab Prophet and his Companions, and with regard to the liberality it is well to remember the words of G. H. Lewes. He says: "The Arabs, though they conquered Spain, were too weak in numbers to hold that country in subjection otherwise than by politic concessions to the opinion and customs of the people." (*History of Philosophy*, vol. i, p. 36.)

² Nawāb Muḥsinu'l-Mulk, *Causes of the Decline of the Muḥammadan Nation*, p. 65.

of good position in life, voluminous writers, profound admirers of Aristotle, and more or less devoted to science, especially to medicine. Yet they did not advance philosophy, and science they left much as they found it. They preserved something of what Grecian thought had achieved, and so far their labour is not lost. "Muslim philosophy has always continued to be an eclecticism which depended on their stock of works translated from the Greek. The course of its history has been a process of assimilation rather than of generation."¹

Thus Islām has, as a religion, no right to claim any of the glory which Muslim philosophers are supposed to have shed around it. The founders of Islām, the Arabs, produced but one philosopher of note.² The first impetus to the study was given by heretical Khalifas employing Christians at Baghdād to translate Greek books; whilst in Spain, where philosophy most flourished, it was due largely to the contact of intelligent Muslims with learned Jews. Even there, the philosophers were, as a rule, the objects of bitter persecution.³ In his inaugural lecture on assuming the

¹ Dr. T. J. De Boer, *History of Philosophy in Islām*, p. 29.

² "There never was any Arabian science, strictly speaking. In the first place, all the philosophy and science of the Muḥammadans was Greek, Jewish, and Persian . . . It really designates a reaction against Islāmism, which arose in the distant parts of the empire, in Samarcand, Bukhāra, Morocco, and Cordova. The Arabian language having become the language of the empire, this philosophy was written in that language; but the ideas are not Arabian; the spirit is not Arabian." (Lewes, *History of Philosophy*, vol. ii, p. 34.) "The Caliphs had the wisdom to give full scope to the talents of the conquered, when once they accepted Islāmism; and thus, while the Arabs originated so little themselves, they raised a great civilization, that was brilliant for a time, though it was so barren in its after results." (Cunningham, *Western Civilization*, p. 116.) "Take from what is generally called Arabian science—from exegesis tradition, theology, philosophy, medicine, lexicography, history, biography, even Arabic grammar—the work contributed by Persians and the best part is gone" (Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, p. 204).

³ "Even at Cordova, the Professor of learning had to undergo religious persecution" (Nawāb Muḥsinu'l-Mulk, *Causes of the Decline of the Muḥammadan Nation*, p. 69).

chair of the Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Syriac Professorship in the College of France, the late M. Ernest Renan said: "Arabian science and Arabian philosophy are often alluded to, and, in fact, during one or two centuries in the Middle Ages the Arabs were our teachers; but it was only until we were acquainted with the Greek originals. This Arabian science and philosophy was only a puerile rendering of Greek science and philosophy. When closely examined, moreover, this Arabian science has nothing Arabian in it. Its foundation is purely Greek; amongst its originators there is not a single true Shemite; they were all Spaniards and Persians who wrote in Arabic." Theology and philosophy became blended in the hands of the Moors, but the Greek scientific theory as to the origin of things was interwoven with the Hebrew faith in a Creator, and so speculation became theistic, long before the time of the Arab philosophy. These matters were all discussed in Alexandria three centuries before the time of Muḥammad. So the question still remains—does Islâm naturally lead the mind to high intellectual pursuits? As a matter of fact, it shows most affinity to uncivilized races. It has been well said: "It has not taken captive any race possessing a great literature, nor has it given birth to any work of which the world demands a translation; and precisely as individuals have shown themselves possessed of speculative genius have they departed from the rigid orthodoxy of the Qur'ân."

Now and again a liberal-minded Khalifa arose, but Islâm survives the liberal tendencies of a generation. From the close of the twelfth century (A.D.) downwards it would be difficult to point to any Muslim philosopher, much more to an Arab one, whose work is of any real value to the human race.¹ For four hundred years the contest raged, a contest such as Islâm has never since seen. This great effort to bring it into accordance with the main stream of human thought, to introduce into it some element of progress,

¹ "The Arabic Aristotelianism has perished utterly from the Muslim lands." Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 286.

utterly failed.¹ The lesson is plain. Any project of reform in Islâm which admits its fundamental principles must fail. Revolution, not reform, is the only hope for the permanence of an independent Muslim state when it enters into the circle of civilized nations.

¹ "There was a curious want of vitality in the Arab civilization, when the period of conquest had come to an end. . . . As we look back, we can see that the Arabian society was lacking in the physical and spiritual qualities which would have fitted it to take a great part in contributing to the progress of the race; it did collect and disseminate the elements of well-being that remained from the old world, but it did not carry them farther, or found anything that was really new. . . . Islâm, with all its enthusiasm and all its faculty for adopting alien elements failed to supply a firm basis for social life, or to give inspiration for human progress" (Cunningham, *Western Civilization*, p. 117, 119).

CHAPTER V

THE PRACTICAL DUTIES OF ISLĀM

THE practical duties of Islām, the Arkānu'd-dīn, or pillars of religion, are five in number. They are (1) Tashahhud, the recital of the Kalima; (2) Ṣalāt, the five stated daily prayers; (3) Roza, fasting, especially in the month of Ramaḍān; (4) Zakāt, the legal alms; (5) Ḥajj, the pilgrimage to Mecca. These are all fard duties,¹ being based on a naṣṣu'z-zāhir, or clear sentence of the Qur'ān, a proof deduced from which is called dalīlu'l-qaṭa'f, or strong proof.²

¹ Fard (فرض) denotes an obligatory duty, based on an order in the Qur'ān or the Ḥadīth; fardū'l-ain (فرض العين) is such a duty incumbent on every believer; fardū'l-kifāyah (فرض الكفاية) is a duty not incumbent on each Muslim: it may be done by some one or more on behalf of the whole community.

² There is a Tradition to the following effect:—"Gabriel came in the form of an Arab of the desert and sat down so that his knees touched the knees of the Prophet and said: 'O Apostle of God, what is Islām?' He said, 'That thou shouldest bear witness that there is no god save God and that I am the Apostle of God; that thou shouldest perform the prayers (ṣalāt) and bring the alms (zakāt) and fast in the month of Ramaḍān and make pilgrimage to the House (ka'ba) if the way is possible for thee.' He said, 'Thou hast spoken truly.' Then he said, 'What is faith (imān)?' The Prophet said, 'That thou shouldest believe in God and His angels and His book and His messengers and in the Last Day, and that thou shouldest believe in the decreeing (qadar) both of good and evil.' He said, 'Thou hast spoken truly.' Then he said, 'What is right doing (iḥsān)?' The Prophet said, 'That thou shouldest serve God as though thou sawest Him, for though thou seest Him not, He sees thee.' He said, 'Thou hast spoken truly.' Then he,

Other religious duties which good Muslims should perform are the seven duties which are wājib, or duties based on the more obscure texts of the Qur'ān, called *khafi*, or hidden sentences, a proof derived from which is called *dalīlu'z-zannī*.¹ These duties are (1) to make the 'Umra, called the lesser pilgrimage to Mecca, in addition to the Ḥajj; (2) obedience to parents; (3) the obedience of a wife to her husband; (4) the giving of alms after a fast; (5) the offering of sacrifice; (6) the saying of ṣalātu'l-witr, a term which will be explained later on; (7) the support of relatives. The duties numbered as (4) and (5) are wājib orders to the rich, but only mustahabb to the poor: that is, it is meritorious if they perform them, but not sinful if they leave them undone.

Duties next in order as regards authority are the sunnat ones. They are three in number, and are based either on the practice of the Prophet, or are fiṭrat, that is, practices of previous prophets, the continuance of which Muḥammad did not forbid. They are (1) circumcision; (2) shaving off the hair from the head and the body; (3) the paring of the nails. Other actions are mustahabb, or praiseworthy. They are those which Muḥammad sometimes did and sometimes omitted. There is a still lower class of action which are mubāḥ. These are works of supererogation. If omitted there is no fear of punishment. Unlawful actions and things are (1) ḥarām, actions and food forbidden either in the Qur'ān or the Traditions; (2) makrūh, actions the unlawfulness of which is not absolutely certain, but which

said, 'When shall be the Last Day?' The Prophet said, 'The questioned knoweth not more of that than the questioner.' Then he arose and went out. And the Prophet said, 'That was Gabriel; he came to teach you your religion (dīn)'. (Shahraṣṭānī, *al-Mīlāl wa'n-Nihāl*, p. 27.)

¹ Some authorities make fard and wājib duties synonymous, but they are generally considered to be distinct.

are generally considered wrong; (3) *mufsid*, actions corrupting or pernicious; (4) *qabih*, or something forbidden. It is necessary to bear these terms in mind, as they will now frequently occur.

1. **TASHAHHUD.**—This is the recital of a confession of faith, such as, "I testify that there is no god but God; I testify to His unity and that He has no partner; I testify that Muḥammad is His servant and His messenger." A shorter one is, "There is no god but God, and Muḥammad is the apostle of God." This latter confession embodies the very spirit of Islām; it is the rallying-cry for its armies; it sounds forth each morning from thousands of minarets in many lands; it has been and is said with fervour, pride, and exultation by hundreds of millions of the human race. The power of Islām, its proclamation of the Unity, is here seen in closest contact with what is to Muslim theologians the equally fundamental truth, the apostleship of Muḥammad.

2. **ṢALĀT OR NAMĀZ.**—The necessary legal purifications which precede ṣalāt are of three kinds: (1) *waḍū'*, the lesser lustration; (2) *ghusl*, the greater lustration; (3) *tayammum*, or purification by sand.

(1) *Waḍū'* is an ablution made before saying the appointed prayers.¹ The rules which are "*fard*" are four in number, viz.:—To wash (1) the face from the top of the forehead to the chin, and as far as each ear; and (2) the hands and arms up to the elbow; (3) to rub (*masah*) with the wet hand a fourth part of the head; also (4) the feet to the ankles. The authority for these actions is the text, "O believers! when ye address yourselves to prayer, wash your hands up to the elbow, and wipe your heads, and your feet to the ankles" (v. 8). The Sunnis wash the feet: the Shi'ahs are apparently

¹ It is also *wājib* before touching the Qur'ān, and before making the procession round the ka'ba at the Hajj; and a *sunnat* custom before going to sleep.

more correct, for they only wipe, or rather rub (*masah*) them. Against the practice of the Shi'ahs the following Tradition is quoted: "Abdu'llāh bin'Amrū said, 'The Prophet was behind me in a journey, then he came up with us. We were late for the ṣalātu'l-*asr*. We quickly made the *waḍū'*, and rubbed (*namsah*) our feet. Then the Prophet called out with a loud voice, 'Alas! for the heels in fire (of hell).'" In these ablutions, if any portion of the specified part is left untouched, the whole act becomes useless and the prayer which follows is vain.

The act of making *waḍū'*, however, has not been allowed to remain in this simple form. The *sunnat* regulations regarding it are fourteen in number. They are (1) to make the intention of *waḍū'*, thus: I make this *waḍū'* for the purpose of putting away impurity; (2) to wash the hand up to the wrist, but care must be taken not to put the hands entirely into the water, until each has been rubbed three times with water poured on it; (3) to say one of the names of God at the commencement of the *waḍū'*, thus:¹ "In the name of the Great God," or "Thanks be to God for the religion of Islām;" (4) to clean the teeth; (5) to rinse the mouth three times; (6) to put water into the nostrils three times; (7) to do all the above in proper order; (8) to do all without any delay between the various acts; (9) each part is to be purified three times. Bukhārī says: "*waḍū'* once is *fard*, it may be done twice or thrice, but not more than three times: wise men dislike waste and the doing more than the Prophet did." This establishes the *sunnat* practice of making *waḍū'* three times; (10) the space between the fingers of

¹ There are Traditions to the effect that "the whole body of him who says the name of God when making *waḍū'* will be clean; whereas, if he says it not, only the part washed will be pure." "He who performs the *waḍū'* in proper manner will be cleansed of his sins." "He who performs the *waḍū'* when he is already clean, God will account it for ten good actions."

one hand must be rubbed with the wet fingers of the other; (11) the beard must be combed with the fingers; (12) the whole head must be rubbed once; (13) the ears must be washed with the water remaining on the fingers after the last operation; (14) to rub under and between the toes with the little finger of the left hand, drawing it from the little toe of the right foot and between each toe in succession. Imám Sháfi'í, holds that (1) and (7) are farḍ duties and that (12) should be done three times. Imám Málík considers (8) to be farḍ.

The lesser sins are forgiven after waḍú'. The Prophet said, "He who makes waḍú' according to my waḍú' (i.e., three times), and then makes two rak'ats, without being defiled between: all his former sins will be forgiven."¹ The greater sins are only pardoned after repentance. The actions connected with waḍú' may be done in silence, or a prayer may be repeated.² Such a recital is a mustahabb, not a sunnat or farḍ order.

(2) *Ghusl* is an ablution of the whole body after

¹ *Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī*, Kitābu'l-waḍú'. Baidāwī commenting on Sura v. 9 says "فان الوضوء تكفير للذنوب"—Certainly the waḍú' is an atonement for sins."

² Before commencing the waḍú' say: "I am going to purify myself from all bodily uncleanness preparatory to commencing prayer, that holy act of duty, which will draw my soul near to the throne of the Most High. In the name of God, the Great and Mighty. Praise be to God who has given us grace to be Muslims. Islām is a truth and infidelity a falsehood."

When cleaning the teeth, say: "Vouchsafe, O God, as I clean my teeth, to purify me from my faults and accept my homage. O Lord, may the purity of my teeth be for me a pledge of the whiteness of my face at the day of judgment."

When washing the nostrils, say: "O my God, if I am pleasing in Thy sight, perfume me with the odours of Paradise."

When washing the right hand, say: "O my God, on the day of judgment place the book of my actions in my right hand, and examine my account with favour."

When washing the left hand, say: "O my God, place not at the resurrection the book of my action in my left hand." Similar prayers are said at each act. (Garcin de Tassy, *L'Islamisme d'après le Coran*, p. 211).

certain legal defilements, and should be made as follows. The person should put on clean clothes and perform the waḍú'; then he should say, "I make *ghusl* to put away impurity." All being ready, he should wash himself in the following order. He must pour water over the right shoulder three times, then over the left three times, and, lastly, on his head also the same number of times. The three farḍ conditions are that (1) the mouth must be rinsed, (2) water be put into the nostrils, and (3) the whole body be washed. If one hair even is left dry the whole act is rendered vain and useless. All other particulars are sunnat or mustahabb.

There are physical causes¹ which vitiate a purification, and cases in which *ghusl* is required. The Traditions have raised the most trivial ceremonial observances into duties of the greatest importance. There are, however, spiritually-minded men in Islām. *Ghazālī* says: "Prayers are of three kinds: prayers pronounced with the tongue only; prayers undistracted by evil thoughts; prayers offered with such fervour that the mind can hardly be recalled from thoughts of God. But the marrow of prayer is when the object of prayer possesses the heart, and prayer is effaced and ceases, and the sayer of prayer attends no more to prayer nor to his own heart. Even if the thought of his own self-abasement should occur, it is a defect."

Still a system of religion which declares that the virtue of prayer depends practically on an ablution, and that that ablution is useless unless done in the order prescribed, is one well calculated to make men formalists and nothing more. It comes to this, that, if a man when making waḍú' washes his left hand before his right, or his nose before his teeth, he cannot lawfully say the daily namáz enjoined on all Muslims. None but those who have studied Muslim treatises on

¹ For a full statement of these based on Muslim authorities, see Klein, *Religion of Islām*, pp. 121-32.

the subject can conceive of the puerile discussions which have taken place on points apparently trivial, but which from their connection with the Sunnat are deemed by learned Muslims of great importance.

(3) Tayammum, or purification by sand, is allowable under the following circumstances. (1) When the water cannot be procured except at a distance of one kos (about two miles); (2) in case of sickness, when the use of water might be injurious; (3) when water cannot be obtained without incurring danger from an enemy, a beast, or a reptile; and (4) when on the occasion of the namáz of a feast-day or the namáz at a funeral, the worshipper is late and has no time to perform the waḍú'. On ordinary days this substitution of tayammum for waḍú' is not allowable.

The ceremony is performed as follows. The person says: "I make tayammum to put away impurity;" then, "I seek refuge near God from cursed Satan. I commence in the name of God, most Merciful and most High, whose praises are in the religion of Islám." He then strikes the sand with open hands, rubs his mouth, and at last the arms to the elbows. Not one hair must be left untouched or the whole ceremony is useless. The farḍ acts are to make the intention of tayammum, to rub the mouth and the hands. "If ye are sick or on a journey, or if one of you come from the place of retirement, or if ye have touched women, and ye find no water, then take clean sand and rub your faces and your hands with it" (v. 9). According to a statement made by 'Áyesha, and recorded by Bukhārī, the origin of this verse was as follows:—"One day when 'Áyesha was travelling with the Prophet in a desert place, she lost her necklace. The Prophet and those who were with him stayed to search for it, and so the night passed. There was no water in that place, and in the morning, when the Prophet began to prepare for his devotions, the verse came to him."

Minute regulations are laid down with regard to the water which may be used for purification. Rain-water is the best of all, being authorised by the Qur'án: "He sent you down water from heaven that He might cleanse you, and cause the pollution of Satan to pass from you" (viii. 11). It is generally held that if a dead body or any unclean thing falls into flowing water, or into a reservoir more than fifteen feet square, it can be used, provided always that the colour, smell, and taste are not changed.¹ It is for this reason that the pool near a mosque should not be less than fifteen feet square. The necessary ablutions having been made, the worshipper can commence the namáz.

The ṣalāt or namáz can be said either in private or in public. The clothes and person of the worshipper must be clean, the place free from all impurity, and the face turned towards Mecca. The namáz must always be preceded by waḍú', except when tayammum is allowed. If the namáz² is said in a mosque, which is considered to be more meritorious than repeating it in private, it must be preceded by the *adhán*, or call to prayers, and the *iqámat*. Minute particulars regarding the exact attitude in which the Muḥallí, one who says the ṣalāt, must stand and the words he is to say are fully given in Muslim books.³ The following account will give some idea of a namáz or service.⁴

¹ Ghazālī considers that undue importance has been attached to this question and that it causes doubts to arise in the minds of pious Muslims. He says that the Companions were not so particular and that 'Umar once performed his ablutions with water taken from the jar of a Christian woman.

² From the account which follows it will be seen that the term ṣalāt, or namáz, expresses what we term a "service." The word for prayer in the ordinary sense is *du'á*.

³ For the omissions or mistakes, especially of the farḍ duties and ceremonies, which makes the ṣalāt invalid, see Klein, *Religion of Islám*, p. 140-1.

⁴ It is taken from the *Sirātu'n-Najāṭ*, pp. 30-33.

The Mu'adh^hdhin¹ calls out loudly in Arabic the takbír:—

"Alláhu Akbar! Alláhu Akbar! Alláhu Akbar! Alláhu Akbar!" (God is great!)

All who hear it respond:²

"Alláhu Akbar! Alláhu Akbar! Alláhu Akbar! Alláhu Akbar!"

The Mu'adh^hdhin says:—

"I confess there is no god but God; I confess there is no god but God."

Each of his auditors replies:—

"I confess there is no god but God; I confess there is no god but God."

Mu'adh^hdhin:—"I confess Muḥammad is the apostle of God."

Auditor:—"I confess Muḥammad is the apostle of God."

Mu'adh^hdhin:—"Come to prayer."³

Auditor:—"I have no power or strength but from God most High and Great."

Mu'adh^hdhin:—"Come to do good."

Auditor:—"What God wills will be; what He wills not will not be."

¹ As the use of bells is unlawful, a man is employed to call the people to prayers. When the Musalmáns were first gathered together for prayer at Madína, there was no one to call them, so they talked about this one day, and some said, "Get a bell like those of the Christians;" others, "Get a trumpet like those of the Jews." 'Umar then said, "What! is there not a man among you who can call to prayers?" The Prophet then said, "O Billál! stand and make the call to prayer" (*Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī*, Kitábu'l-*Ādhān*).

² "The auditor should repeat what he hears" (*Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī*, Kitábu'l-*Ādhān*).

³ In wet weather the Mu'adh^hdhin, instead of saying, "Come to prayer," shouts, "Say the ṣalāt in your houses" (*Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī*, p. 184).

Iḥshāmī, a Tābi', says that he heard from Yaḥyá that some Muslims stated their practice thus: "When the Mu'adh^hdhin said, 'Come to prayer,' we replied, 'There is no power nor strength but from God,' and added, 'We heard our Prophet say like this'" (*Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī*, p. 162).

If it is the time of morning prayer, the Mu'adh^hdhin adds the words: "Prayer is better than sleep," to which the response is given: "Thou hast spoken well." "Alláhu Akbar" and "There is no god but God" are then repeated twice, and so the *ādhān* ends.

The iqámat (literally, "causing to stand") is a repetition of the *ādhān*, but after the words, "Come to do good," the statement "Prayer has commenced" is made.

These preliminaries being now over, the namáz can commence. It is as follows:—

The Muṣallī or worshipper stands with his hands close to his side and says in a low voice the niyyat (intention):—"I have purposed to offer up to God only, with a sincere heart this morning (or, as the case may be), with my face Qibla-wards, two (or, as the case may be) rak'at prayers, farḍ (or sunnat or nafl, as the case may be)."

Then follows the takbīru't-taḥrīmat,¹ said with the thumbs touching the lobes of the ears. The palms of the hands are placed towards the Qibla. The fingers are slightly separated from each other. In this position the Muṣallī says "Alláhu Akbar!"

The qiyám, or standing position. The palm of the right hand being placed on the back of the left, the thumb and little finger of the former seize the wrist of the latter. Both hands are then placed below the navel,² the eyes are directed towards the spot where the head of the worshipper will touch the ground in prostration, and the *thaná* is said. It is:—

"Holiness to Thee, O God! and praise be to Thee! Great is Thy name! Great is Thy greatness!"

¹ According to some authorities, this and the other takbīrs of the namáz are authorised by the third verse of the 74th Sūra: "Thy Lord—magnify Him" (*wa rubbaka fakabbir*).

² The followers of Imám as-Sháfi'í and the women of all sects place the hands upon the breast. The feet should be about four inches apart; women stand with the feet close together.

There is no god but Thee!"

The ta'awwudh is then said:—

"I seek refuge near God from cursed Satan."

Then follows the tasmiya:—

"In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful." Then follows the fātiha,¹ or first chapter of the Qur'ān:—"Praise be to God, Lord of the worlds! the Compassionate, the Merciful! King on the day of reckoning! Thee only do we worship, and to Thee do we cry for help. Guide Thou us on the straight path: the path of those to whom Thou hast been gracious: with whom Thou art not angry, and who go not astray."

After this the worshipper can repeat as many chapters of the Qur'ān as he likes. Some verses he must repeat. The Sūratu'l-Ikhlās (cxii.) is generally said:²—

"Say: He is God alone: God the Eternal, He begetteth not, and is not begotten; and there is none like unto Him."

The takbīru'r-rukū'—Allāhu Akbar!—is said whilst the Muṣallī makes an inclination of the head and body, and separating the fingers a little, places his hands upon his knees.

The tasbīhu'r-rukū' is said in the same position. It is:—

"I extol the holiness of my Lord, the Great!

I extol the holiness of my Lord, the Great!

I extol the holiness of my Lord, the Great!"

The tasmiya is then said with the body erect, but with the hands placed on either side. Thus:—

¹ The second rak'at begins here: all that precedes is only repeated at the first rak'at.

² One day the Prophet said to his companions, "What! have you not the power to read one-third of the Qur'ān in one night?" They replied, "It is very difficult to do so." His Excellency then said, "Very well, read the Sūratu'l-Ikhlās; the reward for so doing is equal to that for reading one-third of the Qur'an." It is for this reason that it is generally recited in the ṣalātu't-tahajjud. (*Dawābi'u'l-Furqān*, p. 6.)

"God hears him who praises Him: O Lord, Thou art praised."¹

The takbīru's-sijda—Allāhu Akbar!—is then said as the Muṣallī, or worshipper, drops on his knees. He then places his hands, with the fingers close to each other, upon the ground. He must rest upon his toes in such a way that they point to the Qibla, not on the side of the feet, which must be kept straight behind him. The elbow must not touch the side,² nor the stomach the thigh, nor the thigh the calf of the leg. The eyes must be kept bent downwards. Then he touches the ground first with his nose, and then with his forehead, taking care that the thumbs just touch the lobe of the ears.³ All this being carefully attended to, the Muṣallī can say the tasbīhu's-sijda thus:—

"I extol the holiness of my Lord, the Most High!

I extol the holiness of my Lord, the Most High!

I extol the holiness of my Lord, the Most High!"

He then raises his head and body, sinks backwards upon his heels, places his hands a little above his knees, and whilst doing this says the takbīru'l-jalsa⁴—Allāhu Akbar!"

After a slight pause, a second prostration or sijda is made, and the takbīru's-sijda and the tasbīhu's-sijda are repeated as before. Then, when in the act of rising up, the Muṣallī says the takbīru'l-qiyām—"Allāhu Akbar!"⁵

¹ In a mosque the Imām says the first sentence alone; the people the second.

² Bukhārī says that one day when the Prophet was making sijda, he so opened his arms that his armpits appeared in view.

³ Women in the sijda keep all the limbs of the body close together, and put both feet at right angles to the body. If their face is Qibla-wards it is sufficient.

⁴ Here the Shi'ahs say: "I rise and sit by the power of God."

⁵ It is a grievous sin for the worshippers to raise up their heads before the Imām rises up, a fact made known to them by his repeating the takbīru'l-jalsa. Thus, on the authority of Abū Huraira, one of

This concludes one rak'at. The second rak'at begins with the fātiḥa, so that after saying the takbīru'l-qiyām a Muṣallī would have to begin again at that place and repeat all that he had just finished; the only change being that after the fātiḥa he recites different verses of the Qurān to those he said in the first rak'at. After two rak'ats have been said, and after the last, though it be an odd number, the Muṣallī, unless he is a Shī'ah, places his left foot under him and sits upon it. He then places his hands above his knees, as for the takbīru'l-jalsa, and with his eyes directed towards his lap says the attahiyāt:—

"The adorations of the tongue are for God, and also the adorations of the body, and almsgiving! Peace be on thee, O Prophet! with the mercy of God and His blessing. Peace be on us and upon God's righteous servants!"

Then raising the first finger of the right hand he says the tashahhud,¹ which is as follows:—

"I testify that there is no god but God; and I testify that Muḥammad is the servant of God and the messenger of God."

Then at the end of all the rak'ats the Muṣallī, whilst in the same posture, says the durūd, which is:—

"O God! have mercy on Muḥammad and his descendants,² as Thou didst have mercy on Abraham and his descendants. Thou art to be praised and Thou art great. O God! bless Muḥammad and his descendants, as Thou didst bless Abraham and his descendants. Thou art to be praised and Thou art great."

the Companions, we have this Tradition. "The Prophet said, 'What! does no one of you fear when he lifts up his head before the Imām does? God will make his head then like that of a donkey.'" (*Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī*, Kitābu'l-Adhān.)

¹ This is said at the close of every two rak'ats.

² The Shī'ahs stop here and omit the rest.

Then comes the du'ā, which may be in the worshipper's own words, though he usually says:¹—

"O God our Lord, give us the blessings of this life, and also the blessings of life everlasting. Save us from the torments of hell."

Then turning the head to the right the Muṣallī repeats the salām: "The peace and mercy of God be with you."

Then turning the head to the left he says: "The peace and mercy of God be with you."

At the close of the whole ceremony the worshipper raises his hands as high as his shoulders, with the palms towards heaven or towards his own face, and offers up a munājāt, or supplication, either in Arabic or in his own language. The hands are then drawn over the face, as if to convey the blessing received from above to every part of the body.

The appointed periods of prayer are five² in number, in proof of which the following text is quoted: "Glorify God when ye reach the evening (masā'), and when ye rise at morn (subḥ); and to Him be praise in the heavens and in the earth—and at twilight ('aṣḥ) and when ye rest at noon (zuhr)" (xxx. 17). The commentators say that masā' includes both sunset and the period after sunset, that is, both the ṣalātu'l-maghrib and the ṣalātu'l-'iṣhā'.

¹ The Shī'ahs omit the du'ā and say: "Peace be on thee, O Prophet, with the mercy of God and His blessing. Peace be on us and on God's righteous servants."

² "The Zoroastrians had five stated times of prayer. The Ṣabians observed seven times of prayer daily, of which five correspond with those of Islām." (Tisdall, *Religion of the Crescent*, p. 174.) The five prayers were appointed after Muḥammad's night journey to heaven. (Klein, *Religion of Islām*, p. 133.)

'Āyesha said that at first God commended the spending of the night in prayer, "Stand up all night, except a small portion of it for prayer" (lxxiii. 2) which the Apostle and the Companions did for a year, until their feet became swollen when the command came to lessen it. "Recite then so much of the Qur'ān as may be easy to you" (lxxiii. 20).

Again, "Celebrate the praise of thy Lord before the sunrise and before its setting, and in some hours of the night and in the extremes of the day" (xx. 130). Baidāwī says that the "hours of the night" are the ṣalātu'l-maghrib and the ṣalātu'l-'ishā', and that "before the setting of the sun" includes ṣalātu'z-zuhr and ṣalātu'l-'aṣr, and that the expression "extremes of the day" is simply an emphatic way of urging the necessity of the morning prayer, ṣalātu'l-fajr, and of the evening prayer, ṣalātu'l-maghrib. Some commentators, however, say that the words "extremes of the day" mean noon, when the day is divided. In that case the prayer would be ṣalātu'l-'ishraq, which is a nafl or voluntary namāz. There is also a reference to a stated period of prayer in the following verse: "Observe prayer at early morning, at the close of the day, and at the approach of night" (xi. 116).

These daily namāz are farḍ, sunnat, witr, and nafl prayers. Farḍ are those distinctly ordained by God, such as the five stated periods of prayer. Sunnat, a certain number of rak'ats which are added, because it is said the Prophet repeated them. Witr rak'ats are an odd number of rak'ats 3, 5, or 7, which may be said after the last prayer at night, and before the dawn of day. Usually they are added to the ṣalātu'l-'ishā'. Imām Abū Ḥanīfa says they are wājib, though they are not authorised by any text in the Qur'ān; but by Traditions, each of which is generally received as a Ḥadīth u's-Ṣaḥīḥ, and so witr rak'ats are also regarded as being of authority. Imām Shāfi'ī, however, considers them to be sunnat only. The Traditions referred to are: "God has added to your namāz one namāz more: know that it is witr; say it between the ṣalātu'l-'ishā' and dawn." Bukhārī says: "The Prophet said the witr rak'ats before going to sleep." This fixes the time. He also said them before dawn. Thus 'Āyesha said: "Every night the Prophet made one witr namāz

and made his witr last till morning." On the authority of Buzār, a Traditionist, it is recorded that the Prophet said: "Witr is wājib upon Muslims," and in order to enforce the practice he added: "Witr is right; he who does not observe it is not my follower." The Prophet, the Companions, Tābi'ūn, and the Taba'u't-Tāba'in all observed it. The word witr literally means "odd number." A Tradition says: "God is odd; He loves the odd." Musalmāns pay the greatest respect to an odd number.¹

Nafl prayers are voluntary ones, the performance of which is considered mustaḥabb or meritorious. Tabarī and other historians say that Harūnu'r-Rashīd made one hundred nafl rak'ats every day.² All these prayers are precisely the same in form. They simply consist in the repetition of a number of rak'ats, of which I have already given a single illustration in full. A Muslim who says the five daily prayers with the full number of rak'ats will repeat the service I have described fifty times in one day. If in addition to these he observes the three voluntary periods of prayers, he must add twenty-five more rak'ats, making a grand total of seventy-five. It is, however, usual to omit some of the sunnat rak'ats; still there is a vast amount of repetition, and as the whole must be said in Arabic it becomes very mechanical. A Tradition states: "He who, for the sake of faith and with a good intention, in Ramaḍān makes these nafl or voluntary prayers, will receive all the pardon of his former sins."³

A Muslim who ventured to say that a namāz might be recited in Hindustani was publicly excommunicated

¹ It is considered unlucky to begin any work or to commence a journey on a day the date of which is an even number. The number of lines in a page of a book is nearly always an odd number.

² Ibn Khaldūn, vol. i, p. 32.

³ Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī, vol. i, p. 4.

in the principal mosque at Madras on Friday, February 13th, 1880.¹

The table on the next page will make the matter clear. The optional sunnat rak'ats are called "sunnatu'l-ghairi'l-mu'akkada;" the sunnat rak'ats before the fard ones are "sunnatu'l-mu'akkada," and should be said.

In addition to these there are several kinds of namáz for each day in the week, the observance of which brings remission of many sins and rich rewards, and other forms of namáz which have to be said at different times or under special circumstances.

(i) *Ṣalātu'l-Jum'a*.—The Friday namáz.—This is, a fard duty. It has the threefold authority of the Qur'án, the Sunnat, and the Ijmá'. Thus: "O ye who believe! when ye are summoned to prayer on the day of the assembly (Friday), haste ye to the commemoration of God and quit your traffic" (lxii. 9). The Prophet also said: "Jum'a is fard," and "God will make a mark on the heart of him who misses the *Ṣalātu'l-Jum'a*."² There are, however, eight kind of persons on whom it is not incumbent, viz., a traveller, a sick person, a slave, a woman, a young child, a mad person, a blind or a lame person. The conditions which make this namáz obligatory are: (1) That the place in which it is said is a town in which a Qādī dwells. (2) There must be in the town a ruler or his deputy. (3) It must take the place of the *ṣalātu'z-zuhr*, with which it agrees, except that two fard rak'ats instead of four are recited. The nafl rak'ats are omitted. The four sunnat rak'ats which precede and the two which follow the fard ones are said. (4) One, or, according to the followers of Imám Sháfi'í, two *khutbas* or sermons are

¹ The fatwá, or decree, will be found in a note at the end of this chapter.

² *Nuru'l-Hidáyat*, p. 155.

preached. These are delivered by the Imám after the four sunnat rak'ats are recited, and before the two fard ones. The *khutba* should consist of the praise of God, prayer, and injunctions to piety. (5) There must be

No.	TIME.	THE NAMES OF THE TIME OF PRAYER.			THE NUMBER OF RAK'ATS SAID.					
		Arabic.	Persian.	Urdu.	Sunnatu'l-Ghairi-l-mu'akkada.	Sunnatu'l-mu'akkada.	Fard.	Sunnat after Fard.	Nafl.	Witr.
The five periods of prayer.	1 From dawn to sunrise.	Ṣalātu'l-Fajr.	Namáz-i-Subh.	Fajr kí Namáz.		2	2			
	2 When the sun has begun to decline.	Ṣalātu'z-Zuhr.	Namáz-i-Peshin.	Zuhr kí Namáz.		4	4	2	2	
	3 Midway between No. 2 and 4.	Ṣalātu'l-'Asr.	Namáz-i-Digar.	'Asr kí Namáz.	4		4			
	4 A few minutes after sunset.	Ṣalātu'l-Maghrib.	Namáz-i-Shám.	Maghrib kí Namáz.			3	2	2	
	5 When the night has closed in.	Ṣalātu'l-'Ishá.	Namáz-i-Khuftan.	'Ishá kí Namáz.	4		4	2	2	7 ³
Three periods, which are voluntary.	1 When the sun has well risen.	Ṣalātu'l-'Ishráq.	Namáz-i-'Ishráq.	'Ishráq kí Namáz.					8	
	2 About 11 o'clock A.M.	Ṣalātu'd-Duḥá.	Namáz-i-Chast.	Duḥá kí Namáz.					8	
	3 After midnight.	Ṣalātu't-Tahajjud.	Namáz-i-Tahajjud.	Tahajjud kí Namáz.					9 ⁴	

¹ There are some nafl rak'ats besides these, such as the tahayyatu'l-masjid, two rak'ats for the honour of the mosque. They should be said on entering it, according to the Tradition, "When any one of you enters a mosque, make two rak'ats before you sit down" (to say the regular prayers). (*Sahihu'l-Bukhari*, Kitabu's-Ṣalát.)

² The Musalíf may say five or three witr rak'ats instead of seven.

³ The Prophet one night said this namáz in his own room, but in such a position that he could be seen by those who passed by. For two or three nights people stopped and said prayers after him. After this, he retired to a hidden part of his room where he could not be

a congregation of three persons besides the Imām. The Shāfi'ites say there should be at least forty worshippers. (6) The *adhān*, or call to prayers, must be made to all without distinction of rank.

Any person who is qualified to act as Imām at the other prayers can conduct this namāz. The Imām¹ (precentor) and *Khaṭīb* (preacher) is usually, but not necessarily, one and the same person. The *khutbas* should not be long, for Muḥammad said that long sermons and short prayers would be a sign of the degeneracy of the latter days. When two *khutbas* are said, the Imām sits down to rest before the delivery of the second. The worshippers may then offer up a *du'ā*, or private prayer. Some, however, say that this practice is *bid'at* (innovation,) and consider it a very bad act. According to the Traditionists *Bukhārī*, *Abū Dā'ūd*, and *Tirmidhī*, it is a *mustahabb* act to wear clean clothes on Friday.

The preacher, standing on the second step of the *mimbar* or pulpit, with a large club or staff in his

seen, and so could not be made Imām of the namāz. He said that he so retired because he did not wish to make this *ṣalat* a *fard* one. (*Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī*, p. 184.) This is a very good illustration of the *Sunnatu'l-Fīl*. This *tahajjud* namāz is said to be most advantageous. *Abū Huraira* relates how the Prophet said: "Shaitān fastens three knots upon the back of each one of you who sleeps, and he beats the whole night with these knots and says 'Sleep on;' but if the man awakes and remembers God, one knot is loosened; when he makes *waḍū'* another knot is untied; then he wakes in the morning happy and in good spirits; but if he does not do these things, he wakes up unhappy and in dull spirits." (*Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī*, p. 289.)

¹ The Shāfi'is say that only one may be said, and support their view by the Tradition, "A man said to the Prophet, 'O Prophet of God! how is the *tahajjud* namāz to be said?' He replied, 'Say two *rak'ats*, or if you fear that morning is near, say one with *rak'at*.'" (*Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī*, p. 224.)

¹ On the character of the Imām, see *ante* p. 108. The Sunnī view is supported by an-Nasafi thus: "Prayer is allowable behind any one whether pure or a sinner; and we give the salutation of peace to the pure and to the sinner." (Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 11.)

hand, delivers his sermon.¹ The following is a specimen:—

SERMON ON THE EXCELLENCE OF FRIDAY.

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

Praise be to God, the King, the Holy, the Great, the Knower. He has opened our hearts through the blessing of Islām. He has made Friday the best of days. We testify that there is no god but God, the One without partner. This confession saves those who make it from danger and from darkness. We testify that our Lord Muḥammad is His servant and His Apostle sent to all mankind. May the mercy and peace of God be on him, his descendants, and on his Companions. O men! O believers of God! I advise you and my own soul thus: "Obey God! Know, O servants of God! that when Friday commences the angels assemble in the fourth heaven, and Gabriel (on whom be peace) is *Mu'adhdhin*, *Mikā'il* the *Khaṭīb*, *Isrā'il* the Imām, and *Izrā'il* the *Mukabbir*,² and all the angels join in the Namāz. When it is over Gabriel says: "I give the reward due to me as *Mu'adhdhin* to the *Mu'adhdhins* of the sect of Islām; *Mikā'il*: "I give mine to the *Khaṭibs*;" *Isrā'il*: "I give mine to the Imāms;" *Izrā'il*: "I give mine to the *Mukabbirs*." The angels say: "We give ours to the company of the Muslims." The Prophet said: "The night and day of Friday last twenty-four hours, and each hour God releases a thousand souls from hell. Whosoever makes '*ghusl*' on Friday, God will give him for every hair on his body the reward of ten good deeds. Whosoever dies on a Friday meets with the reward of a martyr."

Certainly the best and most eloquent speech is the Holy Qur'ān, the Word of God,—the King, the Great, the Knower.

¹ In countries under Muslim rule he holds a wooden sword reversed. The position of standing is a *sunnat* order, based on a Tradition by Ibn 'Umar, recorded by *Bukhārī*: "The Prophet delivered the *khutba* standing, then he sat down."

² One who says, "Allāhu Akbar—God is Great."

His word is true and righteous. When thou readest the Qur'án say: "O God! protect me from cursed Satan."

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

When ye are summoned to prayer on the day of the assembly, haste to the commemoration of God and quit your traffic. This, if ye knew it, will be best for you. And when the prayer is ended, then disperse yourselves abroad and go in quest of the bounties of God; and that it may be well with you, oft remember God. But when they get a sight of merchandise or sport, then they disperse after, and leave thee standing alone. Say: "God hath in reserve what is better than sport or wares. God is the best provider" (lxii. 9—11). God by means of the Holy Qur'án will bless us and you. And by its verses and teaching will reward us and you. God is Almighty, Generous, Merciful, Eternal, Holy, Clement.

Here ends the first sermon: after a short pause the preacher commences the second.¹

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

Praise be to God, the Creator of the earth and heavens, the Maker of light and darkness. I testify that there is no god but God. He is one. He has no partner. Know, O believers! that this confession will save you from trouble and calamity. I testify that Muḥammad, who wipes out error and infidelity, is the servant and Apostle of God. The mercy of God be on our Lord Muḥammad, the Lord of Creation; and on his descendants, and on his Companions be grace and honour. O servants of God! I advise you and my own soul thus: Obey God! Fear God, who created life and death and who scrutinises our good actions. O God! be pleased with Abú Bakr, the righteous, the Saḥibul-Ghár,² and with 'Umar Ibnu'l-Khaṭṭáb, the chief of the holy men,

¹ The first part is called the *khutbatu'l-wa'z*, the sermon of admonition; the second, the *khutbatu'n-na't*, the sermon of praise.

² A reference to his presence with Muḥammad in the cave (ghár) when they fled from Mecca to Madína. See Súra ix. 40.

and with 'Uthmán the possessor of two lights, who was martyred when reading the Holy Qur'án, and upon 'Alí Murtaḍá, the destroyer of infidels and sinners. O God! be pleased with the great Imáms Hasan and Husain. Be pleased with their mother Fátimahu'z-Zahrá, the chief of women, and with Ḥamza and 'Abbás, the uncles of the Prophet. Also be pleased with all the Aṣḥáb (Companions). O God! help those who help the religion of Muḥammad, and make us of their number. Make those wretched who corrupt it, and keep us aloof from all such. O believers! truly God orders you to do justice and to show kindness to your kindred. He orders you to abstain from infidelity and from the greater and the lesser sins. God warns you. God is the Most High, the Most Glorious. God is Great!"

The form in all *Khutbas*, whatever may be their subject matter, is very similar. The exordium and the conclusion are practically the same. A few sentences in the middle refer to the special subject of the sermon. The second of the two sermons is always the same; it is practically an invocation of blessings on certain persons. Both are said in Arabic. What would answer to our idea of a sermon, such as an explanation of some doctrine, or an exposition of some passages in the Qur'án, is not part of the public worship in the mosque; but is done in an ordinary assembly, in any convenient place, by a Mullá, or any learned man who can collect an audience.

(ii) *Ṣalátu'l-Musáfir*.—Prayers said by a traveller. Should he stay in any one place fifteen days, he must say the usual *namáz*; if less, he may say as few as two *farḍ rak'ats*. He may omit all others, except the three *witr rak'ats* at the *ṣalátu'l-'ishá*.¹

¹ Some persons once said to the *Khalífa 'Umar*: "we find the prayer of fear and the prayer of residence written in the Qur'án, but not the prayer of the traveller" 'Umar replied: "God sent to us Muḥammad when we did not know anything about religion, we do what we saw him do" (*Kashf* i, 197, quoted by Klein, *Religion of Islám*, p. 149). This is a good illustration of a *sunnat* obligation.

(iii) *Ṣalātu'l-Khauf*.—Prayers of fear. When there is imminent danger from the approach of an enemy, the Imám should divide the army into two bodies; one of which should be placed in a position towards the enemy; the other should recite, if they are on the march, one rak'at; if stationary in a place, two rak'ats. This division will then march towards the enemy, and the first division will recite as many rak'ats as may be required to complete the namáz. The first division of troops will omit the *fātiḥa* and the other verses of the Qur'án recited after it, but the second division will supply the omission. If the enemy are so near that the cavalry dare not dismount, then each man will recite a rak'at or rak'ats for himself, and make the rukú' and sijda by means of signs. If he cannot turn towards the Qibla, he is, under such circumstances, allowed to face any direction most convenient. During the recital of the namáz he must not fight or allow his horse to move, lest the prayer should be rendered void. It is written in the Qur'án, "When ye go forth to war in the land, it shall be no crime in you to cut short your prayers, if ye fear lest the infidels come upon you. . . . And when thou, O Apostle! shalt be among them, and shalt pray with them, then let a party of them rise up with thee, but let them take their arms; and when they shall have made their prostrations, let them retire to your rear: then let another party that hath not prayed come forward, and let them pray with you" (iv. 102, 103).

(iv) *Ṣalātu't-Tarāwīḥ*.¹—This is a special set of twenty rak'ats, of sunnat obligation, recited every night during the month of Ramaḍán. They must be said after the fard and sunnat, and before the witr rak'ats at the

¹ Also called prayer of pauses, because each worshipper rests awhile after each tarwīḥa prayer which consists of four rak'ats; the twenty rak'ats, or five tarwīḥa prayers, give the plural name tarāwīḥ to the whole prayer-service.

time of the *ṣalātu'l-ishá*. 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán, a Traditionist, states that one night in Ramaḍán he went with the Khalifa 'Umar to the mosque. They saw some persons saying the namáz alone, and some reciting it in groups. 'Umar said, "If I gather them all together, so that they may recite it after one Imám, it will be good." He did so, and the next night the people of their own accord came in great numbers and united together. Then said 'Umar, "This bid'at is good." This is good authority for the institution, for the Prophet said, "Follow my sunnat and that of the *Khulafá'u'r-Ráshidún*." There is also a *Ḥadīthu's-Sahīḥ* to the effect that "God has made the fast of Ramaḍán fard, and its qiyám¹ sunnat." The Prophet was anxious that the tirāwīḥ namáz should not become fard, and therefore, after going to the mosque on three successive nights in Ramaḍán, he stayed away on the fourth, giving as his reason for so doing that he feared that, if he went every night, it might be considered a fard, and not a sunnat duty. The number of rak'ats is fixed at twenty, that being the number recited by Muḥammad and by the Khalifa 'Umar. The Shí'ahs do not say these prayers, or even enter the mosque on such occasions, as after every four rak'ats an eulogium is repeated on the four Khalifas, the first three of whom they hate.

(v) *Ṣalātu'l-Kusúf* and *Ṣalātu'l-Khusúf*.—Prayer said when an eclipse of the sun or of the moon takes place. In the former case, the Imám recites with the congregation in the mosque two rak'ats. A Tradition recorded by Bukḥarí and related by 'Abdu'lláh bin 'Amrú states that "in the time of the Prophet, when there was an eclipse of the sun, it was notified that certainly the namáz was to be said in the congregation." In this

¹ Qiyám is one of the positions in a namáz, and is here used by synecdoche for it. In Mecca the *ṣalātu't-tarāwīḥ* is called with reference to this Tradition the *ṣalātu'l-qiyámah*.

ṣalāt the *adhān* and the *iqāmat* are both omitted. No *khuṭba* is said. After the *rak'ats* are completed those present remain in prayer (*du'ā*) until the eclipse is at an end. The *namāz* during an eclipse of the moon is the same as that during an eclipse of the sun, with this exception, that the *rak'ats* need not be recited in a congregation. The practice is founded on the Prophet's saying, "When you see an eclipse, then remember God; pray (*du'ā*) and recite the *namāz* until it becomes light again."

(vi) *Ṣalātu'l-Istisqā'*.—Prayer in time of drought. Each person should then, with face Qibla-wards, offer up prayer to God. This can be said at home and in private. Care must be taken that no *Dhimmi*¹ is present, for this is a prayer for a blessing; but God sends no blessing on a company in which a *Dhimmi* is present. These prayers are simple *du'ā* and not a *ṣalāt*. There is no well-authenticated Tradition to the effect that the Prophet ever said *ṣalāt* on such an occasion, whilst there are many which show that he made *du'ā*. This is a very good example of the use of the term *ṣalāt* as a *mushtarak* word, i.e., one which has several significations. Its ordinary meaning is *namāz*, here it means *du'ā*.

(vii) *Ṣalātu'l-Janāza*.—Prayers at a funeral. When a person is about to die, the attendants should place him on his right side with his face Qibla-wards. In that position he should repeat the "*kalimatu'sh-shahādāt*," the creed of testimony: "I confess that God is one, without a partner; that truly Muḥammad is His servant and His Apostle." After death has taken place, the corpse is laid out, incense is burnt, and the shroud is perfumed an odd number of times. An odd number of prayers is fixed upon because the number one,

¹ That is, a non-Muslim who is allowed to reside in a Muslim state on payment of a special tax, called the *jizya*.

which represents the unity of God, is odd and not even. The lesser lustration (*waḥū'*) is then made. The head and beard are washed with a decoction made of some flowers, after which the greater lustration (*ghusl*) is made.

To recite the *Ṣalātu'l-Janāza* is a duty called *farḍu'l-kifāya*, that is, if some few persons in the assembly say it, all need not do so; whilst if no one repeats it, all will be guilty of sin. To prove that this *ṣalāt* is *farḍ* the following verse is quoted: "Take alms of their substance, that thou mayest cleanse and purify them thereby, and pray for them; for thy prayers shall assure their minds: and God heareth, knoweth" (ix. 104).¹ The proof that it is not *farḍu'l-'ain* (i.e. incumbent on all), but *farḍu'l-i-kifāya*, is drawn from an account given in a *Ḥadīth* to the effect that the Prophet one day did not recite the *ṣalāt* over one of his deceased followers. Now, if the *ṣalāt* had been *farḍu'l-'ain*, even the Prophet could not have omitted it. His *sunnat*, or practice, has decided the nature of the *farḍ* command contained in the verse of the *Qur'ān* just quoted. This *ṣalāt* can only be said when the corpse is present. It is recited in the open space in front of the mosque, or in some neighbouring spot: never in the graveyard.

When all are assembled the Imām or leader says: "Here begins the *ṣalāt* for the dead." The company present then stand up in rows with faces turned in the direction of Mecca. The Imām stands a little in front, near the head or waist of the corpse, according as it is that of a male or female. Then all assume the *qiyām* or standing position, and recite the *niyyat* as follows: "I recite *ṣalāt* for the sake of God, and offer prayers (*du'ā*) for this deceased person, and I follow the

¹ For an account of the occasion which called forth this verse, see *Historical Development of the Qur'ān*, p. 189.

Imám." Then all at the first¹ takbír put the hands to the lobes of their ears and say: "God is Great!"

Then they say the *thaná*: "Holiness to Thee, O God! and to Thee be praise! Great is Thy Name! Great is Thy greatness! Great is Thy praise! There is no God but Thee!"

Then follows the second takbír: "God is Great!"

Then all say the *ṣalātu'l-Ibráhím*:² "O God, have mercy on Muḥammad and upon his descendants, as Thou didst bestow mercy, and peace, and blessing, and compassion, and great kindness upon Abraham and upon his descendants." "Thou art praised, and Thou art Great!" "O God, bless Muḥammad and his descendants, as Thou didst bless, and didst have compassion and great kindness upon Abraham and upon his descendants."

Then follows the third takbír: "God is Great!"

The *du'á* is then repeated: "O God, forgive our living and our dead, and those of us who are present, and those who are absent, and our children and our full-grown persons, our men and our women. O God, those whom Thou dost keep alive amongst us, keep alive in Islám, and those whom Thou causest to die, let them die in the Faith."³

Then follows the fourth takbír: "God is Great!"

Then all say: "O God, give us good in this world and in the next, and save us by Thy mercy from the troubles of the grave and of hell."

Then each one in a low voice says the *salám*, as in an ordinary *ṣalát*.⁴

¹ The Sháfi'ites raise the hands at the recital of each of the four takbírs; the other sects do so only at the first.

² This prayer is known in Persia and in India as the *durúdu'l-Ibráhím*.

³ If the deceased was a child or a mad person, they say: "O God, make him (or her, as the case may be) a guide for us, and make him a cause of our gaining a future reward. O God, save him and make him an intercessor for us."

⁴ The Imám makes the *niyyat* (intention) in his mind that the *salám* may be on his guardian angels, and on the worshippers who are behind

The *ṣalát* is now over, and the people make another *du'á* thus: "'O our Lord! suffer not our hearts to go astray after that Thou hast once guided us, and give us mercy from before Thee; for verily Thou art He who giveth' (iii. 6). O God, Thou art his Master, and Thou createdst him, and Thou didst nourish him, and didst guide him toward Islám, and Thou hast taken his life, and Thou knowest well his inner and outer life. Provide intercessors for us. Forgive him, for Thou art the Forgiver, the most Merciful."¹

Then going towards the head of the corpse, they say:—"No doubt is there about this Book (Qur'án). It is a guidance to the God-fearing, who believe in the unseen, who observe prayer (*ṣalát*), and out of what We have bestowed on them expend (for God), and who believe in that which hath been sent down to thee (Muḥammad), and in what hath been sent down before thee; and full faith have they in the life to come: these are guided by their Lord; and with these it shall be well" (ii. 1-4).

Then coming towards the feet of the corpse, they say:—"The Apostle believeth in that which hath been sent down from his Lord, as do the faithful also. Each believeth in God, and His angels, and His Books and His Apostles: We make no distinction between any of His Apostles.² And they say: 'We have heard and we obey. (We implore) Thy mercy, Lord; for unto Thee must we return.' God will not burden any soul

him; each worshipper makes the *niyyat* that the *salám* may be on his guardian angels, on his fellow-worshippers, and on the Imám.

¹ A deceased Muslim is called "*maghfūr lahu*," i.e., one who is not only absolved from sin, but is also admitted into Paradise: the term is derived from "*ghafr*," which adds to the meaning of "*'afu*" (he absolved) the further idea of a participation in the joys of heaven.

² This contradicts Súra ii. 254. Muslims explain it thus. We accept all prophets, and as regards *faith* in them make no difference, though as regards *dignity* we recognise the distinction indicated in the 254th verse.

beyond its power. It shall enjoy the good which it hath acquired, and shall bear the evil for the acquirement of which it laboured. O our Lord! punish us not if we forget or fall into sin; O our Lord! and lay not on us a load like that which Thou hast laid on those who have been before us;¹ O our Lord! and lay not on us that for which we have no strength, but blot out our sins and forgive us, and have pity on us. Thou art our protector; give us victory therefore over the infidel nations" (ii. 285, 286).

The chief mourner then says: "All have permission to depart." Some then proceed homewards, others go with the corpse to the graveyard. When the bier is lifted up, or when it is placed down near the grave, the people say: "We commit thee to earth in the name of God and in the religion of the Prophet."

If the ground is very hard, a recess (*lahd*) is dug out in the side of the grave, high enough to allow the corpse to sit up when the angels Munkar and Nakir come to interrogate it. If the ground is soft, a small grave is excavated at the bottom of the larger one. The corpse is then placed in the lower one. The corpse must be in such a position that it can have free movement. The body is placed with the face towards Mecca. When the bands of the shroud have been loosened the people say: "O God, deprive us not of the heavenly reward of the deceased, place us not in trouble."

Each person then takes seven clods of earth, and over each clod says "Bismillāh" (in the name of God), and the *Sūratu'l-Ikhlāṣ* (cxii.), and then places each clod by the head of the corpse. Unburnt bricks,

¹ That is, the Jews and Christians, on whom, it is said by the Muslim commentators, many strict ceremonial observances were incumbent. The word often used to express the idea of the burdensome nature of ceremonial observance is *taklīf*, trouble. Practically, Muslims are not free from these "loads," a fact which finds expression in the word used for a pious man—a *mukallaf*, one who has to take trouble in the way of performing religious duties.

bamboos or boards having then been placed over the smaller grave, the persons present with both hands throw clods of earth three times into the grave. The first time they say: "From it (earth) We created you;" the second time, "And into it will We return you;" the third time, "And out of it will We bring you a second time" (xx. 57). Then they say this *du'ā*: "O God, I beseech Thee for the sake of Muḥammad not to trouble the deceased."

When the attendants are filling up the grave they say: "O God, defend the deceased from *Shaitān* (devil) and from the torments of the grave." When the grave is completely filled up, one man pours water three, or five, or seven times over it, and then plants a green branch on it. One of the mourners then draws near the middle of the grave and recites the *talqīn* (instruction): "O servant of God, and child of a female servant of God. O son of (such an one),¹ remember the faith you professed on earth to the very last; that is, your witness that there is no god but God, and that certainly Muḥammad is His Apostle, and that Paradise and Hell and the Resurrection from the dead are real; that there will be a day of judgment, and say: 'I confess that God is my Lord, Islām my religion, Muḥammad (on whom be the mercy and peace of God) my Prophet, the Qur'ān my guide, the Ka'ba my Qibla, and that Muslims are my brethren.' O God, keep him (the deceased) firm in this faith, and widen his grave, and make his examination (by Munkar and Nakir) easy, and exalt him and have mercy on him, O Thou most Merciful." The other persons present

¹ The names of the mother is here inserted. The mother's name is chosen in preference to that of the father, as there can be no doubt as to the maternity of the child. For the same reason it is said that at the Last Day each man will be summoned as such an one, son of such a mother. This simple fact reveals a sad state of morals, or at least a disbelief in the virtue of women.

then offer a *fātiḥa*, the reward of which act passes on to the deceased.

After this they may read the *Súratu Yá Sín* (xxxvi.) and the *Súratu'l-Mulk* (lxvii). Then, retiring forty paces from the grave, they again offer a *fātiḥa*, for by this time the examination of the deceased has commenced. The first night is one of great trouble to the deceased, so alms should be given liberally that night in his name. In order to relieve him as much as possible, two *nafl rak'ats* of a *ṣalát* should be said. After the *fātiḥa* in each *rak'at*, the worshipper should repeat the *Áyatu'l-Kursi*, the throne verse (ii. 256), three times; then the *Súratu't-Takáthur* (cii.) eleven times; then the *Súratu'l-Ikhlás* (cxii.) three times. After the *salám* and the *durúd*, the worshipper lifts up both hands, and with great humility prays that the reward of the service just concluded may be bestowed on the deceased.

(viii.) *Ṣalátu'l-Istikhára*.—This is a *ṣalát*, consisting of two *rak'ats*, said before undertaking any special work. After each *rak'at* the person says this *du'á*: "O God, make me know what is best for me, and keep me from evil, and bestow good upon me, for I have no power to know what is best for me." He then goes to sleep, during which period he expects to receive a special inspiration (*ilhám*) which will give him the needed directions and guide him aright as to the matter in hand.

(ix.) *Ṣalátu't-Tauba*.—This is the prayer of repentance. The worshipper after *waḍú'* asks God for pardon, then recites *Súra* iii. 129-30 and concludes with a prayer of two *rak'ats*.

The account given of the various forms of *ṣalát* will show how mechanical they are. These forms admit of no variation, whether used in public or in private.¹

¹ A Muslim who would attain to great merit engages in devotional exercises called *wird*, done chiefly at night. For *Ghazáli's* account of

3. ROZA, THE THIRTY DAYS' FAST OF RAMAḌÁN.—Fasting¹ (which is called in Arabic, *Ṣaum*) is defined to be abstinence from food, drink, and cohabitation from sunrise to sunset. The person should say: "O Lord, I intend to fast to-morrow for Thy sake. Forgive my past and future sin." When the fast is ended, he says: "O God, I fasted for Thy sake and had faith in Thee, and confided in Thee, and now I break (*iftár*) the fast with the food Thou givest. Accept this act.

It is a *farḍ* duty to fast during the thirty days of the month Ramaḍán. Thus: "As to the month Ramaḍán, in which the *Qur'án* was sent down to be man's guidance, and an explanation of that guidance, and of that illumination, as soon as any one of you observeth the moon, let him set about the fast" (ii. 179-181). The *Ijmá'* is also unanimous on this point. Young children and idiots are excused. Sick persons and travellers may postpone the fast to another time. "He who is sick or upon a journey shall fast a like number of other days. God wisheth you ease, but wisheth not your discomfort, and that you fulfil the number of days" (ii. 181). This is called a *qaḍá'* fast, that is, a fast kept at another time in lieu of one which has been omitted. If a person makes a vow that, if God grants a certain request, he will fast (*ṣaumu'n-nadhr*), or if he fasts by way of atonement

this religious exercise, see Klein, *Religion of Islám*, p. 152-3. See also Margoliouth, *Muḥammad*, pp. 103, 258. At the same time, it must be admitted that some Muslim theologians had a much higher conception of prayer, and taught that it was only effectual when the worshipper was honest in his actions, firm in his trust in God, calm in mind, free from desire to injure a relative or a Muslim, and not anxious in seeking for what was impossible. Still, in his case the strict ritual was necessary.

¹ The Prophet said "Fasting is a shield. There is a special door of Paradise; it is called *Rayyán*, and only those who fast can enter by it; when all such have entered it will be fastened." (*Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī*, *Kitābu's-ṣaum*.)

for some sin committed (ṣaumu'l-kaffāra), in both cases it is a wājib duty to keep the fast. Some hold that the former is a farḍ duty, and base their assertion on the verse: "Let them bring the neglect of their persons to a close, and let them pay their vows" (xxii. 30).

All other kinds of fasts are nafl, or voluntary, such as the fasts kept on the 10th day of Muḥarram, on the Aiyāmu'l-Biz (bright days)—the 13th, 14th, and 15th day of any month, on the 15th of Sha'bān, that is, the day following the night called Shab-Barāt, and on the 30th of each month in which there are thirty days. A nafl fast may be broken if the person who intended to keep it receives an invitation to a feast. According to Bukhārī, a woman may not make a nafl fast without the consent of her husband. The reverse is not the case, for "Men are superior to women on account of the qualities with which God hath gifted the one above the other,"¹ and on account of the outlay they make from their substance for them" (iv. 38). One day a woman came to the Prophet and said that her husband had slapped her. The Prophet wished to punish him for doing so improper an act, but he was prevented by the descent from heaven of the verse just quoted, which is held to be conclusive evidence of the inferiority of women. This verse also contains the words "chide those (wives) for whose refractoriness ye have cause to fear; remove them into beds apart, and scourge them." It is mustahab to fast some days in the month Shawwāl, for Muḥammad said: "Whosoever keeps the fast of Ramaḍān and some seven days in the preceding month of Shawwāl, it is as if his whole life were a fast."

If, on account of dull weather or of dust-storms, the new moon is not visible, it is sufficient to act on the testimony of a trustworthy person who declares that

¹ Baiḍāwī gives a long list of these qualities, amongst which are wisdom, good counsel, strength in action and many others (vol. i, p. 207).

Ramaḍān has commenced. Imām Shāfi'ī requires two, but the following Tradition is quoted against him: "An Arab came to the Prophet and said, 'I have seen the new moon.' His Excellency said, 'Dost thou believe that there is no god but God? Dost thou confess that Muḥammad is his Apostle?' 'Yes,' replied the man. The Prophet calling Billāl, the Mu'adhḍhin, said, 'Tell the people to commence the fast.'" This proves that the evidence of one good Muslim is sufficient testimony in the matter.

The fast is destroyed in the following cases:—If, when cleansing the teeth, a little water should pass into the throat; if food is eaten under compulsion; if an enema is used; if medicine is put into the ears, nose, or a wound in the head; if a meal has been taken on the supposition that it was night when it was really day; if the niyyat in the Ramaḍān fast was not properly made; if after a meal taken during the night a portion of food larger than a grain of corn remains between the teeth or in a cavity of a tooth; lastly, if food is vomited. In each of these cases a qaḍā fast must be kept in lieu of the one thus broken. In the case where the fast is deliberately broken, the person must atone for his sin by setting a slave at liberty; if from any cause that cannot be done, he must fast every day for two months; if that cannot be done, he must give sixty persons two full meals each, or give one man such meals daily for sixty days. The fast is not broken by merely tasting anything, by applying antimony to the eyes and oil to the beard, by cleansing the teeth or by kissing a person; but it is considered better not to do these things during the daytime.

If a person through the infirmity of old age is not able to keep the fast, he must perform ṣadaqa, that is, he must feed a poor person. This opinion is based on a sentence in the Qur'ān which has caused a great deal of dispute: "As for those who are able (to keep it and

yet break it), the expiation of this shall be the maintenance of a poor man" (ii. 180). This seems to make fasting a matter of personal option, and some Commentators admit that at first it was so, but they say that the words have been abrogated¹ by the following sentence, which occurs in the next verse: "As soon as any one of you observeth the moon, let him set about the fast." Others say that the negative particle "not" must be understood before "able," in which case the words within brackets must be omitted. Others explain the expression "those who are able" as equivalent to "those who have great difficulty therein," such as aged and infirm persons. This seems to be the best interpretation, and it is usually acted on.

In the case of women with child, mothers giving suck to their children, sick persons whom fasting at this particular time might injure, it is sufficient if they keep it at another time. In these cases the *ṣadaqa* is not required. The Qur'án says: "He who is sick or upon a journey shall fast a like number of other days" (ii. 181). There are five days in the year in which it is unlawful to fast. These are 'Ídu'l-Fiṭr, Baqr'íd, and the three following days, viz., the 11th, 12th, and 13th of *Dhu'l-Hijja*. If during the month of Ramaḍán a person arrives at maturity, or an infidel becomes a Muslim, each must keep the fast during the remaining days of the month.

To take the *saḥarí*, or meal taken just before sunrise in the month of Ramaḍán is a *sunnat* act. Bukhárí, Muslim, and Tirmídhí, all agree that the Prophet said, "Eat *saḥarí* because there is a blessing in it. The difference between our fast and that of the men of the

¹ Baidáwí says it is abrogated (vol. i, p. 101). There are others who maintain that it is a *muḥkam* statement, and cannot therefore be abrogated. They hold that it must be restricted to the aged and to persons who have chronic diseases. (*Tafsír-i-Ilusaini*, p. 30; *Tafsír-i-Faidu'l-Karim*, p. 120.)

Book (Christians) is the partaking of *saḥarí*." The meal eaten immediately after sunset is called *iftár*, or the breaking of the fast. In India it is the custom to eat a date first, or, if that fruit is not procurable, to drink a little water. In Turkey an olive is chosen as the fruit with which the fast should be broken.

A Muḥammadan fast is a fast during the day only. The rich classes, when not strictly religious, by turning day into night avoid much of its rigour, but popular opinion all over the Muslim world is strongly against a man who does not, outwardly at least, observe the fast of Ramaḍán. In this matter it may be said, "*Pecher en secret, n'est pas pecher, ce n'est que l'éclat qui fait le crime.*" Those who have to work for their living find the observance of the fast very difficult, yet, as a rule, the lower classes observe it strictly.¹

Fasting is only once referred to in a Meccan Súra (xix. 27.) It is simply a historical reference and is not recommended for imitation. As yet fasting was not an obligation. In Madina, the desire to win the good opinion of the Jews led Muḥammad to imitate their custom and to officially pronounce fasting to be a sacred rite.

4. ZAKÁT.—There are two terms in use to express almsgiving. The first is *zakát*, or the legal alms due, with certain exceptions, from every Muslim. The second is *ṣadaqa*, or offerings on the feast-day known as 'Ídu'l-Fiṭr, or alms in general.² It is the first of these that has now to be considered.

¹ Burton says that when, in the disguise of a Musalmán doctor, he was in Cairo making preparations for the *Hajj*, he had but one patient who would break his fast to save his life. (*Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Meccah*, vol. i, p. 74.)

² "The former are called *zakát*, either because they increase a man's store by drawing down a blessing on him, and produce in his soul the virtue of liberality, or because they purify the remaining part of one's substance from pollution, and the soul from the filth of avarice; the

It is a *farḍ* duty for every Muslim of full age, to give the *zakāt* on account of his property, provided that he has sufficient for his subsistence and is a *Ṣāhibun-Niṣāb*, or one who possesses an income equivalent to about £5 per annum. The Qur'ān says: "Observe prayer (*ṣalāt*) and the legal impost (*zakāt*)" (ii. 40, 77, 104).¹ The *Khalīfa* 'Umar Ibn 'Abdu'l-'Azīz used to say: "Prayer carries us half-way to God, fasting brings us to the door of His palace, and alms procure us admission."² The three conditions without which *zakāt* would not be compulsory are Islām, *hurriyat* (freedom), and *niṣāb* (stock). The reason for this is that *zakāt* is a fundamental part of *'ibādat* (worship). *Hurriyat*, or freedom, is necessary, for slaves hold no property. *Niṣāb*, or stock, is required, for so the Prophet has decreed.³ When the *niṣāb* is required for daily use, the *zakāt* is not taken from it; such as a slave retained for personal service, grain for food, weapons, tools, books, household furniture, wearing apparel, and horses for riding, for one Tradition records that the Prophet specially exempted all these; whilst another, given on the authority of *Bukhārī*, says that for slaves employed in domestic service only the *ṣadaqatu'l-fiṭr*⁴ should be given. If a person owes a debt, the amount necessary for its liquidation must be deducted from his property and the *zakāt* given on the balance. If it is a debt due to God,

latter are called *ṣadaqa*, because they are a proof of a man's sincerity in the worship of God." (Sale, *Preliminary Discourse*, Sect. iv.)

¹ See also *Sūras* iv. 79; ix. 5, 11; xxii. 42, 78; xxiv. 55; lviii. 14; all late Meccan *Sūras*.

² The exaltation of alms-giving is a characteristic of later Judaism. "Alms deliver from death and suffereth not to come into darkness" *Tobit* iv. 10.

³ The Prophet told the men of the tribe 'Abdu'l-Qā'is that they should give one-fifth of their property (*Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī*, p. 22). It is said, however, that this order applied to that tribe only, and was not of general application.

⁴ That is, food or money sufficient to provide one meal for a poor person.

such as an offering due on a vow, or to be given in atonement for the neglect of some religious duty, it must not be so deducted from the property on which *zakāt* is due.

When the *niṣāb* is in gold or in silver to the value of about £5, then one-fortieth part is due. "A woman with a child, on whose arms were heavy golden bracelets, came to the Prophet. On being told that the *zakāt* had not been given, he said to her, 'It is easy for God in the day of judgment to make thee wear bracelets of fire.' The girl then took them off and said, 'These are for the service of God and of His Prophet.'"

• On all *rikāz* or buried treasure and on metals extracted from mines, one-fifth of the value must be paid, whether the land be *khārijī*—rented at its proper market value, or *'usharī*—possessed by the payment of a tithe. If the *rikāz* is found in *Dāru'l-Ḥarb*, a country under a non-Muslim Government, the whole belongs to the finder; if it is on his own land, he must pay the one-fifth. Should the treasure consist of coins bearing the mint stamp of a Muslim Government, the finder must, if he can, find the owner and return them to him; if they were coined in a mint belonging to the infidels, after having given one-fifth as *zakāt*, he may retain four-fifths for himself.

• As regards cattle the following rules have been laid down. For sheep and goats nothing is given when the number is under forty. The owner must give one for one hundred and twenty, two for the next eighty, and one for every hundred after. The scale for buffaloes is the same as that for sheep. For camels, horses, and cows, special elaborate rules are laid down, but the general principles are the same. Donkeys and mules are exempt, for the Prophet said, "No order has come down (from heaven) to me about them."

If a stock of merchandise exceeds the *niṣāb* (£5, 4s.), *zakāt* must be given on it and on the profits at the

rate of two and a half per cent. Honey, fruit, and grain, although less than five camel-loads, must, according to Imám Abú Ḥanífa, pay one-tenth; but the Ṣáhibain and Imám Sháfi'í omit the tax on less than five camel-loads.¹

The zakát is given to the following classes of person. "Alms are to be given to the poor and the needy, and to those who collect them, *and to those whose hearts are won to Islám*, and for ransoms, and for debtors, and for the cause of God, and for the wayfarer" (ix. 60). The words here italicised, according to Ḥusain, Baidáwí, and other authorities, are now cancelled, or rather they are allowed to fall into disuse, for the term *sáqit*, which is the one used, is not so strong as the word *mansúkh* (abrogated).² The reference is to the Arab chiefs who were beaten by the Prophet at the battle of Hunain (A.H. 8). "God has helped you in many battle-fields, and on the day of Hunain. He sent down the hosts which ye saw not, and He punished the infidels" (ix. 25, 26). Abú Bakr abolished this giving of zakát to converts, and the Khalífa 'Umar said to these or similar persons, "This zakát was given to incline your hearts towards Islám. Now God has prospered Islám. If you be converted it is well; if not, a sword is between us." No Companion has denied this statement, and so the authority for the practical suspension of this order is that of the Ijmá'u'l-Ummat. It is well that an appeal to unworthy motives should be abolished, but no commentator, so far as I know, makes that a reason for the cancelling of this order. It is always placed on the ground of the triumphant nature of Islám, which now needs no such support.

¹ For further details see Klein, *Religion of Islám*, pp. 157-9.

² *Tafsir-i-Ḥusaini*, vol. i, p. 260. *Khaláṣatu't-Tafsir*, vol. ii, p. 271. Baidáwí, vol. i, p. 390. The term *al Mu'allafa Qulūbuhum*, "whose hearts are won," was the name by which the chiefs reconciled after the battle of Hunain were known.

Zakát may also be given to assist a mukátib, or slave who is working in order to purchase his freedom and to persons who are too poor to go on a jihád or to make the Ḥajj. The zakát must not be given for building mosques,¹ for funeral expenses, liquidating the debts of a deceased person, or to purchase a slave in order to set him free. It is not lawful to give the zakát to parents or grandparents, children or grandchildren, or for a husband to give it to his wife or a wife to her husband, or a master to his slave; but Abú Yúsuf and Muḥammad, disciples of Imám Abú Ḥanífa, maintain that a wife can apply the zakát to her husband's wants, and quote this tradition: "A woman asked the Prophet if she could give the zakát to her husband. He answered, 'Give; such an act has two rewards: one for the giving of charity and one for the fulfilment of the duties of relationship.'" It should not be given to a rich man or to his family. The descendants of Hášim and the descendants of the Prophet should not be the recipients of the zakát. The Prophet said: "O Ahlu'l-Bait (men of the house), it is not lawful for you to receive zakát, for you get the one-fifth share of my fifth portion of the booty." Zakát must not be given to a *Dhimmi*. In Muḥammadan countries there are officers whose duty it is to collect the zakát; in India the payment is left to each person's conscience. Whilst there is not much regularity in the payment, due credit must be given for the care which Musalmáns take of their poor.

The ṣadaqa forms a different branch of this subject. A full account of it will be given in the section of the next chapter which treats of the 'Ídu'l-Fiṭr.

5. THE ḤAJJ.—The Ḥajj, or pilgrimage to Mecca, is a farḍ duty. "Proclaim to the people a pilgrimage

¹ Mosques are usually endowed. The property thus set apart is called waqf. This supports the various officials connected with a mosque.

..... Let them pay their vows and circuit the ancient House. This do. And he that respecteth the sacred ordinances of God, this will be best for him with the Lord" (xxii. 28, 30, 31). "The pilgrimage to the temple is a service due to God from those who are able to journey thither; and as to him who believeth not, verily God can afford to dispense with all creatures" (iii. 91, 92). The commentator Baidāwī says that the words "are able" in this verse were interpreted by the Prophet to mean the possession of food to eat and an animal to ride, from which statement Imām ash-Shāfi'ī argued that a man who could not go in person might send a substitute. Imām Mālik says any one who can walk and keep himself on the way must go. Imām Abū Ḥanifa considered that it refers both to the means and the strength of the individual.¹ On the authority of Ibn 'Abbās the following Tradition has been handed down. "The Prophet said: 'God has made the Ḥajj farḍ.' Then 'Aqra bin Hābis, standing up, said: 'O Prophet, is it to be made every year?' His Excellency said: 'If I say yes, it will be a wājib duty to do it annually; but that ye are not able to bear, so the Ḥajj is necessary only once; whatever pilgrimage may be made to Mecca in addition is nafl.'"²

If a slave or a child should make the Ḥajj, the former on attaining freedom, and the latter on coming of age,

¹ Baidāwī, vol. i, p. 147.

² In consequence of some proposed regulations concerning the pilgrimages in the year 1895, a large number of Indian Musalmāns combined and sent a memorial to the Governor-General of India, in which they say: "The Ḥajj is regarded and universally believed as an obligatory (farḍ) performance by all Muḥammadans. In fact, we believe it to be the *surest way to salvation and paradise*." Thus a pilgrimage to an old heathen shrine and the kissing of a small black stone atones for a life of evil and opens the door of heaven.

Maulavi Rafi'ud-dīn Ahmad writes thus in the *Nineteenth Century*, October 1897. "The Ḥajj cleanses the hearts of men and makes them innocent like new-born babes."

must again go on pilgrimage. If a woman, whose residence is at a distance of more than three days' journey from Mecca, goes on pilgrimage, she must be accompanied by her husband or by a near relative. "A certain man came to the Prophet and said: 'My wife is about to make the Ḥajj, but I am called to go on a warlike expedition.' The Prophet said: 'Turn away from the war and accompany thy wife in the Ḥajj.'"¹ Imām Abū Yūsuf considered that a wealthy man who delayed more than a year in making the Ḥajj was a sinner. Imām Muḥammad and most others would allow him to postpone it for some years; but if death should overtake him before he made the pilgrimage, he would be accounted a sinner.

Connected with the Ḥajj there are three actions which are farḍ, and five which are wājib; all the rest are sunnat or mustaḥabb. The farḍ requisites are: (1) to wear no other garment except the iḥrām,¹ two seamless wrappers, one of which is worn round the loins, the other thrown over the shoulders, the head being uncovered; (2) to stand on 'Arafāt; (3) to make the ṭawāf, that is, to go round the Ka'ba seven times.

The wājib duties are: (1) to stay in Muzdalīfah; (2) to run between Mount Ṣafā and Mount Marwa (ii. 153); (3) to perform the ramyu'r-rijām, or the casting of the pebbles; (4) to make an extra ṭawāf; (if the Ḥājis are not Meccans); and also (5) to shave the head after the pilgrimage is over.

The Ḥajj must be made at the appointed season. "Let the pilgrimage be made in the months already known" (ii. 193). These months are Shawwāl, Dhū'l-Qa'da, and the first ten days of Dhū'l-Hijja. The actual

¹ This ceremony is called al-iḥrām (making unlawful), because now various actions and pursuits must be abstained from. The ceremony of doffing the pilgrim's garb is called al-iḥlāl (making lawful), for now the pilgrim returns to the ordinary pursuits and joys of a life in the world.

Hajj must be in the month Dhu'l-Hijja, the twelfth month of the Muḥammadan year, but the preparations for, and the niyyat or intention of the Hajj can be made in the two preceding months. The 'Umra, or ordinary pilgrimage, can be done at any time of the year except on the ninth and four succeeding days of Dhu'l-Hijja. The authority for the 'Umra is found in the text: "Accomplish the pilgrimage (Hajj) and the visitation" ('Umra) (ii. 192).¹ On each of the various roads leading to Mecca, there are at a distance of about five or six miles from the city stages called Miqāt. The following are the names. On the Madīna road, the stage (manzil) is called Dhu'l-Ḥalīfa; on the 'Irāq road, Dhātu 'Arq; on the Syrian road, Hujfa; on the Najd road, Qarn; on the Yaman road, Yalamlam.²

The Hājis from all parts of the Muslim world at length arrive, weary and worn, at one of these stages. They divest themselves of their ordinary clothing, perform the legal ablution (ghusl), pare their nails, comb their beards, say a namāz of two nafl rak'ats, and then put on the iḥrām. Sandals may be worn, but not shoes. The Hāji faces Mecca, makes the niyyat, and says, "O God, I purpose to make the Hajj; make this service easy to me, and accept it from me." He then says the talbiya³: "Here I am! O Allāh! Here I am!

¹ Baidāwī says: "a woman asked the Prophet if the 'Umra was wājib like the Hajj." The Prophet said it was not, but that it was a good thing to do. The Khalīfa 'Umar says it is a sunnat practice (vol. ii. 108).

² This statement of names is taken from the "Nūru'l-Hidāyat," p. 211, and that of the distance from Hughes' "Notes on Islām;" but Burton speaks of al-Zariba, a place forty-seven miles distant from Mecca, as a Miqāt. It was there that he assumed the iḥrām. The explanation probably is that a Hāji must not approach nearer to Mecca without the iḥrām than the places named in the text. The farther from Mecca it is assumed, provided that it be during one of the two months preceding Dhu'l-Hijja, the more meritorious is the act.

³ Talbiya means the repetition of "Labbaik," a phrase equivalent to "I am here." The talbiya can be said in any language, though Arabic

Here I am! There is no God but Thee! Truly, praise and bounty, and the kingdom are to Thee! No partner hast Thou! Here am I!" The persons who reside permanently in any of these Miqāt, or stages, can assume the pilgrim's garb in a place called Hal, near to Mecca, or in the city itself, whilst the inhabitants of Mecca can put on the iḥrām in the precincts of the temple.

The Hāji must now abstain from worldly affairs and devote himself entirely to the duties of the Hajj. He is not allowed to hunt, though he may catch fish if he can. "O Believers, kill no game while ye are on pilgrimage" (v. 96). The Prophet also said: "He who shows the place where game is to be found is equally as bad as the man who kills it." Bukhārī,¹ says that game killed by others may be eaten, and records the following Tradition: "O Prophet, I have slain a wild ass, and some of it yet remains with me. Thy people fear to eat of it lest they be put away from thee." He said, 'Let it be for the people;' and they were Muhrimim" i.e., they had assumed the iḥrām. The Hāji must not scratch himself, lest vermin be destroyed or a hair be uprooted. Bukhārī relates how a pilgrim killed a louse, and had in consequence to sacrifice a goat, or to fast three days, or to feed six persons. Should the Hāji feel uncomfortable, he must rub himself with the open palm of his hand.² The face and

is preferred. It usually is as follows: "Labbaik, Allāhumma, Labbaik! Iā Sharika laka, Labbaik! Inna'l-hamda wa'n-nifmata laka, wa'l mulk! Iā Sharika laka, Labbaik!" It is a sunnat duty to repeat the Talbiya often; to repeat it once is shart, i.e., a positive condition. Ibn 'Abbās says: "I heard the Prophet say, 'He who dies engaged in the functions of the Hajj shall be raised saying the salutation Labbaik.'"

¹ Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī, chapter on the Hajj, vol. i, p. 384 et seq.

² The object of these minute details is that the "Truce of God" may be kept. Five noxious creatures, however, may be slain, namely, a crow, a kite, a scorpion, a rat, and a mad dog. (Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī, vol. i, p. 458.)

head must be left uncovered, the hair on the head and beard unwashed and uncut. "Shave not your heads until the offering reach the place of sacrifice" (ii. 192). On arriving at an elevated place, on descending a valley, on meeting any one, on entering the city of Mecca or the Musjidu'l-Harām,¹ the Hāji should continually repeat the word "Labbaik, Labbaik." As soon as he sees the Ka'ba² he must say the takbīr and the tahlīl. The Traditionalist 'Atā says that at this stage the Prophet used to lift up his hands and pray. Other customs are (1) at a place called *Dhu Tūwa* to bathe (2) when near Mecca, to say: "O God, this is

¹ The Musjidu'l-Harām is the large mosque in Mecca. The Ka'ba (cube) is a square stone building in the centre. This is also called the Qibla. The Ka'ba is an oblong massive structure, eighteen paces in length, fourteen in breadth, and some thirty-five in height. About seven feet from the ground, on the eastern side, there is a door which is opened only two or three times a year. It is built of grey Meccan stone, shaped into irregular-sized blocks, joined together with cement. It was entirely rebuilt, as it now stands, in A.D. 1627. The *hajaru'l-aswad* is the black stone fixed in the corner of the Ka'ba. This stone, which is probably an *aërolite*, is about seven inches in diameter, and of an irregular oval shape. There is a Tradition recorded by Ibn 'Abbās to the effect that it came down from Paradise, a stone whiter than milk; that it has been turned black by the sins of men who have touched it; that on the Day of Judgment it will have two eyes to see and a tongue to speak, and so will both see and bear witness in favour of those who have touched and kissed it. For a fuller description, see Burton's *Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Meccah*, vol. ii, pp. 300-1.

² A full description will be found in Burton's *Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Meccah*, vol. ii, appendix ii. It is far too long to quote, and it cannot be condensed. The 'Ulamā consider the Ka'ba a sacred place. They quote the verse: "Verily the first house built for mankind was that of Beccah (Mecca)—Blessed and a guidance to human beings. Therein are manifest signs, even the standing-place of Abraham, and he who entereth is safe" (iii. 90-1). The word "therein" is said to mean Mecca, and the "manifest signs" the Ka'ba, which contains such marvels as the footprints on Abraham's platform, and is the spiritual safeguard of all who enter it. In addition, other "signs" are the preservation of the black stone, the miracles put forth to defend the House, the terrible death of the sacrilegious, and the fact that in the Flood the big fish did not eat the little fish

Thy sanctuary and the place of security; preserve my flesh and blood from hell-fire" (3) on seeing the Ka'ba to say: "There is no god but God! God is great."

On entering the enclosure, by the gate of the Beni Shaiba, the Hāji says the labbaik, takbīr, and the tahlīl, then a du'ā, followed by a namāz of two rak'ats at the station of one of the four Imāms. On arriving near the *hajaru'l-aswad* (black stone) the Hāji again says the takbīr and the tahlīl, after which he kisses the stone.¹ If, on account of the crowd, he cannot get near enough to do this, he must touch it with his hand or with a stick, and kiss that with which he has thus touched the stone. At the same time he says: "O Allāh, (I do this) in Thy belief, and in verification of Thy book, and in pursuance of Thy Prophet's example—may Allāh bless and preserve him. O accept Thou my supplication, diminish my obstacles, pity my humiliation, and graciously grant me Thy pardon." Then he again repeats the takbīr and the tahlīl, the durūd and the ta'rif (prayer for and praise of Muḥammad). He then encompasses the Ka'ba seven times, saying, "In the name of Allāh, and Allāh is Omnipotent! I purpose to make the circuit seven times." This is called the

in the Harām. Invalids recover their health by rubbing themselves against the *kiswat* (the covering of the Ka'ba) and the black stone. Portions of the *kiswat* are highly valued as markers of the Qur'ān. Waistcoats made of it are supposed to render the combatant invulnerable in battle.

It is said that "The curtains of the doors and the screens of the four sides fetch, when sold, about £300; those of the inner shrine about £600." Begum of Bhopal, *Pilgrimage to Mecca*, p. 101.

¹ A Hāji thus graphically describes the scene: "Now we were driven forward, and then we were hurled back; indeed the bare-footed Faithful, seeing their hopes alternately rise and fall, grew grimly resolute to kiss the black stone, cost them what it might. The yearning to do so, which had filled their hearts with piety in the seclusion of their homes, gave place at close quarters to a determination so fierce and uncontrollable as might have offered to a cool-headed spectator a living picture of pandemonium." (Hadji Khan, *With the Pilgrims to Mecca*, p. 135.)

ṭawāf.¹ The Ḥājī runs round three times at a rapid pace, and four times he proceeds slowly. In this he follows the practice of the Prophet.² The Ḥājī then presses his stomach, chest, and right cheek against the portion of the Ka'ba wall called al-multazim, and raising up his arms on high, says, "O Allāh, Lord of the Ancient House, free my neck from hell-fire, and preserve me from every evil deed; make me contented with that daily bread which Thou hast given to me, and bless me in all Thou hast granted!" He then says the istighfār: "I beg pardon of Allāh, the Most High, the Living, the Eternal, and to Him I repent."

The Ḥājī next proceeds to the maqāmu'l-Ibrāhīm.³

¹ According to Shahrastānī, the Muslim philosophers believed this sevenfold circumambulation to be symbolical of the motion of the planets round the sun. The circular whirling of the Maulāwiyah Darwishes represent the same idea. The Ṣūfīs draw spiritual lessons from it. "To circuit the Baitu'llāh, and to be free from wickedness, crime and quarrels is the duty enjoined by religion; but to circuit the house of the friend of Allāh (i.e., the heart), to combat bodily propensities and to worship the angels is the business of the (mystic) path." (See note in Burton's *Pilgrimage to Madina and Mecca*, vol. ii, p. 165.)

"The rewards of a correct performance of the ṭawāf and of the necessary prayers are of a sort to render the rite extremely popular among the pilgrims. At every step they take, in making the seven circuits, no fewer than seventy-thousand sins will be blotted out of their bad books, and an equal number of virtues be added to the companion volume containing their good actions." (Hadji Khan, *With the Pilgrims to Mecca*, p. 139.)

In a very late Madīna Sūra, Sūratu'l-Ḥajj (xxii), Abraham is connected with the Ka'ba and the ṭawāf, "and call to mind when We assigned the site of the Ka'ba to Abraham and said: 'unite not aught with Me in worship and cleanse my house for those who go in procession round it'" (xxii. 27). Muḥammad assumed that the ṭawāf was a custom observed in the time of Abraham. He evidently thought that by its retention he could assure the Jews that he was only a restorer of the religion of Abraham and thus conciliate them as well as the people of Mecca.

² *Raudatu's-Safā*, Part II, vol. ii, p. 694.

³ The maqāmu'l-Ibrāhīm is a small building, supported by six pillars about eight feet high, four of which are surrounded from top to bottom

(place of Abraham) and then recites two rak'ats called sunnatu't-ṭawāf. After the first rak'at, he repeats Sūra ii. 119; after the second one Sūra cxii. Some water from the sacred well zamzam¹ is then drunk, after which the Ḥājī returns to the ḥajaru'l-aswad, and again kisses it.

Ḥājī Burton thus describes one shauṭ or single circuit:—

"We began the prayer, 'O Allāh (I do this) in Thy belief and in verification of Thy Book, and in faithfulness to Thy covenant and after the example of Thy Prophet Muḥammad. May Allāh bless and preserve him!' till we reached the place al-multazim, between the corner of the black stone and the Ka'ba door. Here we ejaculated, 'O Allāh, Thou hast rights, so pardon my transgressing them.' Opposite the door we repeated, 'O Allāh, verily the house is Thy house, and the sanctuary Thy sanctuary, and the safeguard Thy safeguard, and this is the place of him who flees to Thee from (hell) fire.' At the building called maqāmu'l-Ibrāhīm we said, 'O Allāh, verily this is the place of Abraham, who took refuge with, and fled to Thee from the fire! O deny my flesh and blood, my skin and bones to the (eternal) flames.' As we paced slowly round the north or Irāq corner of the Ka'ba we exclaimed, 'O Allāh verily I take refuge with Thee from polytheism, and disobedience,

by a fine iron railing, while the space between the two hinder pillars is left open. Within the railing is a frame about five feet square, said to contain the sacred stone on which Abraham sat when he built the Ka'ba.

¹ It is said that when Ishmael was thirsty Gabriel stamped with his foot and a spring gushed forth. This is now the sacred well. Its water is so sacred that grave-clothes washed in it are looked upon as a protection when the angels, Munkar and Nakir come to examine the corpse in the grave. The custodians of the well now reap a rich harvest from pilgrims who there wash their winding-sheets." (Hadji Khan, *With the Pilgrims to Mecca*, p. 146). Burton says "it is apt to cause diarrhoea and boils and I never saw a stranger drink it without a wry face. The flavour is a salt bitter, resembling an infusion of Epsom salts in a large tumbler of tepid water" (*Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Meccah*, vol. ii, p. 163).

and hypocrisy, and evil conversation, and evil thoughts concerning family, and property, and progeny.' When we passed from the mizāb, or spout, we repeated the words, 'O Allāh, verily I beg of Thee faith which shall not decline, and a certainty which shall not perish, and the good aid of Thy Prophet Muḥammad—may Allāh bless and preserve him! O Allāh, shadow me in Thy shadow, on the day when there is no shadow by Thy shadow; and cause me to drink from the cup of Thy Prophet Muḥammad—may Allāh bless and preserve him!—that pleasant draught, after which is no thirst to all eternity, O Lord of honour and glory.' Turning to the west corner, or the ruknu'sh-shāmi, we exclaimed, 'O Allāh, make it an acceptable pilgrimage, and a forgiveness of sins, and a laudable endeavour, and a pleasant action (in Thy sight), and a store which perisheth not, O Thou Glorious, O Thou Pardoners!' This was repeated thrice, till we arrived at the yemani, or southern corner, where the crowd being less importunate, we touched the wall with the right hand, after the example of the Prophet, and kissed the finger-tips. Between the south angle and that of the black stone, where our circuit would be completed, we said, 'O Allāh, verily I take refuge with Thee from infidelity, and I take refuge with Thee from want, and from the tortures of the tomb, and from the troubles of life and death. And I fly to Thee from ignominy in this world and the next, and implore Thy pardon for the present and the future. O Lord, grant to me in this life prosperity, and in the next life prosperity, and save me from the punishment of fire.'¹

The next step is the running between the Mounts Ṣafā and Marwa. The distance between the two hills is four hundred and thirty-eight yards. Those who are too weak to go on foot must be carried on a horse, camel, mule, or donkey. According to Bukhārī, some of the Ansār, on assuming the iḥrām, were troubled because the idol Mināt was near to Ṣafā, and therefore they did not like to go there. They spoke to the

Prophet about it, and then this verse came: "Verily Ṣafā and Marwa are among the monuments of God; whoever then maketh a pilgrimage to the temple or visiteth it, shall not be to blame if he go round about them both" (ii. 153).¹ There is also a Tradition to prove its farḍ obligation. Thus: "Ābid said one day to 'Āyesha, 'I am young; tell me the meaning of the verse about Ṣafā and Marwa. I do not see in it anything beyond the fact that I *may* go round them.' 'Āyesha replied, 'It is not as you think; had it been so, it would have been revealed thus: He shall not be to blame if he *do not* go round about them both.'" It is also said that this ceremony represents Hagar's wandering about to find water for her son. At first the custom was given up, for the instincts of the early Muslims showed them it was wrong. Thus 'Āsim spoke to Anas about it, and he said, "We considered it an order in the days of ignorance (i.e., pre-Islamic days), and when Islām came we gave it up, then this verse (ii. 153) came." So the pagan rite was retained. Starting from Mount Ṣafā, the Hāji runs seven times between its summit and that of Mount Marwa.² He runs, moving the shoulders, and with head erect, like soldiers charging in battle. The reason for this is, that the infidel Meccans mocked the Companions of the Prophet, and said that the climate of Madīna had made them weak. This bold way of running was adopted to disprove the calumny, and so has become a sunnat practice. The confusion is great and serious accidents are of frequent occurrence. The prayer to be said during the sa'ī (running) is: "O my Lord, pardon and pity, and pass over that (sin) which Thou knowest. Verily Thou knowest what is not known, and verily Thou art the most Glorious, the

¹ Women need not observe this custom. For date of this verse, see *Historical Development of the Qur'ān*, pp. 113-4.

² This ceremony is called as-sa'ī bainu's-Ṣafā wa'l-Marwa.

¹ *Pilgrimage to al-Madīnah and Meccah*, vol. ii, p. 166.

most Generous. O our Lord, grant us in both worlds prosperity, and save us from fire."¹

On the seventh day the Imām must preach in Mecca, and instruct the pilgrims in the ritual of the Ḥajj. He preaches again on the ninth and eleventh days.

On the eighth day the Ḥāǧǧ goes to Miná, a place three miles distant from Mecca, where, with all the other Ḥāǧǧs, he says the usual namáz, and there spends the night. Many find this inconvenient, and so pass on to 'Arafát during the afternoon of the eighth day. This is a sunnat observance.

On the morning of the ninth day, starting after the ṣalātu'l-fajr, the Ḥāǧǧ goes to Mount 'Arafát.² On arriving there he says, "O God, I turn to Thee, I put my trust on Thee, I desire Thee; pardon my sin, accept my Ḥajj, show mercy to me, supply my need in 'Arafát; Thou art powerful over all." He then says labbaik, the takbír, and the tahlíl. This done, he should stand upon the mountain near to the place the Prophet is said to have occupied. This is called the wuqúf (standing), a necessary part of the Ḥajj. He must also listen to the sermon delivered by the Imām, who is seated on a camel, explaining what still remains of the ritual of

¹ "There are four requisites of sa'í. The pilgrims must pass over all the space between Šafá and Marwa; he must begin with Šafá and end with Marwa; he must traverse the distance seven times; he must perform the rite after some important tawáf" (Burton, *Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Meccah*, vol. ii, p. 288).

² Burton relates the following legend about 'Arafát. "When our parents forfeited heaven by eating wheat, which deprived them of their primeval purity, they were cast down upon earth. The serpent descended at Ispahán, the peacock at Cabul, Satan at Bilbays, Eve upon 'Arafát, and Adam at Ceylon. The latter determining to seek his wife, began a journey, to which the earth owes its present mottled appearance. Wherever he placed his foot—which was large—a town arose; between the strides will always be country. Wandering for many years, he came to the Mountain of Mercy, where our common mother was continually calling upon his name, and their recognition gave the place the name of 'Arafát. They lived here till death took place." (*Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Meccah*, vol. ii, p. 188).

the Ḥajj, i.e., how the Ḥāǧǧs are to stand in Muzdalífa, to throw the stones in Miná, to make the sacrifice, &c. The crowd is so great that many cannot hear a word. All the time the Ḥāǧǧ should constantly shout out the talbíya and the tahlíl, and weep bitterly. He then proceeds to Muzdalífa, a place situated about half-way between Miná and 'Arafát, where he should pass a portion of the night. Whilst there, he must say the ṣalá'u'l-maghrib and the ṣalātu'l-'ishá together, for Bukhārí records how the Prophet, on arriving there, "said the ṣalātu'l-maghrib; then each man made his camel sit down, and the ṣalātu'l-'ishá was said." It is thus a sunnat practice, and is an illustration of the term called sunnatu'l-fi'l. After a visit to the mosque Masharu'l-Ḥarām, he should collect seven small stones and proceed to Miná.

On the morning of the tenth day, the 'Ídu'd-Duḥá, or, as it is sometimes called, the 'Ídu'l-Adḥá, he again goes to Miná, where there are three different pillars, called respectively the jamratu'l-'aqaba, commonly known as the ash-shaitánu'l-kabír¹ (great devil), the al-wasiṭa, or middle pillar, and the al-úla, or first one. Holding the jamr, or pebble, between the thumb and forefinger of the right hand, the Ḥāǧǧ throws it a distance of not less than fifteen feet and says, "In the name of Alláh, and Alláh is Almighty, (I do this) in hatred of the Fiend and to his shame." The remaining six stones are thrown in like manner, to confound the devils. This ceremony is called ramyu'l-jamr, the throwing of stones. It is said that it has been performed since the time of Abraham, and that the stones are miraculously removed. The Traditionist Mujáhid says that he put a mark on his stones, and afterwards searched, but

¹ Burton says that the shaitánu'l-kabír is a dwarf buttress of rude masonry about eight feet high by two and a half broad, placed against a rough wall of stones. (*Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Meccah*, vol. ii, p. 203).

found them not. The pilgrim then returns to Miná, and there offers the usual sacrifice of animals. It is called the 'idu'd-Duhá, of which an account will be given in the next chapter.¹ This act, strictly speaking, concludes the Hajj. The Hájí can now shave his head, pare his nails, and remove the ihrám. Women cut off a bit of hair.

The remaining three days, the 11th, 12th, and 13th of Dhu'l-Hijja, are called the Ayyámu't-tashriq, "days of drying flesh," because now the pilgrims prepare provisions for the return journey by cutting slices from the victims offered in sacrifice and drying them in the sun. The Hájí should spend this time at Miná, and each day throw seven pebbles at each of the pillars. This ceremony duly over, he returns to Mecca and makes the *ṭawáfu'l-widá'* (circuit of farewell). He should also drink some water from the well of zamzam. Finally, the Hájí kisses the threshold, and then, with hands uplifted, laying hold of the covering of the Ka'ba and weeping bitterly, he prays most humbly, and expresses regret that he will soon have to depart from a place so dear as the sacred Ka'ba. Retiring backwards, he makes his exit and the Hajj is complete.

Most of the ceremonies connected with the Hajj, the ihrám, the shaving of the head, the going to Safá and Marwa, the throwing of the stones, the circuit of the Ka'ba, the kissing of the black stone, and the sacrifice were all pagan ceremonies performed by the idolatrous Arabs. Muḥammad in trying to gain the Meccans to his side, confirmed an idolatrous practice which otherwise would probably have been extinct long ago.

The 'Umra can be made at any time except the eighth, ninth, and tenth of Dhu'l-Hijja. It is usually

¹ The sanitary arrangements are very defective. "Before the day was over the valley of Desire was turned into a reeking slaughter-house, and, it may be added, into a cemetery for dead pilgrims." (Hadji Khan, *With the Pilgrims to Mecca*, p. 248.)

done before the pilgrims start homewards.¹ Its ceremonies differ but slightly from the Hajj. No animal sacrifice is needed. The ihrám must be put on, and the obligations of abstinence which it entails must be observed. The usual course is then to make the ziyarat, or visit to the tomb of the Prophet at Madína. Muḥammad said: "He who visits me after my death is as if he had visited me during my life-time." A prayer of two rak'ats should be said near the pulpit. Henceforth the pilgrim assumes the honourable title of Hájí, and so is, ever after, a person of some consequence among the community in which he dwells. Among the Sunnī Musalmáns the Hajj cannot be performed by proxy, though it is esteemed a "good work" if some one who can afford it sends a pilgrim who otherwise could not go. The Shí'ahs, however, seem to allow it to be done by proxy.

It is certainly very curious to find the old pagan customs,² superstitious and silly, of the Hajj incorporated into a religion which professes to be monotheistic in principle and iconoclastic in practice. The explanation probably is that Muḥammad was an ardent Arab patriot, and in his great anxiety to unite the Arab tribes into a nation, strong to resist their surrounding foes, he could not afford to do away with a centre and a custom so dear to all Arabs as the Ka'ba and the Hajj.³ It was the one thing the scattered tribes

¹ The Mu'tazila writer Nizám says that the Khalifa 'Umar forbade the joining of the 'Umra with the Hajj. (*Shahrastáni, al-Milal wa'n-Nihál*, p. 40.)

² Kuenen well calls them "a fragment of incomprehensible heathenism taken up undigested into Islám." *Hibbert Lectures*, 1882, p. 33.

³ In the *Raudatu's-Safá*, Part ii, vol. ii, p. 696, we read that Muḥammad, during his pilgrimage, ascended Mount 'Arafat and then, standing erect on his camel, delivered this verse: "This day have I perfected your religion unto you and fulfilled my mercy upon you and appointed Islám to be your religion" (v. 5), thus claiming divine approval for the Hajj, as the culminating act of the new religion.

had in common, and the one thing which appealed to the national sentiment. It was a compromise, well adapted at the time to secure the allegiance of the Arabs to Islám, by giving a national character to it; but it has been a source of weakness since, for its continued observance emphasises the great Islámic principle that laws, regulations, and customs suited for the Arabs of the seventh century are binding on Muslims everywhere in the nineteenth.¹ Christianity took just the opposite course. It quickly freed itself from the narrow limitations of Judaism. It left Jewish ceremonies and circumcision behind in Palestine. It never aimed at being a national religion, and so became naturally a universal one. Thus it can flourish under all forms of civil government, for it is dependent on none. It exists independently of the state, and survives all forms of political organisation.

The constant reference to the Prophet's sayings and practice, as an authority for many of the details of the arkánu'd-dín, shows how largely Islám is based on the Sunnat.² With regard to the differences of opinion

¹ Speaking of the inelastic nature of Islám, Palmer says: "The institution of the Hajj pilgrimage, for example, was an admirable one for consolidating the Arab tribes, but it is burdensome and useless to the Muslim communities now that they extend over nearly half the civilized world" (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. vi, p. lxxvi).

² A remarkable confirmation of all I have said on the fixed and formal nature of Islám, and of the authority of the Sunnat, is afforded in a Muslim newspaper published in Cairo. Describing the opening of a new mosque in London, the editor refers to some speeches made by some Musalmán gentlemen on the occasion, and says:—"Both seem to have spoken at the opening proceedings in favour of adapting Islám to European ideas. I do not know what meaning they attach to the phrase, but I do know that no adaptation or alteration of Islám will be accepted by any Muslim people. Islám as a religion, as a guide to man in life, in his duties to God and man, is divine and perfect. To say that it needs adaptation is to say that it is neither divine nor perfect, and no Muslim can or will admit either assumption. Islám as it is is perfect, and as wonderfully adapted to the needs of man in England or in the Arctic regions as it is to the Bedowins of the Arabian desert,

which the great Imáms hold on some of the details, it is most difficult to decide which side holds the correct view. Such opinions are always based on some Tradition, the value of which, if disputed, it is almost impossible to determine. It is sometimes said in praise of Musalmáns that they are not priest-ridden; but no people in the world are so Tradition-ridden, if one may use such an expression. Until this chain of superstition is broken there can be no progress and no enlightenment; but if ever it is so broken, such an Islám will cease to be the Islám, for this foundation of the Faith and the edifice erected on it seem to be so welded together that the undermining of the one may be the fall of the other.

and the fact that it is so is one of the striking proofs of its divine origin. It is written, 'There is no change in the words of God,' and therefore the Qur'án and the Sunnat are for ever and for all men unchangeable." (*Egyptian Herald*, February 22, 1896, p. 4.)

This statement shows (1) The unalterable nature of the law and dogmas of Islám, (2) the inspiration of the Sunnat called "The words of God," (3) the co-ordinate authority of the Sunnat with the Qur'án as a basis of Islám. Nothing that I have said in this and preceding chapters on these points is at all stronger than this published opinion.

"Pan-Islámism almost necessarily connotes an attempt to regenerate Islám or Islámic lines—in other words, to revivify and stereotype in the twentieth century the principles laid down, more than a thousand years ago, for the guidance of a primitive Society. These principles involve a recognition of slavery, laws regulating the relations of the sexes which clash with modern ideas, and, which is perhaps more important than all, that crystallization of the civil, criminal and canonical law into one immutable whole, which has so largely contributed to arrest the progress of those countries whose populations have embraced the Moslem faith." (Lord Cromer's Annual Reports on the Finances, Administration and Condition of Egypt and the Súdán in 1906, Section on the Egyptian Nationalist Movement, published in the *London Weekly Times*, April 5, 1907.)

NOTE TO CHAPTER V

THE following Fatwá was publicly given in the Great Mosque, Triplicane, Madras, February 13th, 1880 :—

"In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful."

QUESTION.

"O 'Ulamá of the religion and Muftis of the enlightened Law, what is your opinion in this matter? A person having translated a juz (one-thirtieth part) of the noble Qur'án into the Hindustani language, has printed it. The translation is defective; moreover, the Arabic text is not given. In order to give the translation the same authority as the original, he has retained the usual signs and marks of the Arabit editions: such as, *toi*, *qáf*, *jím*, *lá*, *mím*, and *Q*.¹ At the end of the juz he has added a translation of the *tashshahud*, *qanúd*, *thaná*, *ta'awwudh*, *tasmi'*, *tashibát*, *rukú'*, and *sujúd*, and has said that all these must be read in Hindustani. He further states that in the translation he has retained the rhythm of the original, and that in eloquence and style it is equal to the Arabic. He has also added rubrical directions as to the ritual of the *namáz*, and has stated that to those who do not know Arabic it is a *wájib* and a *fard* duty to recite the translation; otherwise they commit sin and the *namáz* is vain. As regards the past, he considers that the ignorant are forgiven, but he maintains that the 'Ulamá of these days must answer for the neglect they show in not telling the people to use translations of the Qur'án. Further,

¹ For an explanation of these words see the Appendix on 'Ilmu't-Tajwid.

in support of his views he adduces a *Ḥadīth* *ṣ-ṣaḥīḥ*, according to which the Prophet said to a Companion, *Salmán-i-Farsi*: 'Read a translation of the Qur'án in the *namáz*.' He claims, as on his side, the four great Imáms. He himself understands Arabic, yet he says his *namáz* in Hindustani, and influences others to do likewise. He has been spoken to, but he takes no heed and strives to spread his sect all over India.

Now, what is the order of the noble Law with regard to such a person, and what is the decree in the case of those who follow him, or who circulate his opinions, or who consider him a religious man and a guide, or who consider the translation to which reference has been made to be the Holy Qur'án, or who teach it to their children? O learned men, state the Law in this matter and merit a good reward."

THE ANSWER

"After praising God, and after imploring His mercy and peace on Muḥammad, be it known that the person referred to is an infidel, an atheist, and a wanderer from the truth. He also causes others to wander. His assertion that his opinions are in accordance with those of the four Imáms is utterly false, because according to Imám Sháfi'i, Imám Málík, and Imám Ḥanbal it is illegal to use a translation of the Qur'án when saying the *namáz*, whether the worshipper is ignorant of Arabic or not. Thus Imám Navá'ri, a disciple of Sháfi'i, says: 'It is unlawful in any case to use Persian¹ in the *namáz*.' Faqí 'Alí, a disciple of Málík, says: 'Persian is unlawful.' To these opinions Káfi, a disciple of Ḥanbal, adds his testimony: 'To recite in the *namáz* from a translation of the Qur'án is unlawful.' Moreover, from the Qur'án itself, the recital of it in Arabic is proved to be a divine command (*fard*). The term Qur'án, too, means an Arabic Qur'án, for God speaks of it as a revelation in Arabic. The words 'recite so much of the Qur'án as may be easy to you' prove the duty of reciting it; whilst the words 'an

¹ Persian was the foreign language with which the early Muslims were brought most into contact; but the objection applies equally to any other language.

Arabic Qur'án have We sent it down' show that the Qur'án to be used is an Arabic one. Imám Abú Ḥanifa and his disciples, the Šāhibain (Imám Muḥammad and Imám Abú Yūsuf), consider that, if a person can recite only a short verse in Arabic, it is not lawful for such an one to use a translation. If he cannot read the Arabic character, he must learn by heart such a sentence as 'Praise be to God, Lord of the people.' Until he learns this he may use a translation.¹ In the Tanwīru'l-Absār it is written: 'It is a farḍ duty to read one verse, and to learn it by heart is farḍu'l-'ain.' In the Masiḥu'l-Azhār it is written: 'If a person says the namáz in a language other than Arabic, he is a madman or an atheist.' With regard to the statement made by Imám Abú Ḥanifa that a person might use for a time a translation, it is well known that he afterwards recalled that opinion. The statement made by the person complained of regarding Sulmán-i-Farsi is not correct. In the Nihāyah (commentary on the Hidāyah) it is written that some Persians wrote to Salmán, and requested him to send them a Persian translation of Súratu'l-Fātiḥa. He complied with their request, and they used it in the namáz until they could pronounce Arabic properly. The Prophet on hearing of this circumstance made no remark. This account, however, is not trustworthy; but granting that it is true, all that it proves is that, until some Arabic words can be remembered, a translation may be used. No Imám has ever said that to read a translation is farḍ or wājib. So if the person referred to says that it is farḍ to read his own translation, then it follows that to read the original Arabic will not be farḍ, but will be unlawful. Now such an opinion is infidelity. The person is a kāfir, for he tries to make out that the 'Ulamá of all preceding ages, who have instructed the people from the days of the Prophet till now to read Arabic in the namáz, are sinners. Further, he rejects the statement made by learned canonists and listens now to no advice. He reads his translation in the namáz and causes others to read it. He boasts that his translation is equal in style to the original.

¹ A concession of no practical value, as any one with the power of speech could learn these words in a very short time.

He has translated the du'á-i-qunút, thaná, and the tasbīhāt of the ruku' and sujūd, and has said that these translations should be used in the namáz. Thus it is plain that he wants to abolish the use of Arabic in the prayers. The result of such a course would be that soon a number of different translations would be circulated, and the text, like that of the Taurait and the Injil, would be corrupted. In the Fatāwá-i-Álamgiri it is written: 'Whosoever considers that the unlawful is lawful or vice versa is a kāfir.' 'If any one without apparent cause has enmity with one of the 'Ulamá, his orthodoxy is doubtful.' 'A man who, after committing a fault, declines to repent, though requested to do so, is an infidel.' In the Taḥqiq-i-Sharḥ-i-Ḥusaini it is written: 'To translate the Qur'án into Persian and to read that is unlawful.' In the Fatāwá-i-Maṭlūbu'l-Múminún it is said: 'Whosoever intends to write the Qur'án in Persian must be strictly forbidden.' In the Itqán it is written: 'According to Ijmá', it is wrong to speak of the Qur'án as having rhymes.' In the Fatāwá-i-Tátár Kháná it is said: 'To translate the Arabic into Persian is an act of infidelity.'

Our decision then is that the usual salutations should not be made to this person. If he dies, he must not be buried in a Musalmán cemetery. His marriages are void and his wives are at liberty, according to the rule laid down in the Miftāḥu's-Sa'dat. To doubt of the infidelity of such a person is itself infidelity. As by the proofs of the law here adduced the 'Ulamá have declared such a person to be an infidel, it follows that all those who assist him or who consider his claim just, or who circulate his opinions, or who consider him to be a religious person and a fit guide for men, are also infidels. To send children to be taught by him, to purchase newspapers which advocate his views, and to continue to read his translation is unlawful. In the Fatāwá-i-Álamgiri, in the chapter entitled Murtád, it is written: 'Whosoever has doubts of the present infidelity and of the future punishment of such an one is an infidel.' God says in the Qur'án: 'Be helpful to one another according to

¹ This is because by so doing it would seem to ascribe to it similarity to human composition.

goodness and piety, but be not helpful for evil and malice; and fear ye God' (v. 3). In another place God says, 'Whosoever acts not according to God's order is an infidel.' Now, what greater disobedience can there be than this, that a person should say that the recital of the Arabic Qur'án in the namáz is not lawful, and that the recital of his own Hindustani translation of it is incumbent (*fard*)? Our duty is to give information to Musalmáns, and God is the best Knower."

This was written by a learned Maulavi, and signed by twenty-four other leading Maulavis of the city of Madras.

This fatwá, an authentic copy of which was for some time in my possession, is of very considerable importance, as showing how unyielding the law of Islám is to the varied circumstances of the countries in which it exists. The law enjoining the Arabic language as a medium of worship was suited for the Arab people, and the principle involved would seem to be that the vernacular language of a country should be used by the Muslims of that country for the purposes of devotion; but it is not so. It further demonstrates that all such matters must be regulated, not by the needs of the age or country, but by an antiquated law, which, to say the least, is an anachronism in the world's history. The authority paid to the statements made by the four chief Imáms, and the fact that the fatwá is based on their decisions, and on previous fatwás in which their authority has been adduced, show how even to the present day they are regarded as the Mujtahidún of Islám. The fatwá is thus manifestly orthodox, and corroborates most fully all I have said in the first chapter on the "Foundations of Islám." Again, this man might have divorced his wives and obtained others, he might have kept concubines, he might have led an immoral life, and still remained in Islám; but to approach God in prayer through the medium of his mother tongue was an offence so great that he could only be regarded as an outcast.

CHAPTER VI

THE FEASTS AND FASTS OF ISLÁM

1. MUHARRAM.—Muḥarram, the name of the first month of the Muḥammadan year, is also the name given to the days of mourning spent by the Shí'ahs in commemoration of the martyrdoms of 'Alí and of his two sons, Hasan and Ḥusain. The ceremonies differ slightly in different countries. The following is a description of an Indian Muḥarram.

Some days previous to the feast, the 'Áshúr Khána (literally, ten-day house) is prepared. As soon as the new moon appears, the people gather together in the various 'Áshúr Khánas, and offer a fátiḥa over some sherbet or some sugar in the name of Ḥusain. The fátiḥa concludes thus: "O God, grant the reward of this to the soul of Ḥusain." The sherbet and sugar are then given to the poor. Then they mark a spot for the Áláwa, or hole for the bonfire which is to be lit. Every night during the festival these fires are kindled, and the people, both old and young, fence across the fire with swords or sticks, and jump about calling out "'Alí! Noble Ḥusain! Noble Ḥusain! Bridegroom! Bridegroom! Friend!"

The 'Áshúr Khána is generally a temporary structure, or some large hall fitted up for the occasion. Sometimes the walls are draped with black cloth, bordered with texts of the Qur'án written in a large and elegant style. The place is brilliantly illuminated. On one side

stands the ta'ziyas or tābūts, structures made of wood covered with tinsel and profusely ornamented and often very costly. They are intended to represent the mausoleum erected on the plains of Karbalā over the remains of Ḥusain, or the Prophet's tomb at Madīna. At the back of the ta'ziyas several articles are placed, similar to those supposed to have been used by Ḥusain at Karbalā,—a turban of gold, a rich sword, a shield, a bow and arrow. The 'alams or standards, which are commonly made of copper and brass, though occasionally of gold or of silver, are placed against the walls. The usual standard is that of a hand placed on a pole. This is emblematic of the five members who compose the family of the Prophet, and is the special standard of the Shī'ahs. These standards have many different names, such as the standard of the palm of 'Alī, of the Lady Fāṭima, of the Horse-shoe (to represent the shoe of Ḥusain's swift horse) and others too numerous to mention.

Every evening large crowds of people assemble in these 'Āshūr Khānas. In the centre, on a slightly raised platform, a band of singers chant the marthiya, an elegiac poem in honour of the martyred Ḥusain. It is a monotonous performance, lasting about an hour; but it has a wonderful effect on the audience, who, seated on the ground, listen patiently and attentively. At each pause the hearers beat their breasts, and say "Ḥusain! Ḥusain!" Real or simulated grief often finds expression in groans and tears, though the more violent expression of the anguish felt is reserved for a later ceremony.

This over, the Wāqī'a Khān (literally, narrator of events) ascends the mimbar or pulpit, and seats himself on the top, or on a lower step. He proceeds to relate the historical facts, adding many curious stories gathered from the vast heap of Traditions¹ which have

¹ I give one or two as an illustration of the extraordinary things

cast such a halo of glory around the martyrs. Sometimes he becomes very excited, and the audience is stirred up to great enthusiasm. After a while the persons present rise and form two lines facing each other. A boy then chants a few words, and the persons in the assembly begin, slowly at first, to sway their bodies to and fro, calling out "'Alī! 'Alī! Ḥusain! Ḥusain!" Each one then beats his breast vigorously. In some cases blood has been known to flow from the breast, so severe is the self-inflicted beating.¹ This continues till they are well-nigh exhausted, when the whole company goes away, to repeat the performance over again in some other 'Āshūr Khāna.

During this season women who can read visit the Zanānas and chant marthiyas to the ladies of the ḥaram, by whom this season of Muḥarram is celebrated with great earnestness.

For the first six days nothing else takes place, but on the seventh day the 'alam of Qāsim is taken out in public procession. This is to represent the marriage of Qāsim, the son of Ḥasan, to the favourite daughter of Ḥusain, just before the death of the latter. This standard is usually borne by a man on horseback. The

that are said and believed:—"When al-Ḥusain was murdered, the world stood still for seven days, and the sun upon the walls appeared as a saffron coloured sheet, and the stars struck one upon the other. The sun was eclipsed that day, and the horizon was red for six months after. Not a stone was turned in Jerusalem that day but blood was found beneath it." (as-Syūṭī, "*History of the Khālifas*," p. 211.)

The following is a description of Muḥarram as seen in the Persian quarter of Erzeroum:—"The devotees, clothed in white robes, go in procession through the city at nightfall, carrying swords, with which they gash their heads. At first the wounds are slight, but as the actors become excited, they are dangerously severe. The ghastliness of the sight is naturally increased by the contrast between the blood-stains and the white garments." (Rev. H. T. Tozer, "*Turkish-Armenia*," p. 411.)

¹ This seems to be part of an ancient ritual. The worshipper shed his own blood at the altar as a means of commending himself and his prayer to the Deity. The priests of Baal did this (1 King xviii. 28). For other instances, see Robertson Smith, "*Religion of the Semites*," p. 303.

crowd shout out "Bridegroom! Bridegroom!" As the standard which represents Qásim is supposed to be a martyr, it is when brought back laid down, covered over, and treated as a corpse. Lamentation is made over it as for one dead. Sherbet is then produced, and a fátiḥa is said, after which the standard is again set up in its own place.

The neza, a lance or spear with a lime on the top, to recall to remembrance the fact that Yazīd caused Ḥusain's head to be thus carried about, is taken in procession from one place to another. Vows are frequently made to the standard called Na'l Šāhib, which represents the shoe of Ḥusain's horse. Thus a woman may say to it, "Should I through your favour be blessed with offspring, I shall make it run in your procession." If she attains her wish, the child, when seven or eight years old, has a small parasol placed in its hand and is made to run after the Na'l Šāhib.

If two 'alams or standards meet, they embrace each other, that is, they are made to touch. A fátiḥa is then said, and the respective processions pass on their way. The Buráq, supposed to be a fac-simile of the horse sent by Gabriel for Muḥammad to make the night ascent to heaven, is also taken out.

On the evening before the tenth day, which, according to the Muslim mode of computing time, is the tenth night, the whole of the ta'ziyas and the 'alams are taken out in procession. It is a scene of great confusion, for men and boys disguised in all sorts of quaint devices run about. It is the carnival of the Musalmán year.

On the following day, the 'Áshúrá, they kindle the fires in the álawas, and say a fátiḥa in each 'Áshúr Khána. After this the 'alams and the ta'ziyas are taken away to a large open spot near water, which represents the plain of Karbalá. Another fátiḥa is said, and the ornaments and decorations are taken off the ta'ziyas, the frameworks of which are then cast into

the water.¹ The water reminds the people of the parching thirst which Ḥusain felt before his death. Only the 'alams, not the Buráqs nor the Na'l Šāhibs, are immersed. The people then burn incense, recite the marthiyas, return home, and say a fátiḥa over the 'alams, Buráqs, &c. On the evening of the 12th, they sit up all night reading the Qur'án, reciting marthiyas and verses in praise of Ḥusain. On the 13th day a quantity of food is cooked, which, when a fátiḥa has been said over it, is distributed to the poor. Some very pious Shi'ahs celebrate the fortieth day after the first of Muḥarram. It is on this day, according to some accounts, that the head and body of Ḥusain were reunited. It is known as the 'Íd-i-sar wa tan (head-and-body feast).

The Sunnis do not, except as spectators, take any part in the Muḥarram ceremonies. Indeed, where the ruling power is not strong, there is often much ill-feeling aroused by the enthusiasm excited for all that concerns 'Alī and his family. The three first Khálifas are often well abused, and that no Sunni can bear with patience. The breach between the Sunni and the Shi'ah is very wide, and the annual recurrence of the Muḥarram feast tends to keep alive the distinction.

The tenth day, the 'Áshúrá, is, however, a sunnat feast, and, as such, is observed by all Sunnis. It is considered to be a most excellent day, for on it God is said to have created Adam and Eve, His throne, heaven, hell, the seat of judgment, the tablet of decree, the pen, fate, life, and death. The Sunnis about three o'clock in the afternoon of this day prepare sherbet, and a dish composed of boiled rice and pulse mixed with clarified butter and spices. A fátiḥa in the name of Ḥusain and of those who were martyred with him

¹ "During the first ten days they are supposed to contain the bodies of the martyrs, but now being empty, the ta'ziyas become mere ordinary frames, and can be destroyed." (Herklot, *Qáimín-i-Islám*, p. 146.)

is then said. A namáz of some nafl rak'ats is said, and sometimes a du'á is added. On this day also they go to the burial-grounds and place flowers on, and say fátíha over the graves of their friends.

Indian Musalmáns have copied in their feast many Hindu ceremonies. The procession of the ta'ziyas and the casting of them into the water is very similar to the procession at the Hindu feast of the Durga Puja, when on the tenth day the Hindus cast the idol Durga, the wife of Siva, into the Ganges. The oblations offered at different shrines are similar to those offered by the Hindus, such as rice, clarified butter, and flowers.

The Muḥammadan form of worship was too simple for a country in which an allegorical and idolatrous religion predominated, addressing itself to the senses and the imaginations rather than to the understanding and the heart; consequently the Musalmán festivals have borrowed from it a variety of pagan rites and a pompous and splendid ceremonial. While this has done much to add to the superstition of the Musalmáns in India, it has no doubt softened their intolerant spirit. Though the Sunnis consider the Shí'ah observances as impious, they look on with the contempt of indifference.

The following is a prayer used in a fátíha for 'Alí:—

"I pray, That God may deign, for the sake of that pure soul, the ornament of the book of nature, the first of mortals after the Prophet, the star of mortals, the most precious jewel of the jewel-box of virtue, the lord of the high and the low, he who occupies a distinguished place on the bridge of eternity, the mihrab¹ of the Faith, he who sits upon the throne of the palace of the law, the ship of the

¹ The mihrab is a niche in a wall which indicates the position of Mecca. The face is always turned to it when prayers are said, so that the expression in the prayer means that 'Alí is to be the object towards which the Faithful look.

sea of religion, the sun of the firmament of glory, the power of the arm of the Prophet, he who has merited access to the tabernacle of the Divine Unity, the most profound of all religious people, the resplendent brightness of the marvels of God, the father of victory, the Imám of the gate of heaven, the cup-bearer of the water of kauthar, he who has merited the praise of Muḥammad, he who is the best of men, the holy martyr, the chief of Believers, the Imám of the Faithful, 'Alí, son of Abú Tálíb, 'Alí the victorious lion of the Most High—I pray that God, for the sake of this holy Khalífa, may favourably hear the vows which I offer to Him."

- The following prayer occurs in a fátíha said for Ḥasan and Ḥusain:—

"I pray, That the eternal God may deign to accept the vows which I make for the repose of the glorious souls of the two brave Imáms, the martyrs well-beloved by God, the innocent victims of wickedness, the blessed Abú Muḥammad al-Ḥasan and Abú 'Abdu'lláh al-Ḥusain, and for the twelve Imáms, and the fourteen¹ pure ones, and for the seventy-two martyrs of the plain of Karbalá."

2. ÁKHIR-I-CHÁR SHÁMBA.²—This is a Persian name for a feast held on the last Wednesday of the month Šafar. It is kept in commemoration of the fact that on this day the Prophet experienced some mitigation of the disorder which in the next month terminated his life. Sweet cakes are prepared, and fátíhas in the name of the Prophet are said over them; but the most extraordinary custom is the drinking of the seven saláms. A plantain leaf, or a leaf of the mango-tree, or a piece of paper is taken to a Mullá, who writes seven short sentences from the Qur'án upon it. The writing whilst still wet is washed off, and the mixture

¹ Muḥammad, Fátíma, and the twelve Imáms.

² This feast is not universally kept and the Wahhábis do not observe this or the Bárá Wafát.

drunk by the person for whom it was written.¹ Peace and happiness are thus ensured for the future. The seven saláms are: (1) "Peace! shall be the word on the part of a merciful Lord" (xxxvi. 58). (2) "Peace be on Noah throughout the worlds" (xxxvii. 77). (3) "Peace be on Abraham" (xxxvii. 109). (4) "Peace be on Moses and Aaron" (xxxvii. 120). (5) "Peace be on Elias" (xxxvii. 130). (6) "Peace be on you; ye have been good; enter into Paradise" (xxxix. 73). (7) "It is peace till the breaking of the morn" (xcvii. 5). The Shi'ahs consider this an unlucky day. They call it "Chár Shamba-i-Súri"—The "Wednesday of the Trumpet;" that is, of the trumpet of the last day. The Sunnis, on the other hand, rejoice in the day, and esteem it an excellent and auspicious season.

3. **BÁRÁ WAFÁT.**—This feast, observed in India, but not general elsewhere, is held on the twelfth day of the month Rabí'u'l-awwal. The name is derived from *bará*, twelve, and *wafát*, death, because many suppose that on this day the Prophet died.

Others, however, maintain that he died on the second of the month, and, as there is some doubt on the subject, many persons make a *fātiḥa* every day, from the first to the twelfth of the month inclusive. Those who keep the feast as *Bárá Wafát* observe the ceremony called *sandal* on the previous evening, and the *'urs*, that is, the prayers and the oblations, on the twelfth. The *sandal* consists in making a perfumed embrocation from sandal-wood. This is then placed in a vessel and carried in procession to the '*Id-gáh*,'² or to the

¹For a description of this mixture, see Herklot's *Qánuin-i-Islám*, p. 150.

²The '*Id-gáh*' is usually built outside of the town, and consists of a long wall of masonry with two minarets and a large raised open court. There is a *mihráb* in the wall, but no proper *mimbar* or pulpit, three raised steps doing duty for it. Sometimes, however, a mosque is used as an '*Id-gáh*'.

place where *fātiḥa* will be said. It is then distributed to the people. It is a sort of public notice on the eve of a feast-day or of a saint's day, that on the morrow the usual prayers and offerings will be made in such and such a place. On the morning of the twelfth, the *Qur'án* is read in the mosque or in private houses: then food is cooked and *fātiḥas* are said.

Some persons possess a *qadamu'r-Rasúl*, or footstep of the Prophet. This is a stone with the impression of a footstep on it.¹ It is a sacred thing, and on this day the place in which it is kept is elegantly decorated. When a company has assembled, some persons appointed for the purpose repeat the story of the birth, miracles, and death of the Prophet. Portions of the *Qur'án* are read and the *durúd* is said.

In Madras, and in some other parts, it is more customary to keep this day, not as the anniversary of the death of the Prophet, but as the "*Jashn-i-milád-i-sharíf*," the "*Feast of the noble birth*." The practical duties are the same. Instead of the *qadamu'r-Rasúl*, the *átháru'sh-sharíf* is exhibited. This relic is supposed to be a real portion of the hair of the Prophet's beard. It is said to possess the miraculous property of growing again when a portion is broken off. On this day it is put into rose-water, which those present then drink and rub on their eyes. Great virtue is attached to this proceeding. In the *Áthár Khána* or relic-house, *fātiḥas* and *durúds* are repeated. The observance of this festival is neither *wájib* nor *sunnat*, but *mustahabb*. It is generally kept, and it is a very

¹Tradition records that the Prophet, after the battle of Uhud, was one day ascending a hill in a rage. The heat of his passion was such that the mountain softened into the consistence of wax, and retained, some say eighteen, others forty impressions of his feet. When rebuked by Gabriel for his anger, the Prophet inquired the cause of his rebuke. Gabriel told him to look around. The Prophet, seeing these impressions of his feet on the stones, was astonished. His anger instantly ceased. (Herklot, *Qánuin-i-Islám*, p. 152).

rare thing to meet a person who does not believe in the miraculous growth of the *átháru'sh-sharíf*.

4. *LAYLATU'L-BARÁT*.¹—This feast, the name of which signifies the "night of the record," is held on the fourteenth day of the month *Sha'bán*. The 'arafa, or vigil, is kept on the preceding day.² The word *barát* signifies a book or record. It is said that God on this night registers in the *barát* all the actions men are to perform during the ensuing year. On the thirteenth day food is prepared for the poor and a *fātiha* for the benefit of deceased ancestors and relatives is said over it. When all in the house are assembled, the *Súratu'l-Fātiha* is read once, the *Súratu'l-Ikhlás* (cxii.) three times, the *Áyatu'l-Kursí* (ii. 256) once, and then the *durúd*. After this a prayer is offered, in which God is asked to transfer the reward of this service, and of the charity shown in the gift of food to the poor, to the souls of deceased relatives and friends of this family. This petition is offered in the name of the Prophet. The men then go to the mosque, and after the *ṣalātu'l-'ishá'* they repeat a number of *nafl rak'ats*. This over, the *Súratu Yá Sín* (xxxvi.) is read three times. The first time, the intention is that the worshipper may have a long life; the second time, that his means of subsistence may be increased; the third time, that he may be protected from evil. The *Súratu'd-Dukhán* (xliv.) is then read with the same intentions, after which any other portions may be read. Those present then rise and go to the various cemeteries. On the way they purchase flowers to place on the graves. A *fātiha* is then said for the benefit of the *arwáhu'l-qubúr*, the souls of those there buried. The

¹ Some persons suppose that the verse "By the clear Book! see! on a blessed night have We sent it down, for We could warn mankind" (xliv. 1, 2) refers to this night: but the more general opinion is that it is a reference to the *Laylatu'l-Qadr* when the *Qur'án* was given.

² The *Baqr-'Id* is the only other feast that has an 'arafa.

very pious spend the whole night in going from one cemetery to another.

These observances are neither *fard* nor *sunnat*, but *nawáfil*, works of supererogation. Still though they are *bid'at*, they are esteemed good, and so are called *bid'atu'l-ḥasana*, or "excellent innovation." The general merry-making of the fourteenth day has no religious signification. The night of the fifteenth is the *Guy Fawkes* night of Islām and large sums of money are spent on fireworks. The following prayer occurs in the *fātiha*: "O our God, by the merits of the Apostleship of Muḥammad, grant that the lamps which are lit up on this holy night may be for the dead a pledge of the light eternal, which we pray Thee to shed on them. O God, admit them, we beseech thee, into the abode of eternal felicity."

5. *RAMADĀN AND 'IDU'L-FITR*.—In the second year of the *Hijra* it was ordained that the month of *Ramadān* should be kept as a fast (ii. 181). The Muslims had hitherto observed as the principal fast the *Áshúrá*, the tenth day of *Muḥarram*. This fast was probably connected with the Jewish fast on the tenth day of the seventh month. "Also on the tenth day of this seventh month there shall be a day of atonement: it shall be an holy convocation unto you; and ye shall afflict your souls," &c. (Leviticus xxiii. 27). When Muḥammad first went to *Madína*, he hoped to win over the Jews to his side; but after he failed, he took every opportunity of making Islām differ as much as possible from Judaism. This was the reason why the *Qibla* was changed (ii. 139) and that, in the second year of his residence at *Madína*, the fast of *Ramadān* was appointed.¹ The reasons assigned for the selection of this month are that in *Ramadān* God gave to the

¹ The *Sábians* kept a fast of thirty days and observed the feast of *al-Fitr*. Muḥammad may have borrowed the idea from them. (Tisdall, *Sources of the Qur'án*, p. 53).

previous prophets the revelations connected with their names, and that in this month the Qur'ān was sent down from the Hidden Tablet in the seventh heaven to the first or lowest one, and that on the Laylatu'l-Qadr, or "night of power," the first revelation was made to Muḥammad. To illustrate the sacredness of this month the prophet used to say that in it "all the gates of Paradise are open, and the gates of hell are shut, and the devils are chained by the leg." "Only those who observe it will be allowed to enter by the gate of heaven called Rayyān." Those who keep the fast "will be pardoned all their past venial sins." In making the fast one for the day, and not for the night, Muḥammad may have borne in mind the verse: "God wisheth you ease, but wisheth not your discomfort" (ii. 181), but Baidāwī explains these words as referring to the relief afforded to travellers and sick persons.¹

The special ceremonies connected with the Ramaḍān are the tarāwīḥ namāz and i'tikāf (retirement). In the Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī it is said that i'tikāf was kept as a ceremony by the Pagan Arabs before the days of the Prophet. "Thus 'Umar binu'l-Khaṭāb said, 'O Prophet, certainly I vowed in the days of ignorance that I would perform i'tikāf at night in the Musjidu'l-Harām.' The Prophet replied, 'Fulfil thy vow and keep i'tikāf at night.'" The tarāwīḥ prayers have been described already. Each night in Ramaḍān one-thirtieth part (sipāra) of the Qur'ān is recited in the mosque. The duty of performing the i'tikāf is a sunnatu'l-mu'ak-kada, a very strict duty. The Mu'takif, one who makes i'tikāf, must remain apart in a mosque used for public services, and there meditate. Bukhārī says that the Prophet made i'tikāf the last ten days of each Ramaḍān, and that the practice was continued by his wives after his death. Women make i'tikāf in a private room and not in a mosque. Usually a man should thus sit

¹ Baidāwī, vol. i, p. 103.

and meditate one of the days between the twentieth and the thirtieth of Ramaḍān. If his meditation is disturbed by any illegal interruption, another day should be devoted to it. Some theologians hold that i'tikāf is farḍu'l-kifāya, that is, if one person of a community does it, the obligation does not rest on the others. If, however, a person makes a vow in Ramaḍān, then i'tikāf is considered wājib. I'tikāf can be performed at any time other than the last ten days of Ramaḍān, but then it is only mustahabb, a work of supererogation. All the sects except the Shāfi'ites hold that the Mu'takif must fast with intention. He must not go out of the mosque except for necessary purposes, and for making the legal ablutions. At night he may eat, drink, and sleep in the mosque: acts quite unlawful at other times. He may speak with others on religious matters, and if a man of business he may give orders with regard to the purchase and sale of merchandise,¹ but on no account must any goods be brought to him. It is highly meritorious for him to read the Qur'ān in an audible voice. By such an act he becomes a man of penetration, whose words are as powerful as a sharp sword.²

When the thirty days have passed the fast is broken. This act is called ifṭār, and the first day on which food is taken is called the 'Idu'l-Fiṭr—the "feast of the breaking of the fast." On that day the ṣadaqa is given before the namāz is said in the mosque. The ṣadaqa of the 'Idu'l-Fiṭr is confined to Muslims: no other persons can receive these alms. In South India the ṣadaqa consists of a gift of sufficient rice to feed

¹ This is based on the following tradition recorded by Bukhārī:—"One day 'Ayesha, when in the mosque, was speaking about the purchase of a female slave. The Prophet said, 'Buy her and set her free,' and then ascended the pulpit."

² That is, his blessing or his curse takes effect. (Herklot, *Qadun-i-Jaldin*, p. 170).

one person. When this has been done, the people go to the mosque, saying, "God is great! God is great!" The *namāz* is like that of a Friday, except that only two *rak'ats* are said, and the *khuṭba* which is said after the *namāz* is *sunnat*; whereas the Friday *khuṭba* is said before the *fard rak'ats*, and is itself of *fard* obligation. After hearing the sermon, which is preached in Arabic, the people disperse, visit each other, and thoroughly enjoy themselves.

A very usual form of the *khuṭba* of the 'Īdu'l-Fiṭr is as follows:—

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful!

Holy is God, who has opened the door of mercy for those who fast, and in mercy and kindness has granted them the right of entrance into heaven. God is greater than all. There is no God save Him. God is great! God is great! and worthy of praise. It is of His grace and favour that He rewards those who keep the fast. He has said: "I will give in the future world houses and palaces, and many excellent blessings to those who fast." God is great! God is great! Holy is He who certainly sent the Qur'ān to our Prophet in the month of Ramaḍān, and who sends angels to grant peace to all true believers. God is great! and worthy of all praise. We praise and thank Him for the 'Īdu'l-Fiṭr, that great blessing, and we testify that beside Him there is no God. He is alone. He has no partner. This witness which we give to His Unity will be a cause of our safety here, and finally gain us an entrance to Paradise. Muḥammad (on whom be the mercy and peace of God) and all famous prophets are His slaves. He is the Lord of genii and of men. From Him comes mercy and peace upon Muḥammad and his family, so long as the world shall last. God is greater than all; there is none beside Him. God is great! God is great! and worthy of all praise. O company of believers, O congregation of Muslims, the mercy of the True One is on you. He says that this feast-day is a blessing to you, and a curse to the unbelievers.

Your fasting will not be rewarded, and your prayers will be stayed in their flight to heaven until you have given the *sadaqa*. O congregation of believers, to give alms is to you a *wājib* duty. Give to the poor some measures of grain or its money equivalent. Your duty in Ramaḍān was to say the *tarāwīḥ* prayers, to make supplication to God, to sit and meditate (*i'tikāf*) and to read the Qur'ān. The religious duties of the first ten days of Ramaḍān gain the mercy of God, those of the second ten merit His pardon; whilst those of the last ten save those who do them from the punishment of hell. God has declared that Ramaḍān is a noble month, for is not one of its nights, the Laylatu'l-Qadr, better than a thousand months? On that night Gabriel and the angels descended from heaven: till the morning breaks it is full of blessing. Its eloquent interpreter and its clearest proof is the Qur'ān, the Word of God most Gracious. Holy is God, who says in the Qur'ān: "This word of God comes down in the month of Ramaḍān." This is a guide for men, a distinguisher between right and wrong. O Believers, in such a month be present; obey the order of your God and fast; but let the sick and the travellers substitute some other days on which to fast, so that no days be lost, and say: "God is great!" and praise Him. God has made the fast easy for you. O Believers, God will bless you and us by the grace of the Holy Qur'ān. Every verse of it is a benefit to us and fills us with wisdom. God is the Bestower, the Holy King, the Munificent, the Kind, the Nourisher, the Merciful, the Clement.¹

6. THE BAQAR-ĪD.—This is the most important feast in the whole year. It is also called the 'Īdu'l-Adhā and the 'Īdu'd-Duḥā, the feast of sacrifice. In Turkey and in Egypt it is called Bairām and in Persia the 'Īd-i-Qurbān. Its origin was as follows: A few months after the hijra or flight from Mecca, Muḥammad, dwelling in Madīna, observed that the Jews kept, on the tenth day of the seventh month, the great fast of

¹ *Khuṭbahā-i-mutarjam*, p. 104.

the Atonement. A Tradition records that the Prophet asked them why they kept this fast. He was informed that it was a memorial of the deliverance of Moses and the children of Israel from the hands of Pharaoh. "We have a greater right in Moses than they," said Muhammad, so he fasted with the Jews and commanded his followers to fast also. This was at the period of his mission when Muhammad was friendly with the Jews of Madīna, who occasionally came to hear him preach. The Prophet also occasionally attended the synagogue. Then came the change of the Qibla from Jerusalem to Mecca, for the Jews were not so ready to change their creed as Muhammad had at first hoped. In the second year of the Hijrah, Muhammad and his followers did not participate in the Jewish fast, for the Prophet now instituted the feast of the Baqar-'id. The idolatrous Arabs had been in the habit of making an annual pilgrimage to Mecca at this season of the year. The offering of animals in sacrifice formed a part of the concluding ceremony of that pilgrimage. That portion, the sacrifice of animals, Muhammad adopted from the Pagan Arabs in the feast which now, at Madīna, he substituted for the Jewish fast. Connected with verses establishing the Hajj are the following:—"Ye may obtain advantages from the cattle up to the set time for slaying them; then the place for sacrificing them is at the ancient house. . . . And the camels have we appointed you for the sacrifice to God: much good have ye in them. Make mention, therefore, of the name of God over them when ye slay them as in a vow" (xxii. 34-37). This was well calculated to attract the attention of the Meccans and to gain the goodwill of the Arabs. Muhammad could not, at that date, make the pilgrimage to Mecca; for as yet there was a hostile feeling between the inhabitants of the two cities; but on the tenth day of the month Dhū'l-Hijja, at the very time when the Pagan Arabs at Mecca were engaged

in sacrificing victims, Muhammad went forth from his house at Madīna, and assembling his followers, instituted the 'Idu'd-Duhā. Two young kids were brought before him. One he sacrificed and said: "O Lord! I sacrifice this for my whole people, all those who bear witness to Thy unity and to my mission. O Lord! this is for Muhammad and for the family of Muhammad."

Great merit is obtained by all who keep this feast. 'Āyesha relates how the Prophet once said: "Man hath not done anything on the 'Idu'l-Adhā more pleasing to God than spilling blood; for verily the animal sacrificed will come on the day of resurrection with its horns, hair, and hoofs, and will make the scale of his good actions very heavy. Verily its blood reached the acceptance of God before it falleth upon the ground, therefore be joyful in it."

Musalman's say that the Patriarch Abraham was ordered to sacrifice Ishmael, and that he made several ineffectual attempts to cut the throat of his son. Ishmael then said to his father: "It is through pity and compassion for me that you allow the knife to miss: blindfold yourself and then sacrifice me." Abraham acted upon this advice, blindfolded himself, drew his knife, repeated the Bismillāh, and, as he thought, cut the throat of his son; but, behold, in the meantime Gabriel had substituted a sheep for the lad. This event is commemorated in this feast.

On the day before the feast, the 'arafa or vigil is kept. Food of various kinds is prepared, over which a fātiha is offered, first, in the name of the Prophet; secondly, in the names of deceased relatives, and of others for whom a blessing is desired, or from whom some favour is expected. The food is then sent as a present to friends.

On the morning of the feast-day, the devout Muslims proceed to the 'Id-gāh, or, if there is no 'Id-gāh, to the

principal mosque, repeating on the way the takbīr, "God is great!" and "There is no other God save the one true God: God is great, praise be to God." At the time of making waḍū', the worshipper should say: "O God, make this (the sacrifice I shall offer to-day) an atonement for my sin, and purify my religion and take evil away from me."

The service at the 'Īd-gāh or in the mosque consists of two farḍ rak'ats, as in the ṣalātu'l-Jum'a, after the khutba is delivered. It will, however, be seen from the following sermon on the 'Īdu'd-Duḥá that it is mustahabb to say four more rak'ats.

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

Allāhu Akbar! God is great. There is no god but God. God is great! God is great and worthy of all praise. He is holy. Day and night we should praise Him. He is without partner, without equal. All praise be to Him. Holy is He, who makes the rich generous, who provides the sacrifice for the wise. He is great, without an equal. All praise be to Him. Listen! I testify that there is no god but God. He is alone without partner. This testimony is as bright as the early dawn, as brilliant as the glorious feast-day. Muḥammad is His servant who delivered His message. On Muḥammad, and on his family, and on his Companions may the peace of God rest. On you who are present, O congregation of Muslimin, may the mercy of God for ever rest. O servants of God! our first duty is to fear God and to be kind. God has said: "I will be with those who fear Me and are kind."

Know, O servants of God! that to rejoice on the feast-day is the sign and mark of the pure and good. Exalted will be the rank of such in Paradise (Dáru'l-Qarâr), especially on the day of resurrection will they obtain dignity and honour. Do not on this day foolish acts. It is no time for amusements and negligence. This is the day on which to utter the praises of God (tasbîh). Read the kalima, the takbîr, and the tashhîd. This is a high festival season and

the feast of sacrifice. Read now the takbiru't-tashriq. God is great! God is great! There is no god but God! God is great! God is great! All praise be to Him! From the morning of the 'arafa, after every fard rak'at it is good (mustahabb) for a person to repeat the takbiru't-tashriq. The woman before whom is a man as Imâm, and the traveller whose Imâm is a permanent resident (muqim) should also repeat this takbir. It should be said at each namâz until the salatu'l-'asr of the feast-day (10th). Some, however, say that it should be recited every day till the afternoon ('asr) of the thirteenth day, as these are the days of the tashriq. If the Imâm forgets to recite, let not the worshipper forget. Know, O believers, that every free man who is a Šāhibu'n-Nisâb should offer sacrifice on this day, provided that this sum is exclusive of his horse, his clothes, his tools, and his household goods and slaves. It is wâjib for every one to offer sacrifice for himself, but it is not a wâjib order that he should do it for his children.¹ A goat, a ram, or a cow should be offered in sacrifice for every seven persons. The victim must not be one-eyed, blind, lame, or very thin. If a fat animal, it will serve you well, and

If you sacrifice a fat animal, it will serve you well, and carry you across the Ṣirāt. O believers, thus said the Prophet, on whom be the mercy and peace of God: "Sacrifice the victim with your own hands; this was the sunnat of Ibrāhīm, on whom be peace."

of Ibrāhīm, on whom be peace. In the Kitābu Zādī-t-Taqwā, it is said that on the 'Īdu'l-Fitr and the 'Īdu'd-Duhā, four nafl rak'ats should be said after the fard namāz of the 'Īd. In the first rak'at after the Sūratu'l-Fātiha recite the Sūratu'l-Mursalāt (lxxvii.); in the second, the Sūratu'sh-Shams (xci.); in the third, the Sūratu'd-Duhā (xciii.); in the fourth, the Sūratu'l-Iklās (cxii.). O believers, if ye do so, God will pardon the sins of fifty years which are past, and of fifty years to come.

Still it is mustahabb, or a meritorious act so to do. It is also said that, if a minor is possessed of property, his father or his guardian may purchase at his expense an animal and sacrifice it. The child may then eat as much as it can. The remainder of the meat must be exchanged for something which the child can use, such as clothes shoes, &c. (*Nirru'l-Hidayah*, vol. iv, p. 60).

The reading of these Sūras is equal as an act of merit to the reading of all the books God has sent by His prophets.

May God include us amongst those who are accepted by Him, who act according to the Law, whose desire will be granted at the last day. To all such there will be no fear in the day of resurrection; no sorrow in the examination at the day of judgment. The best of all books is the Qur'ān. O believers! may God give to us and to you a blessing for ever by the grace of the noble Qur'ān. May its verses be our guide, and may its wise mention of God direct us aright. I desire that God may pardon all believers, male and female, the Muslimūn and the Muslimāt. O believers, also seek for pardon. Truly God is the Forgiver, the Merciful, the Eternal King, the Compassionate, the Clement. O believers, the *khutba* is over. Let all desire that on Muḥammad Mustafā the mercy and peace of God may rest.

The worshippers then return to their respective homes and offer up the sacrifice, for it is a *wājib* order that every Muslim should keep this feast and sacrifice an animal for himself. He need not fear though he has to incur debt for the purchase of an animal, for it is said that God will in some way help him to pay the debt. A camel if sacrificed, must not be less than five years of age; if a cow or sheep, it should at least be in its second year, though the third year is better; if a goat, it must be six months old, and all of these animals must be without a blemish or defect of any kind. It is a *sunnat* order that the head of the household should himself slay the victim. If, however, from any cause, he cannot do so, he may call in a butcher; but in that case he must place his hand upon that of the butcher when the operation is performed. The victim must be placed with the head towards Mecca. Its front legs being bandaged together, the sacrificer must stand on its right side and plunge the knife into its throat with such force that the animal may fall at once. Any other mode of slaying it is unlawful. Just

before slaying the victim the following verse of the Qur'ān should be repeated: "Say! my prayers and my worship,¹ and my life and my death are unto God, the Lord of the worlds. He hath no associate. This am I commanded, and I am the first of the Muslims" (vi. 163). The operator also adds: "O God, from Thee and to Thee (I do this), in the name of God. God is great!" Then having slain the victim he says: "O God, accept this for me." The first meal taken should be prepared from the flesh of the animal just slaughtered, after which the members of the family, the neighbours, and the poor should receive some portions.

It is highly meritorious to sacrifice one animal for each member of the family; but as that would involve an expenditure some could not bear, it is allowable to sacrifice one victim for the household. In extreme cases, men may combine together and make one sacrifice do for the whole, but the number of persons so combining must not exceed seventy. Some authorities limit the number to seven. This feast is strictly observed by all Muslims wherever they may be.

The Baqar-Īd and the Īdu'l-Fiṭr constitute the Īdain, the two great feasts of Islām. A country in which Musalmāns could not observe them both would at once become Dāru'l-Ḥarb, or House of Enmity, in which it would be the duty of every Muslim to join in a *jihād* against the Infidel rulers of the land.

This completes the account of the principal feasts of the Muslim year. Properly speaking, the Sunnis have only two festivals—the Baqar-Īd and the Īdu'l-Fiṭr, but many others are now observed.

Among other practices borrowed from the Hindus must be placed the pilgrimage made by Indian Musalmāns to the shrines of Saints,² the ceremonies connected with

¹ Baidāwī interprets this as, "All my worship, or my sacrifice, or my pilgrimage," vol. i, p. 317.

² There is, however, some authority for this practice. Ibn Mas'ūd

them, and the festivals instituted in their honour. The title of Pír given to a Musalmán devotee is equivalent to the term Guru amongst the Hindus. A man who seeks to be a "religious" takes a Pír as a spiritual guide. "Follow," says the poet Wálí, "the footsteps of thy Pír like a shadow." The Pírs, when alive, are frequently resorted to for a ta'wídh or charm, and the aid of their prayers is often invoked. After death they are venerated as Wálís or Saints.¹ The sepulchre of a Wálí is called a Dargáh, shrine; Mazár, place of pilgrimage; Rauda, garden. The professional reciter of the Qur'án at such places is called Rauda Khán. As a rule, processions are made to the shrines, and flowers, sweetmeats, and food over which a fátiha has been said are offered. Usually the fátiha is for the Saint, not to the Saint. It is considered a very meritorious act to give land for the erection of such shrines and to endow them. An account of many of these Indian Saints is given in the Bára Masa by Jawán and the Aráyish-i-Mahfil by Afsos.

In the preceding chapters I have endeavoured to set forth the main features of the Faith of Islám, and the religious duties it enjoins. I might now go on to show its relation to Judaism and Christianity, the elements it has drawn from them, and the distortions it has made in the borrowing, as well as the protest it raised against much that was corrupt in the

relates the words of the Prophet thus: "I had forbidden you to visit the graves; but now ye may visit them, for they detach your mind from this world and remind you of the world to come." The Traditionist, Muslim, states that the Prophet wept at the grave of his mother, and said: "I begged leave from my Lord to ask forgiveness for her, but it was not granted me: then I begged leave to visit her grave, and it was granted me; visit therefore the graves, for they remind you of death."

¹ A Wálí is so called because God takes care of his concerns and also because he himself cares only for the things of God. Miracles should appear after his death and if they do not, he is not a true Wálí. He can transgress but, if he does so, he repents at once.

Christianity with which it came in contact. I might also describe its laws in detail¹ and enlarge upon its moral and social effects, and the character it produces in the individual and the State.² But these subjects would lead me far beyond my present purpose, and so I must now content myself with having given a representation of the Faith of Islám from its own authorities.

¹ This is fully done by Klein, *Religion of Islám*, pp. 178-226.

² Muslims believe these effects to be perfect. A number of Musalmáns held a meeting at Poona, in December 1895, to consider whether they should take part with Hindus in a conference to consider the question of social reforms. It was resolved not to do so on this ground:—"In the face of the Qur'án, it is altogether needless for the Musalmáns to join in any purely sectional conference, for Islám is a perfect exponent of social emancipation and human progress in all its aspects." (*Madras Weekly Mail*, December 5, 1895.)

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.

'ILMU'T-TAJWÍD.

EVERY Muslim must learn some portion of the Qur'án by heart, and to learn the whole is an act of great merit. This feat, however, is of little value unless the Háfiz, when reciting it, observes all the rules and regulations framed for such an act. This recital is called *tiláwat*, but before any one can do this correctly he must have some acquaintance with what is known as *'Ilmu't-Tajwíd*. This includes a knowledge of the peculiarities of the spelling of many words in the Qur'án, of its various readings, of the *takbirs* and responses to be said at the close of certain appointed passages, of its various divisions, punctuation and marginal instructions, of the proper pronunciation of the Arabic words and the correct intonation of different passages. No act of worship brings a Muslim so near to God as *tiláwat*, the act of reading or reciting some portion of this book.¹ The Traditionist Tabráni says: "Whosoever teaches his son to read the Qur'án will receive a heavenly crown." Tirmidhí hands down a saying of the Prophet to the effect that "whosoever reads only one

¹ It is not necessary that the reader should know the meaning. He may be utterly ignorant of Arabic, but he must be able to pronounce it correctly, and he should observe all the legal ceremonies.

letter does a good act which will meet a tenfold reward." The ceremonial acts to be observed before the reading commences are the legal ablution and prayer. "Let none touch it but the purified" (lvi. 78). The usual prayer is, "I seek God's protection from cursed Satan," followed by the invocation, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate." Pleasant verses should be read in a cheerful tone, verses which speak of threatenings and punishment should be recited with awe; and if the reader cannot cry, he should assume the appearance of one in great sorrow. Whenever the words of Káfirs are quoted in the Qur'án, the reader should recite them in a low tone of voice. Such quotations are the following: "The Jews say, 'Ezra (Ozair) is a Son of God'" and "the Christians, 'The Messiah is a Son of God'" (Súratu't-Taubah ix. 30). After reading the verse "Adam disobeyed his Lord, and went astray" (xx. 119), the reader should not pause, but quickly pass on to the following words, "Afterwards his Lord chose him for himself, and was turned towards him." The idea is, that as Adam is one of the *Anbiyá'-'ulú'l-'Azm*, the six chief prophets, the stress should be laid on God's forgiveness of his fault and not on his disobedience.

The name of God is repeated twice in the following verse: "We will not believe till the like be accorded us, of what was accorded to the Apostles of God. God best knoweth where to place His mission" (Súratu'l-An'am vi. 124). As this is the only place in the Qur'án where the word *Alláh* occurs twice without any intervening word, a prayer should be offered before the second *Alláh* is pronounced.

The mosque is considered the most suitable of all places in which to read. The most auspicious days of the week are considered to be Friday, Monday, and Thursday. The best hour of the whole twenty-four is midnight or about 3 A.M.

It is considered a proper thing to read the whole Qur'án in forty days, but on no account should it be completed in less than three, for that would necessitate a hurried perusal. It was the custom of the 'Companions of the Prophet to recite four juz every night. They were thus about seven or eight nights completing the whole task. The Khalifa 'Uthmán used to commence the Qur'án on Friday and finish it on the following Thursday.

A very popular division is known as the *Famí ba Shauq*¹ (نَمِي بِشَوْق). The letters forming these words are the seven initial letters of the first Súra of each day's portion, thus:—

Friday	... Súratu'l-Fátiha (i) to the end of Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv).
Saturday	... Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) .. Súratu't-Taubah (ix).
Sunday	... Súratu Yúnas (x) .. Súratu'n-Nahl (xvi).
Monday	... Súratu Bani Isrá'il (xvii) Súratu'l-Furqán (xxv).
Tuesday	... Súratu'sh-Shuará' (xxvi) Súratu Yâ Sin (xxxvi).
Wednesday	... Súratu's-Sáffát (xxxvii) .. Súratu'l-Hujurát (xlix).
Thursday	... Súratu'l-Qáf (l) .. Súratu'n-Nás (cxiv).

The Khatam-i-Ahzáb (خَتَمِ احْزَاب) is simply another sevenfold division. There is also a threefold division called the Khatam-i-Manzil-i-Fil (خَتَمِ مَنَزَلِ فِيل). The word Fil contains the initial letters of the first Súra of each portion. Thus:—

First day	... Súratu'l-Fátiha (i) to end of Súratu't-Taubah (ix).
Second day	... Súratu Yúnas (x) .. Súratu'r-Rúm (xxx).
Third day	... Súratu Luqmán (xxxix) .. Súratu'n-Nás (cxiv).

This, however, has been found rather irksome, and so a tradition is remembered which states that one day the Prophet said to his Companions, "What, have you

¹ The u of the *Shauq* comes from the و (u) preceding the first words of the Súra read on Wednesday which are, وَالصَّافَّاتِ,

not power to read the third part every night?" They replied: "It would be very difficult." The Prophet then said, "Read the Súratu'l-Ikhlás (112); the recital of this is equal to that of one-third of the Qur'án."

It is a sunnat practice to read the whole Qur'án during the month of Ramadhán. One juz is recited each night. Having settled what portion he is going to read, and having performed all the necessary preliminaries, the reader should repeat, not less than three times and as many more as he likes, the durúd, "O God! have mercy on Muḥammad and his descendants, as Thou didst have mercy on Abraham and his descendants. Thou art to be praised and Thou art great. O God! bless Muḥammad and his descendants, as Thou didst have mercy on Abraham and his descendants. Thou art to be praised and thou art great. O God! bless Abraham and his descendants. Thou art to be praised and Thou art great." Then should follow a prayer similar to this, "O God, I testify that this is Thy Book, sent from Thee on Thy Apostle Muḥammad, and Thy word spoken by the mouth of Thy Prophet. Accept my perusal of it as an act of worship, make me read it thoughtfully. Truly Thou art kind and gracious." Then he should recite the verses, "O my Lord! I betake me to Thee against the promptings of the Satans; and I betake me to Thee, O my Lord! that they gain no hurtful access to me" (xxiii. 99, 100), and also the two last Súras, "Say: I betake me for refuge to the Lord of the daybreak against the mischiefs of His creation, and against the mischief of the night when it overtaketh me, and against the mischief of weird women, and against the mischief of the envier when he envieth." "Say: I betake me for refuge to the Lord of men—the King of men—the God of men, against the mischief of the stealthily withdrawing whisperer (Satan), who whispereth in man's breast

against jinn and men." (Suratu'l-Falaq cxiii, and Súratu'n-Nás cxiv.)¹

Another prayer (du'a) is then said. Thus: "O God! with truth Thou hast sent it (Qur'án); and with truth it came. O God! increase my desire for it, and make it the illuminator of my sight, the healer of my heart, the dispeller of my pain and sorrow. Of Thy mercy, O Most Merciful, hear my prayer." He then says the ta'awwudh, "I seek refuge near God from cursed Satan;" and the Bismilláh, "In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate." The reading of the selected portion then commences. The whole of these prayers and invocations are not always said, but it is considered a very proper thing to say them.

It is a sunnat practice to make a response at certain appointed places. If it is a public recital in a mosque or elsewhere, the auditors only respond. The Imám (Precentor) never does so. Amongst the Hanifites no response at all is allowed if the passage is read as part of a namáz. The Sháfi'ites respond whether they are reading the passage privately or in a namáz, at home or in a mosque. The responses occur in the following places. At the end of the Súratu'l-Fátiha (i) and of the Suratu'l-Baqarah (ii) say 'Amen.' At the end of the Súratu Baní Isrá'íl (xvii) say the takbír—"God is great." After the last verse of the Súratu'l-Qiyámat (lxxv), "Is He not powerful enough to raise the dead?" say "Yes, pure is my Lord, Most High." At the end of the Súratu'l-Mulk (lxvii), after the words "If at early morn your waters shall have sunk away, who then will give you clear running water?" say "God brings it to us, and He is the Lord of the worlds." At the end of the Súratu'l-Mursalát (lxxvii), after the words "In what other revelation after this will ye

¹ These súras are called the Mu'udhatáin (معوذتين) from a word meaning "I betake me for refuge," which occurs in both.

believe?" say "We believe in God, the Lord of the worlds." At the close of the Súratu't-Tin (xcv), after the words "What! is not God the most just of judges?" say "Yes, I am a witness for Thee."

In addition to these responses to be given at the end of each Súra, there are others to be said after certain verses. Thus, after the 16th verse of Súratu Al-i-Imrân (iii) "There is no God but He, the Mighty, the Wise," say "I am a witness to this." After the 60th verse of the Súratu'n-Naml (xxvii), "Is God the more worthy, or the gods they joined with him?" say "Yes, God is the best, the Abider, the most Glorious, the most Honorable." After the twelfth verse of the Súratu'n-Najm (liii) "Which then of the bounties of your Lord will ye twain (men and jinn) deny?" and after each repetition of this question in this Súra, say "O Lord, we deny no gift of Thine. To Thee be praise."

The 59th, 64th, 68th, 71st verses of the Súratu'l-Wáqi'ah (lvi) read thus: "Is it you who create them, or are we their creator?" "Is it you who cause its up-growth, or do we cause it to spring forth?" "Is it ye who send it down from the clouds, or send we it down?" "Is it ye who rear its tree, or do we rear it?" After each of these verses say "Yes! it is Thou, O Lord!" After the 1st verse of Súratu'l-A'lá (lxxxvii) "Praise the name of the Lord Most High," say "Holy is my Lord, Most High." After the 7th verse of Súratu'sh-Shams (xci) "By a soul and Him who balanced it," say "O God, bestow on my soul piety and purity. Thou art the best of all purifiers."

After the recital of certain passages in the Qur'án a sijda must be made.¹ This is called the sijdatu't-tiláwat. Imám Abú Hanífa considers it farḍ, the other

¹ The following is the ritual of a sijda: The worshipper kneeling down, places his hands with the fingers close to each other, upon the ground. He must rest upon his toes, not on the side of the feet which must be

three Imáms, Málík, Ḥanbal and Sháfi'ī consider it sunnat. The former also held that if a person should by accident overhear some other person reading these passages he must make sijda; the latter do not think it necessary in such a case. Ḥanfi'a also held that if in the rukú' of a namáz a sijda verse occurred, the worshipper might make this sijda after the namáz was over; the others say that it should be done *there and then*.

When making the sijda the takbír should be said, and on rising, the salám, but not the tashshahud. Imáms Ḥanfi'a and Málík, however, say that the takbír also should be said on rising up from the sijda.

Altogether there are fourteen sijda verses.¹

1. Súratu'l-A'ráf "They praise and prostrate themselves before Him." (vii. 205).
2. Súratu'r-R'ad: "Unto God doth all in the heavens and on the earth bow down in worship, willingly or by constraint: their very shadows also morn and even!" (xiii. 16).
3. Súratu'n-Nahl: "All in the heavens and all on the earth, each thing that moveth, and the very angels, prostrate them in adoration before God, and are free from pride; they fear their Lord who is above them, and do what they are bidden." (xvi. 51, 52).
4. Súratu Bani Isrá'íl: "Glory be to God! the promise of our Lord is made good. They fall down on their faces weeping, and it increaseth their humility." (xvii. 109).

kept straight behind him. The elbow must not touch the side, nor the stomach the thigh, nor the thigh the calf of the leg. The eyes must be kept bent downwards. Then he touches the ground first with his nose, and then with his forehead, taking care that the thumbs just touch the lobe of the ears. In this position he says the tasbiḥu's-sijda three times; "I extol the holiness of my Lord, the Most High!"

¹ Imám Málík rejects the three last and so reckons only eleven.

5. Súratu Maryam: "When the signs of the God of Mercy were rehearsed to them, they bowed them down worshipping and weeping." (xix. 59).
6. Súratu'l-Ḥajj: "Whom God shall disgrace there shall be none to honour. God doth that which pleaseth Him." (xxii. 19).
7. Súratu'l-Furqán: "When it is said to them, 'Bow down before the God of Mercy,' they say 'Who is the God of Mercy? Shall we bow down to what thou biddest?' and they fly from Thee the more." (xxv. 61).
8. Súratu'n-Naml: "God! there is no God but He! the Lord of the glorious throne." (xxvii. 26). Some, however, say that the preceding verse is the áyatu's-sijda.
9. Súratu's-Sijda: "They only believe in Our signs, who, when mention is made of them, fall down in adoration, and celebrate the praise of their Lord, and are not puffed up with disdain." (xxxiii. 15).
10. Súratu Šád: "So We forgave him that (his sin); and truly he shall have a high rank with Us; and an excellent retreat (in Paradise)." (xxxviii, 24). Some, however, consider that the sijda should be made after the words of the preceding verse: "David perceived that We had tried him; so he asked pardon of his Lord, and fell down, and bowed himself and repented." (xxxviii. 23).
11. Súratu'l-Fuṣṣilat: "They who are with thy Lord do celebrate His praises night and day and cease not." (xli. 38).

¹ Imám Shafa'ī substitutes for the 19th verse the 76th: "Believers! bow down and prostrate yourselves, and worship your Lord and work righteousness that you may fare well."

12. *Súratu'n-Najm*: "Prostrate yourselves then to God and worship." (liii. 62).
13. *Súratu'l-Infatár*: "What then hath come to them that they believe not? and that when the Qur'án is recited to them they adore not?" (lxxxiv. 20, 21).
14. *Súratu'l-'Alaq*: "Nay! obey him not, but adore, and draw nigh to God." (xcvi. 18).

Some persons add to the *tasbiḥu's-sijda* the following prayer used by the Prophet, the words of which have been handed down in the traditions: "I prostrate myself for Him who created and formed me, and who opened my sight and hearing. God is the best Creator. O God, pardon me and have mercy on me."

Great care must be taken to read according to the pronunciation of the famous Qáris.² A mistake in this

¹ It is, therefore, called دعاء مأثورة —du'á' máthúra.

² A Qári is one who reads the Qur'án, but the term is technically applied to the seven famous "Readers." Their disciples are called *Ráwís*. The names of the seven are:—

Imám Ibn Kathír, who died at Mecca 120 A.H.

Imám 'Asim of Kúfa. He learnt the way of reading the Qur'án from 'Abdu'r-Raḥmánu's-Salámi, who was taught by the *Khálifa* 'Uthmán and 'Alí. 'Asim died at Kúfa 127 A. H.

Imám Abú 'Umar was born at Mecca 70 A.H. and died at Kúfa 154 A.H. It is on his authority that the following important statement has been handed down: "When the first copy of the Qur'án was written out, and presented to the *Khálifa* 'Uthmán, he said, 'there are faults of language in it, let the Arabs of the desert rectify them with their tongues.'" (Ibn *Khallikán*, vol. ii, p. 101.) The meaning of this is that they should pronounce the words correctly, but not alter the written copy. This accounts for the *rasmu'l-khatt*.

Imám Hamza of Kúfa was born 80 A.H. and died 156 A.H.

Imám Kisá'í had a great reputation as a Qári, but none as a poet. It was a common saying, among the learned in grammar, that there was no one who knew so little poetry as al-Kisá'í. He is said to have died at Tús about the year 182 A.H.

Imám Náfí a native of Madína, died 169 A.H. He was highly esteemed by the people of that city.

Imám Ibn 'Amir was a native of Syria.

respect is called *laḥan* and is of two kinds: First, *laḥanu'l-jali*, a clear and evident mistake, such as shortening or lengthening the vowel sounds (اعراب) of any word; Second, *laḥanu'l-khafi*, a less apparent mistake, such as not making a distinction in sound between ح and ه; ث and ذ; ز and ظ; ط and ت; if two of the same letters come together it is a mistake if both are not clearly sounded, e.g., each ه in وجهه and each 'ain (ع) in نطيع علي must be distinctly pronounced.

It is absolutely necessary that great attention should be paid to the *tashdíd* (تشديد), *madd* (مد), and other similar marks, an account of which can be found in any Arabic grammar. These diacritical marks, known under the general term of *I'ráb* (اعراب), were invented by *Khálíl* Ibn Aḥmad, who was born in the year 100 A.H., and who died at Baṣra about seventy years after.

The marks and symbols peculiar to the Qur'án are many. No account of them, so far as I am aware, is given in any grammar of the Arabic language; and they may have often puzzled the student of the Qur'án. I give them here in detail. They refer almost entirely to the various kinds of pauses to be made in reciting the Qur'án, and form in fact its punctuation.

The symbol for a full stop is O, when the reader should take breath.

The word *sakta* (سكتة) is written when a slight pause is made but no breath is taken.

The *waqf* (وقف) or pause is of five kinds:—

(1) *Waqfu'l-lázim* (وقف لازم), of which the sign

م. This is, as its name implies, a necessary pause. If no pause were made the meaning would be altered, e.g., *Súra* ii, 7: "Yet are they not believers (م) for

Y*

would they deceive God," &c. Here, if there were no waqfu'l-lázim after the word 'believers,' it might seem as if believers would fain deceive God.

(2) Waqfu'l-muṭlaq (وقف المطلق), the sign of which is ط. This pause occurs in places where, if made or omitted, there is no alteration in the sense, e.g., Súratu'l-Fātiḥa, "King on the day of reckoning (ط) Thee do we worship."

مَلِكِ يَوْمِ الدِّينِ (ط) إِيَّاكَ نَعْبُدُ.

Here the waqf comes after the word دِينَ because the enumeration of God's attributes ends here, and the expression of man's need commences.

(3) Waqfu'l-já'iz (وقف الجائز), the sign of which is ج. This waqf is optional, e.g., "She said, 'Kings when they enter a city spoil it, and abase the mightiest of its people' (ج) and in like manner will these also do" (Súra lxviii. 34). In this case, by putting the pause after 'people,' the remaining words do not form part of the quotation; by omitting it, they would, and Balqis, the Queen of Sheba, would be represented as saying, "In like manner will these also do."

(4) Waqfu'l-mujauwaz (وقف المجاوز), the sign of which is ز. This also is an optional pause, e.g., Súra ii. 80: "These are they who purchase this present life at the price of that which is to come (ز) their torment shall not be lightened."

أُولَئِكَ الَّذِينَ اشْتَرَوُا الْحَيَاةَ الدُّنْيَا بِالْآخِرَةِ (ز) فَلَا يُخَفَّفُ عَنْهُمْ الْعَذَابُ.

The particle ف usually connects a clause closely to the preceding one, in which case there would be no waqf; but on the other hand the verb يُخَفَّفُ comes

early in the clause, and in such a case should be preceded by waqf. To reconcile these two opposing principles the pause is left optional. Such, at least, is the only explanation I have yet found of waqfu'l-mujauwaz.

(5) Waqfu'l-murakhkhas (وقف المرخص), the sign of which is ص. This is a pause which may be made when it is necessary to take breath. It comes between words which have no necessary connection with each other, e.g., Súratu'l-Baqarah ii. 20: "Who hath made the earth a bed for you, and the heavens a covering (ص) and hath caused water to come down from heaven." If this pause is made, the reader must commence at the beginning of the clause, that is, if he pauses after 'covering' he must begin after the pause at "who hath, &c."

All the pauses now described are ancient: they have been recognized from the earliest times. In later days the Qur'án readers have invented several others. As these will be found in all Qur'áns now in use, I give a short account of them.

1. Qif (قف) "pause." This frequently occurs, but in such places as to leave the meaning of the passage unaffected.

2. Qáf (ق). This is the symbol for قَدْ نِيلَ = "it is said." The ق thus expresses the fact that some persons of authority have said that a pause should be made in the place where it is inserted. It is an optional pause.

3. Sall (صلي) "connect." This shows that there must be no pause.

4. Lá (لا) "No." This is the symbol for لَا يُوقَفُ = "there is no pause."

5. Sin (س). This is the initial letter of the word سَكَنَ = "silence." A pause may be made in the

recital, provided that the reader does not take breath in this place.

6. Káf (ك). This is the first letter of the word كَذَلِكَ = "in the same manner." It then means that where ك occurs a pause must be made similar in kind to the one immediately preceding.

7. Qalá (قَالَ). This is a shortened form of قِيلَ = "some have said 'No.'" It is quite optional.

If over the circle O, denoting a full stop, any other symbol is written, due attention must be paid to it; if there are two or more symbols all should be observed. However, the one at the top is the most important, e.g., ^طج. In this case the waqfu'l-muṭlaq is superior to the waqfu'l-já'iz.

The following table shows how often the stops occur in the Qur'án:—

س	لا	صلى	ق	قف	ص	ز	ج	ط	م
سكته									
8	1,155	8	99	99	83	191	1,578	3,510	12

There are a few selected places in the Qur'án where it is considered an act of merit to make a solemn pause, or to omit the pause if so directed.

1. Mu'ánaqa (مُعَانَقَة) 'embracing.' This means that when two pauses come very close together, one may be omitted, e.g., (مُعَانَقَة) فَيَدُ (مُعَانَقَة) لَارِيْب. Here only one word فَيَدُ occurs between the two ج or the symbol for waqfu'l-lázim. As مُعَانَقَة is written above each, it is sufficient if a pause is made in one place. The other signs for مُعَانَقَة are مُرَاقِبَة, مُبَادَلَة, مَعَ and

more frequently*. The ancient authorities say that مُعَانَقَة occurs only thirteen times in the Qur'án; the modern ones say eighteen.

2. Waqfu'l-Ghufrán (وَقْفُ غُفْرَانٍ) "the pause of pardon." It is considered highly meritorious to pause whenever these words occur, for there is a tradition to the effect that "He who observes waqfu'l-ghufrán in the ten places in which it occurs, I will answer for his entrance into paradise." The lesser sins of all who observe it are supposed to receive pardon. The ten places referred to by Muḥammad are—

- (1) Súratu'l-Má'ida: "O Believers! take not the Jews or Christians as friends" غُفْرَانٍ. (v. 56).
 - (2) Súratu'l-An'ám: "Will He make answer to those who only listen?" غُفْرَانٍ. (vi. 36).
 - (3-4) Súratu's-Sijda: "Shall he then who is a believer be as a gross sinner (غُفْرَانٍ) they shall not be held alike" غُفْرَانٍ. (xxxii. 18).
 - (5-9) Súratu Yá Sín: "The traces they have left behind them" غُفْرَانٍ "O the misery that rests upon my servants" غُفْرَانٍ "Who hath roused us from our sleeping place" غُفْرَانٍ "Worship me" غُفْرَانٍ "Must not He who hath created the heavens and the earth be mighty enough to create your likes?" غُفْرَانٍ. (xxxvi. 11, 29, 52, 61, 81.)
 - (10) Súratu'l-Mulk: "Behold they not the birds over their heads, their wing outstretching and drawing in?" غُفْرَانٍ. (lxvii. 19).
3. Waqfu'l-Munazzal (وَقْفُ الْمَنْزِلِ). This is also called the waqf of Gabriel (وَقْفُ الْجِبْرِئِيلِ), because it is said that in the six or eight places where the

pause is indicated, Gabriel paused when reciting the Qur'án to the Prophet.

4. Waqfu'n-Nabl (وقف النبي) "pause of the Prophet." It is said that in eleven or more places, in addition to all that have been mentioned, the Prophet used to pause. It is now a meritorious act to observe this pause.

This concludes what may be called the punctuation of the Qur'án, but there still remain several signs and symbols which need explanation.

1. ع. This is composed of ع the initial letter of عشر which means the number ten, and ب the first letter of بصرى (Baṣra). This symbol denotes that a Baṣra 'Ashr ends here. As a rukú' contains on an average about ten verses, it is here called by the term 'Ashr, ten; so ع means that according to the Qáris of Baṣra a rukú' ends where this symbol is placed.

2. خمب stands for Khams-i-Baṣra (خمس بصرى) and denotes that five Baṣra verses ended here.

3. ي denotes that a Kúfa rukú' or 'ashr (عشر كوفي) ended here: sometimes عشر is written on the margin.

4. ه denotes that five Kúfa verses (خمس كوفي) ended here: sometimes خمس is written on the margin.

5. تب shows the end of a Baṣra verse.

6. لب shows the ending of a verse according to the Qáris of any other city than Baṣra.

These terms refer to the divisions made by the Qáris of Kúfa or Baṣra. It is owing to this difference that the number of verses said to be in the Qur'án varies. The Kúfa Qáris, following the "reading" (قراءة) of Imám 'Āṣim, reckon 6,239 verses; the Baṣra Qáris 6,204; the Qáris of Shám (Syria) 6,225; those of

Mecca 6,219; and those of Madína 6,211. As Muslims when quoting from the Qur'án, if they give any reference to the portion from whence the extract is taken, name the juz and the rukú', not the súra and the verse, it is necessary that the former should be marked in the margin. Each juz has a distinct name, the first word of each portion serving for that purpose.

The term rukú' literally means a prostration.¹ It is a collection of verses averaging about ten. The sign of it is ع written in the margin. Frequently it

occurs with as many as three figures, thus ع ٩. The (3) on the top shows that this is the third rukú' from the commencement of the Súra in which it occurs; the ٩ (9) in the centre gives the number of verses in this rukú'; the ٨ (8) at the bottom shows that this is the eighth rukú' in the juz. It is thus comparatively easy to verify a quotation if the juz and rukú' are named, but very few Muslim writers give such information. A verse or a few detached words are quoted, and it becomes an exceedingly difficult task to verify them. Every theologian is supposed to know the whole Qur'án by heart, and so it is considered quite superfluous to give, "chapter and verse," or rather juz and rukú'.

As it would be quite impossible to read the Qur'án correctly unless it were written with the strictest attention to the ancient copies, this act of copying it, with the rules thereof, is known as rasmu'l-khatt (رسم الخط). The copyist should follow the recension made in the time of the Khalifa 'Uthmán. This rule is based on the ijma' of the Companions. The consequence of this is that the spelling of many words in

¹ For a description of this term see ante, p. 81.

the Qur'án follow special and peculiar rules, to which rules again there are many exceptions. The following are some of the rules of the rasmu'l-khatt.

1. The **l** of masculine plurals ending in **ون** and **بن** is written above¹ the word, if it occurs more than twice in the Qur'án, provided that the **l** is not followed by **تشدید** or **همزة**; e.g., **ظالمون** not **ظالمون**, **مصدقين** not **مصدقين**. There are two words which do not occur more than twice, and are therefore exceptions; e.g., **ماكرين** in the 3rd juz, 13th rukú' and in the 9th juz, 18th rukú', **راكعين** in the 1st juz, 5th rukú', and in the 3rd juz, 13th rukú'. There is one exception. The word **لعنن**, although it occurs only once, that is, in the 2nd juz, 3rd rukú', is not written **لاعنن** but **لعنن**, as though it occurred more than twice.

2. Final **l** drops before an affixed pronoun, e.g., **أَنْجَيْنَاكُمْ** not **أَنْجَيْنَاكُمْ**.

3. The conjunction **إِنْ** is never joined with the following word, e.g., **إِنْ شَاءَ**, **إِنْ كُنْتُمْ**, not **إِنْ كُنْتُمْ** and **إِنْ شَاءَ**.

4. The **l** of **يا** (O!) is never written, e.g., **يَا أَدَمُ** (O Adam!) not **يَا أَدَمُ**; **يَا أَيُّهَا** not **يَا أَيُّهَا**.

5. With the exception of five words, the **lám** (**ل**) of the definite article **ال** is joined by tashdíd to the

¹ Although I speak of the **l** as written above, yet it must be remembered that it is only placed there for convenience and in order that the readers may remember it. It is called **عَنْجَرَى الْف** (Khanjari Alif). Before the invention of the short vowels, (أعراب) it would not have been written at all, and if a Qur'án were now to be written without them (a thing never done) this would not appear.

initial **lám** of the following word, and only one **lám** is written, e.g., **الليل** not **الليل**. The exceptions are **اللعين** **اللهم اللؤلؤ** **اللات** **اللؤامة** **هم اللعنون**.

6. The **l** of the feminine plural ending in **ات** is written above, e.g., **مؤمنات** not **مؤمنات**; **جنت** not **جنت**, &c.

7. In such words as **يَسْتَجِي** and **يُجِي** (yastahy) the final **ي** is sounded twice, though only written once. The second **ي** may be written of a smaller size and in red ink, thus showing that it was not in the original text. If, however, a pronoun is affixed, the **ي** is written twice, e.g., **يُحْيِيكُمْ**.

8. The following words substitute **و** for **l** without any change in pronunciation, e.g., **حياة**, **زكوة**, **صلوة**, **منوة**, **مشكوة**. If, however, any one of these words governs another word in the possessive case the **l** returns, e.g., **صلاة العبد** 'thy prayers,' **صلاتك**, &c.

9. In such words as **نَبِيَّيْنِ**, **حَوَارِيْنِ** the two **ي** are joined by **تشدید**, but in **حَسَنَيْنِ**, **عَلَيْنِ** they are separate; **سَيِّئَة** and **خَطِيئَة** retain the second **ي** but place **همزة** over it.

10. The words **جِبْرِيل**, **إِسْرَائِيل** should have **همزة** understood, but not written (except in red) before the (**ي**), thus **جِبْرِئِيل**. It reads Jibra'il. The pronunciation **جِبْرِيل** (Jibril) has arisen from the readers forgetting this rule.

11. The **ا** in **تَلَاوَتُهُ مَسَاجِدِ خُصَّامٍ يَعْلَمَانِ أَصْحَابِ** should be written above, thus **تَلَاوَتُهُ مَسَاجِدِ خُصَّامٍ يَلْمَانِ قِيَامَةً يَخْصِفَانِ**, مسجد اصحاب بنت قِيَمَة, &c.

12. In **يَسْتَلُوا يَسَلُّ** and the various forms of this verb **همزة** is used without **ا** being under it. The usual form of the first would be **يَسَلُّ**, the **ا** then becomes **يَسَلُّ**; but to write it thus would be wrong: the **ا** must not appear.

13. In the following words an **ا** appears at the end of each, though it is quite unnecessary and is not sounded, e.g., **أَنْتُمْ سَأَلْتُمْ يَتْلُوا يَرْجُوا أَدْعُوا يَدْعُوا** لِيَرْبُوا. There is one exception to this rule. It occurs in the *Súratu'n-Nisá'*, (iv) **يَعْفُو عَنْهُمْ** "He pardons them."

14. The following, though plural forms, have no **ا**. **جَنَّتْ** and **جَنَّتْ** in every place; **فَوَّ** in the *Súratu'l-Baqarah* (ii); **سَعَوْ** in the *Súratu's-Saba* (xxxiv); **عَتَوْ** in the *Súratu'l-Furqán* (xxv); **تَبَوَّ** in *Súratu'l-Hashr* (lix).

15. **ا** is in every instance inserted after **اولو**, e.g., **أُولُوا الْعِلْمِ**, **أُولُوا الْآلِبَابِ**, &c.; **ا** also takes **ا** after it in all places except six, viz., once each in *Súras Yúsuf* (xii), *Múminún* (xxiii), *Jamá'* (lxii), *Burúj* (lxxxv), and twice in *Súratu's-Sijda*.

16. The **لام جارة**, that is, the **ل** which means 'for,' is in four places written apart from the word it governs, e.g., **فَمَالِ هَؤُلَاءِ** in *Súratu'n-Nisá'* (iv); **فَمَالِ هَذَا** in *Súratu'l-Kahf* (xviii); **فَمَالِ هَذَا الرَّسُولِ** in *Súratu'l-Furqán* (xxv); **فَمَالِ الَّذِينَ** in *Súratu'l-Ma'arij* (lxx).

17. **آية** appears three times without **ا**, e.g., **آية**. It is so altered once each in the *Súras Taubah* (ix), *Zukhráf* (xliii) and *Rahmán* (lv).

18. The words **يَسْتَوْنَ**, **يَلُونِ**, **دَاوُدَ** and similar words are pronounced as if there were two *waies* (و) in each, e.g., **دَاوُدَ**, not **Dá'úd**. The second **و** is sometimes written in red ink to remind the reader of this rule.

19. The **ا** of the pronoun **أَنَا** is not pronounced by all the readers, so **أَنَا** becomes **لَكِنَّا**. *Imám Náfi'*, a *Qári*, always pronounced it.

20. Foreign words are written thus: **إِسْحَاقَ**, **إِبْرَاهِيمَ**, **سُلَيْمَانَ**, **عِمْرَانَ**, **هَارُونَ**, **لَقْمَانَ**, **إِسْمَاعِيلَ**, &c. In the *Súratu'l-Baqarah* (ii) **إِبْرَاهِيمَ** instead of **إِبْرَاهِيمَ** occurs once.

21. The **ا** of **ظلمات** and each **ا** which comes after **ل** (i.e., **إِسْلَامَ**) is written above, e.g., **ظَلَمْتُ**, **خَلَقْتُ**, **عَلِمْتُ**, **كَلِمَ**, **وَسَلِمَ**.

22. If a moveable hamza is preceded by a quiescent letter the **ا** is not written under it, e.g., **يَسَلُّ** not **يَسَلُّ**; **الْأَفَلَدَةُ** not **الْأَفَلَدَةُ**.

23. Some tenses are shortened, both in writing and reading, when with the next word there would be two **يَدْعُو** **الْإِنْسَانَ** not **يَدْعُو** **الْإِنْسَانَ**, *Súratu'sh-jazms* (xlii); **يَدْعُو** **الدَّاعِ** for **يَدْعُو** **الدَّاعِ**, *Súratu'l-Qamar* (lxv); **سَتَدْعُو** **الرَّيَانِيَّةَ** for **سَتَدْعُو** **الرَّيَانِيَّةَ**, *Súratu'l-Alaq* (xcvi); **نَنْجِي** **الْمُؤْمِنِينَ** for **نَنْجِي** **الْمُؤْمِنِينَ**, *Súratu Yúnas* (x). In *Súratu Húd* (xi) there is one case where **ي** is dropped,

although two jazms do not occur, e.g., *يَوْمَ يَأْتِي* for *يَوْمَ يَأْتِي*.

24. In some words an extra *l* is written but not pronounced in reading, e.g., *لَا أَنْفَعُوا*: "Certainly, they would have broken away," *Súratu 'Ál-i-Imrân* (iii) 153; *لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ*: "Verily unto God," *Súratu 'Ál-i-Imrân* (iii) 152; *لَا أَتَّبِعُكَ*: "Certainly we would have followed thee," *Súratu 'Ál-i-Imrân* (iii) 160; *لَا أَتَّبِعُكَ* for *لَا أَتَّبِعُكَ*: "of a thing," *Súratu'l-Kahf* (xviii) 23; *لَا أَتَّبِعُكَ*: "They would certainly have followed thee," *Súratu't-Taubah* (ix) 42; *لَا أَوْعَا*: "Certainly they had hurried about among you," *Súratu't-Taubah* (ix) 47.

25. In some words the *همزة* takes *ي* as *نَبِيٍّ* in *Súratu'l-An'ám* (vi); *يَنْ تَلْقَى نَفْسِي* in *Súratu Yûnas* (x); *يَنْ أَيْدِي ذِي* in *Súratu'n-Naml* (xxvii); *يَنْ أَرْثِي* in *Súratu' Tá Há* (xx); *يَنْ وَرَأَى الصَّبَاب* in *Súratu'sh-Shûrá* (xlii); *يَنْ الْبَارِي* in *Súratu'l-Hashr* (lix).

26. In *لَأَمْلَأَنَّ*, "Certainly, I will fill," the *l* is dropped and *همزة* is put without any *ء* under it, e.g., *لَأَمْلَأَنَّ*. In *Súratu'l-Ahzáb* (xxxiii) the last *l* of the words *رَسُولَ الظُّنُونَا*, is retained, contrary to the rule which says that when *ال* is prefixed the *l* of the objective case drops. In *Súratu'l-Quraish* (cvi. i), the following words *لَأَنْفَ قُرَيْشٍ الْفَيْهَم* ("For the union of the Quraish, their union," &c.) are read as if written in this way: *لَأَنْفَ قُرَيْشٍ الْفَيْهَم* though the *ي* is not written.

A man who has any real claim to the honourable title of a *Háfiz* must not only be conversant with all the details I have now given, but he must also know the 'various readings' (*قراءات*) of the seven famous *Qáris*. I have already given the names of these men. Each of them had two disciples. A disciple is called a *Ráwí*. There are also three *Qáris* (each of whom also had two disciples), whose readings are sometimes used when the *Qur'án* is recited privately, but not when used in a liturgical service.

A tradition records that *Abú Ibn Ka'b* being troubled in mind when he heard the *Qur'án* recited in various ways spoke to the Prophet about it. "His Highness said 'O *Abú ibn Ka'b*! intelligence was sent to me to read the *Qur'án* in one dialect, and I was attentive to the Court of God, and said: 'Make the reading of the *Qur'án* easy to my sects.' These instructions were sent to me the second time saying: 'Read the *Qur'án* in two dialects.' Then I turned myself to the Court of God saying: 'Make the reading of the *Qur'án* easy to my sects.' Then a voice came to me the third time saying: 'Read the *Qur'án* in seven dialects.'"

Jalálu'd-dín in his famous commentary follows the *qir'at* of the *Qári* *Imám Abú 'Umar*. Those who belong to the *madhab* (sect) of *Imám ash-Sháfa'i* prefer this *qir'at*. *Imám 'Aṣim* had two famous disciples, *Abú Bakr* and *Hafṣ*. The *qir'at* of *Hafṣ*, or rather of *'Aṣim* as made known by *Hafṣ*, is the one almost universally used in India. The *qir'at* of *Náfi'* of *Madína* is preferred in Arabia, and is highly valued by most theological writers.

In many cases the sense is not at all affected, but the difference has given rise to many disputes. In the year 323 A.H. *Ibn Shanabud*, a resident of *Baghdád*,

The word *Ráwí* literally means a "narrator." It is technically applied to those disciples of a *Qári* who made known, or narrated, the 'readings' adopted by their master.

recited the Qur'án, using a qir'at not familiar to his audience. He was severely punished and had to adopt a more familiar 'reading.'

In order to show the nature of the changes thus made, I shall now give in a tabular form all the various readings in the Súratu'l-Fátiha and a few Súras of the last juz of the Qur'án. They afford a sufficient illustration of what is meant by the term qir'at.

Each of the seven Qáris had two Ráwís or 'disciples, from whose testimony the qir'at approved of by their master is known. The three Qáris of lesser note also had two disciples each. It occasionally happens that there is a difference of opinion between the two followers of some particular Qáris with regard to the reading their master preferred. In order to show this diversity of opinion, each Ráwí, as well as each Qáris, has a distinctive letter, which is technically known as the ramz (plural ramúz) (رموز - رمز). When both of the Ráwís agree as to the reading preferred by their master, the ramz of the Qáris only is inserted on the margin of the Qur'án. It is not then necessary to add the ramúz of the Ráwís, because it is only by their evidence that the qir'at of the Qáris is known. They never give an opinion of their own on the text, but only bear witness to the opinion of their master. If, however, the ramz of one of the two Ráwís is given, it signifies that according to his testimony the qir'at he gives is the one approved of by the Qáris whose disciple he is. If the two Ráwís differ in their evidence as to their master's opinion, the ramz of each Ráwí is given with the qir'at each contends for as the one approved of by his master.

In the tabular form I shall use the letter (ramz) by which each Qáris and each Ráwí is known, instead of

¹ All that a critical Muslim can now do is to ascertain the 'readings' adopted by the Qáris; there can be no further emendation of the text, which is by the orthodox supposed to be perfect.

- continually repeating the name in full; but I must first give the letters (ramúz) alluded to. In the following table the distinctive letter will be inserted under the name of each Qáris and of each Ráwí.

The seven Qáris and their disciples:—

First Ráwí.	Second Ráwí.	Qáris.
الراوى الثاني	الراوى الأول	قارى
ورث	قالون	1. نافع مدني
ج	ب	ابن كثير مكّي
قنبل	بزي	د
ز	هـ	3. ابو عمر بصري
سوسي	دوري	ح
ي	ط	4. ابن عامر شامي
ابن ذكوان	هشام	ل
حفص	ل	5. عامر كوفي
ع	ابوبكر	ن
ابو عيسى خلد	ص	6. حمزة كوفي
ق	خلف بزاز	ف
دوري	ض	7. كسائي كوفي
ت	ابوالحارث	ر
	س	

The three Qáris of lesser note and their disciples are thus distinguished:—

راوى اول	قارى
راوى دوم	1. ابو جعفر
ابن جمان	ت
ذ	2. يعقوب
روح	ظ
ش	
	ف
	رويس
	خ
	عيسي
	اول

إدريس اسحق وراق خلف كوفي
يس حق لف

In the following table the first column contains the words of which there are different readings; the second, the symbolic letters (رموز) of the Qáris and Ráwís who approve of the reading as given in the first column; the third column includes under the term الباقون (others) the names of all Qáris and Ráwís not given in the second; the fourth column gives the reading preferred by the authorities represented in the third column. For example:—

مَلِك ظ ن ر لف الباقون مَلِك

From this it appears the Qáris Ya'qub (ظ), 'Asim, Kisá'i (ر), and Khalaf-i-Kúfa (لف), approved of the reading Málík (مَلِك); whereas every other Qáris approved of Malik (مَلِك). As a general rule there are only two 'readings.'

(i) سورة الفاتحة—Súratu'l-Fátiha

مَلِك	ظ ن ر لف	الباقون	مَلِك
الرحيم مَلِك	ي	الباقون	الرحيم مَلِك
الصراط	ز غ	الباقون	الصراط
صراط	ز غ	الباقون	صراط
	ظ ف		عَلَيْهِمْ

1 The Súratu'l-Fátiha is the opening Súra of the first juz, but I have introduced it here as it occupies such an important place in the Namáz. The Súratu'n-Nabí is the first Súra of the last juz, of some other Súras of which all the various 'readings' are now given.

عَلَيْهِمْ د ث ب الباقون عَلَيْهِمْ
و

(lxxviii) سورة النبأ—Súratu'n-Nabá

هَمْ	د ث ب	الباقون	هَمْ
لَرَضِ	ج	الباقون	لَرَضِ
خَلَقْنَكُمْ	د ب ث	الباقون	خَلَقْنَكُمْ
نَوْمَكُمْ	د ب ث	الباقون	نَوْمَكُمْ
الَّيْلَ لَبَاسًا	ي	الباقون	الَّيْلَ لَبَاسًا
نَوْمَكُمْ	د ث ب	الباقون	نَوْمَكُمْ
وَجَنَّتِ نَ الْفَأْ	ج ف	الباقون	وَجَنَّتِ نَ الْفَأْ
فَتَاتُونَ	ج ي ث	الباقون	فَتَاتُونَ
وَفَتَحَتْ	ا د ح ك	الباقون	وَفَتَحَتْ
فَكَانَتْ سَرَابًا	ا د ظ ث ن	الباقون	فَكَانَتْ سَرَابًا
لَبِثَيْنِ	ش ف	الباقون	لَبِثَيْنِ
وَعَسَاةَا	ع ف ر لف	الباقون	وَعَسَاةَا
وَكَا سَا	ي ث	الباقون	وَكَا سَا
وَلَا كِذَابًا	ر	الباقون	وَلَا كِذَابًا

1 The و placed under the م signifies that م is to be read as a long vowel. It is in accordance with the rasmu'l-khatt to write و not د at the end of words where a عمة (د) would come.

A**

يَرَى	ح ف ر - ج	والباقون	يَرَى
رَأَى - رَأَى	ز	والباقون	رَأَى
رَأَى	ط	ايضاً	رَأَى
رَأَى	ك ص ي ف	والباقون	رَأَى
أَرَأَيْتَ	ر ج		
أَرَأَيْتَ	ر		
أَرَأَيْتَ - أَرَأَيْتَ - أَرَأَيْتَ	ج - ا - ج	والباقون	أَرَأَيْتَ
أَرَأَيْتَ	ج		
أَرَأَيْتَ	ر	والباقون	أَرَأَيْتَ
أَرَأَيْتَ - أَرَأَيْتَ - أَرَأَيْتَ	ج - ا - ج	ايضاً	ايضاً
أَرَأَيْتَ	ج		
أَرَأَيْتَ	ر		
أَرَأَيْتَ - أَرَأَيْتَ - أَرَأَيْتَ	ج - ا - ج	والباقون	أَرَأَيْتَ
أَرَأَيْتَ	ج		

Súratu'l-Qadr—سورة القدر (xcvii)

أَدْرَبَكَ	ح ص ف ر	والباقون	أَدْرَبَكَ
مِنْ أَلْفِ شَهْرٍ تَنْزَلَ	ل ف ج - م		
رَبِّهِمْ	ج	والباقون	مِنْ أَلْفِ شَهْرٍ تَنْزَلَ
	هـ	والباقون	رَبِّهِمْ
	د ث - ب	والباقون	

رَبِّ	ظ ث ن ف	والباقون	رَبِّ
الرَّحْمَنِ	ر ل ف		
أَذِنَ لَهُ	ظ ث ن ف	والباقون	الرَّحْمَنِ
شَاءَ	ر ل ف		
أَنْذَرْنَاكُمْ	ي	والباقون	أَذِنَ لَهُ
	ف م خلف -	والباقون	شَاءَ
	ل		
	د ث - ب	والباقون	أَنْذَرْنَاكُمْ
	و		

Súratu't-Tin—سورة التين (xcv)

الْأَمِينِ	ج	والباقون	لَمِينِ
الْإِنْسَانِ	ج	والباقون	لَمِينِ
فَلَهُمْ	د ث ا	والباقون	فَلَهُمْ

Súratu'l-'Alaq—سورة العلق (xcvi)

إِنِّ	ث - ف ل	والباقون	إِنِّ
لَإِنْسَانَ	ف ي الوقف		
إِنِّ	ج	والباقون	لَإِنْسَانَ
عَلَّمَ بِالقَلَمِ	ث - ف ل	والباقون	إِنِّ
لَإِنْسَانَ	(ف ي الوقف)		
لَإِنْسَانَ	ي	والباقون	عَلَّمَ بِالقَلَمِ
	ج	والباقون	لَإِنْسَانَ
	ج	والباقون	لَإِنْسَانَ

عَلَيْهِمْ	ف		
عَلَيْهِمْ	د ث - ب	والباقون	
مُؤَصَّدَةٌ	ا ث د ص	والباقون	
	ر ك - ف		
فِي عَمَدٍ	ف ر ص لف	والباقون	

(cxii) سورة الاخلاص—Súratu'l-Ikhlâs

كُفُّوا	ظ ف لف		
كُفُّوا	ع - ف	والباقون	
كُفُّوا نَ أَحَدٌ	ج	والباقون	

(cxiii) سورة الفلق—Súratu'l-Falaq

قُلْ عُوذُ	ج	والباقون	
غَاسِقِينَ إِذَا	ج	والباقون	
حَاسِدِينَ إِذَا	ج	والباقون	

مَطْلَعُ الْفَجْرِ	والباقون	ر لف	مَطْلَعُ الْفَجْرِ
الْفَجْرِ * تَمَّ	والباقون	ي	الْفَجْرِ تَمَّ

(cix) سورة الزلزال—Súratu'z-Zilzâl

الْأَرْضِ	والباقون	ج	لَرُضٍ
الْأَرْضِ	والباقون	ج	لَرُضٍ
الْإِنْسَانِ	والباقون	ج	لِإِنْسَانٍ
أَوْحَى	والباقون	ف ر ج	أَوْحَى
يَصْدُرُ النَّاسِ	والباقون	ف ر	يَصْدُرُ النَّاسِ
لِيَرَوْا أَعْمَالَهُمْ	والباقون	ج	لِيَرَوْا أَعْمَالَهُمْ
أَعْمَالَهُمْ	والباقون	د ث - ب	أَعْمَالَهُمْ
يَرَهُ	والباقون	ل	يَرَهُ
يَرَهُ	والباقون	ل	يَرَهُ

(civ) سورة الهمزة—Súratu'l-Humaza

جَمَعَ	والباقون	ث ش ك	جَمَعَ
أَدْرَكَ	والباقون	ف ر خلف	أَدْرَكَ
تَطَّلِعُ عَلَى	والباقون	ح ص ف ر	تَطَّلِعُ عَلَى
		لف - ج - م	
		ي	
		ج	
		ت	
عَلَى الْإِنْدَةِ	والباقون	ق	عَلَى الْإِنْدَةِ

APPENDIX B.

THE LAW OF JIHÁD.

THE subject of jihád, or sacred war, does not properly belong to the questions considered in this book; but the method in which some of the more enlightened Indian Muslims deal with it is worthy of notice. I have already explained their attitude towards orthodox Islám. The statements of Maulavi Cherágh 'All, in his learned work, the "Critical Exposition of the Law of Jihád," further illustrate what I have there said. I shall now briefly state the case, and then show how a liberal-minded Muslim writer deals with it.

There are two great divisions of the world—Dáru'l-Islám, where Muslim law and rule are supreme, and Dáru'l-Harb, where non-Muslims exercise supreme authority. Strictly speaking, Muslims in a Dáru'l-Harb should fight; but as this is in most cases difficult to do, the law doctors have laid down certain conditions under which a Dáru'l-Harb becomes, for all practical purposes, a Dáru'l-Islám, and so a place where Muslims can live in peace. Speaking generally, a country is regarded as Dáru'l-Islám when the public prayers, the namáz, are said without let or hindrance, and the two great feasts, the 'Ídu'l-Fiṭr and the 'Ídu'l-Adhá, are openly celebrated.

There are verses in the Qur'án which speak kindly of Jews and Christians, but these have been abrogated

by later ones.¹ Thus, the verse: "They who follow the Jewish religion and the Christian and the Sabeites, whoever of them believeth in God and the last day and doeth what is right, shall have their reward with their Lord: fear, shall not come upon them, nor shall they be grieved" (ii. 59), is said to have been abrogated by "Whoso desireth any other religion than Islám, that religion shall not be accepted from him, and in the next world he shall be among the lost" (iii. 79). So also, "Dispute not, unless in kindly sort, with the people of the book (i.e., Jews and Christians), save with such as have dealt wrongfully with you" (xxix. 45), is abrogated by the famous "verse of the sword,"—"When the sacred months are passed, kill those who join gods with God, wherever ye find them, and besiege them and lay wait for them with every kind of ambush; but, if they repent and observe prayer and pay the obligatory alms, then let them go their way" (ix. 5). Other verses which inculcate the duty of jihád are: "Fight for the cause of God" (ii. 245), and "O Believers! what possessed you that, when it was said to you 'March forth on the way of God,' ye sank heavily downwards? What! prefer ye the life of this world to the next?" (ix. 38).⁴

The duty, being based on clear texts of the Qur'án, is then a farḍ one, that is, one incumbent on all. The law-books are also clear on the point. In the Hidáya we read, "The destruction of the sword is incurred by the infidels, although they be not the first aggressors." The Kifáya, a commentary on the Hidáya, is plainer still: "Fighting against the infidels who do not become converts to Islám and do not pay the capitation tax is incumbent, though they do not first

¹ On this point, see *The Historical Development of the Qur'án* (ed. 1905), pp. 204-7.

² *The Historical Development of the Qur'án*, pp. 98-9.

³ Ibid, pp. 93, 124, 181.

⁴ Ibid, pp. 186, 193-204.

attack." This is supported by the text, "Fight against them till strife be at an end, and the religion be all of it God's" (viii. 40).¹ The Sair-i-Qabir, a Turkish law-book, states it to be the duty of the Sultān "to see that the Musalmān frontiers are never lessened, that the infidels are called upon to embrace Islām, that true believers are urged to strive in the jihād."

The summons to jihād must be based on a legal foundation, and one leading principle is that the country in which it takes place should be Dāru'l-Harb. This has led to much controversy. Some years ago, preachers of a jihād gave much trouble in India, and quiet orderly Musalmāns who did not wish to rebel, and yet found it difficult to resist the religious obligation resting upon them, at last met the difficulty, not by disputing the lawfulness of jihād in the abstract, but by denying that India was a country in which it could lawfully be made. The subject was duly considered and authoritative decisions were arrived at. Two distinct sets of legal opinions have been given by the Sunnī authorities and set forth by the Muḥammadan Literary Society of Calcutta. One set of Maulavis decide that India is Dāru'l-Harb, the other that it is Dāru'l-Islām, and then curiously enough both parties declare that jihād in it is quite unlawful. Those who say it is Dāru'l-Harb maintain that, as Muslims in India enjoy full religious liberty and have no strength to fight, jihād is not lawful. The following is this fatwā, dated July 17, 1870:—

"The Musalmāns here are protected by Christians, and there is no jihād in a country where protection is afforded,

¹ Baidāwī explains this as لا يوجد لهم شرك وتتمحل عنهم الأديان الباطلة "Till there is no polytheism found in them and vain religions are weakened by them" (vol. 1, p. 367).

² "The Muslims cannot do without an Imām who shall occupy himself with the enforcing of their decisions, and in maintaining their boundaries and guarding their frontiers, and equipping their armies

as the absence of protection and liberty between Musalmāns and infidels is essential in a religious war, and that condition does not exist here; besides, it is necessary that there should be a possibility of victory to Musalmāns and glory to the Indians. If there be no such probability, the jihād is unlawful."

The second condition—a probability of victory—leaves the question open, and guards the Maulavis from the charge of weakness in declaring jihād unlawful. It is not legal now; that is all they assert. The question was also referred to the leaders in Mecca of the three principal Sunnī sects. The question was thus put:—

"What is your opinion (may your greatness continue for ever!) on this question: Whether the country of Hindustan, the rulers of which are Christians, and who do not interfere with all the injunctions of Islām, such as the ordinary daily prayers, the prayers of the 'īds; but do authorise departure from a few of the injunctions of Islām, such as the permission to inherit the property of the Muḥammadan ancestor to one who changes his religion and becomes a Christian, is Dāru'l-Islām or not? Answer the above, for which God will reward you."

The Muftī of Mecca, the head of the Ḥanafī sect, answered:—

"As long as even some of the peculiar observances of Islām prevail in it, it is the Dāru'l-Islām."

The Muftī of the Shāfi'ī sect said:—

"Yes, as long as even some of the peculiar observances of Islām prevail in it, it is Dāru'l-Islām."

The Muftī of the Māliki sect said:—

"It is written in the commentary of Dasoki that a country of Islām does not become Dāru'l-Harb as soon as it passes into the hands of the infidels, but only when all or most of the injunctions of Islām disappear therefrom."

... and maintaining the Friday services and the Festivals" (An-Nasafī, quoted in Macdonald's *Muslim Theology*, p. 313.)

They all call India *Dáru'l-Islám*, but they carefully abstain from saying whether *jihád* is lawful or not. Apparently they still leave it an open question.

The Calcutta Muhammadan Society has gone further, and has definitely stated that *jihád* can by no means be lawfully made in a *Dáru'l-Islám*, which they declare India to be. They support their position by a reference to the *Fatáwá-i-'Alamgírí*, which states the conditions under which a *Dáru'l-Islám* becomes a *Dáru'l-Harb*. They are—

“(1) When the rule of infidels is openly exercised, and the ordinances of *Islám* are not observed.

“(2) When it is in such contiguity to a country which is *Dáru'l-Harb* that no city of *Dáru'l-Islám* intervenes between that country and *Dáru'l-Harb*.

“(3) That no Musalmán is found in the enjoyment of religious liberty, nor a *Dhimmi* (an infidel who has accepted the terms of permanent subjection to Musalmán rule)¹ under the same terms as he enjoyed under the government of *Islám*.”²

The question is, however, in an unsatisfactory state, for one well-known legal authority lays down the law thus:—“When a country of *Islám* falls into the hands of the infidels, it remains a country of *Islám*, if the infidels retain Muhammadan governors and Muhammadan judges, and do not introduce their own regulations.” According to this theory, India is *Dáru'l-Harb*.

¹ That includes the payment of the *jizya*, or poll-tax. It is paid by Jews and Christians of any country, and by idolaters, provided they do not come from Arabia. Idolaters in or from Arabia had to choose between *Islám* and the sword. For the position of the *Dhimmis*, see my *Essays on Islám*, pp. 185—197. Maulavi Cheragh 'Alí considers that the Law on this point is altogether wrong, being based on texts of the *Qur'an* which had reference to local matters only. See, *Critical Exposition of the Jihád*, p. 159. This is not the orthodox view of the range of a *Qur'anic* order.

² These fatwás are given in Sir W. W. Hunter's work, *Our Indian Musalmáns* (ed. London, 1872) pp. 217-9.

In any case, the uncertainty of the law and the varying fatwás afford great opportunity to fanatics to give trouble to the ruling power, and to peaceably-minded Muhammadans.

This difficulty is, however, got rid of by the latest attempt to deal with the subject. Maulavi Cheragh 'Alí maintains that all the wars of Muhammad were defensive, and that no argument for *jihád* can be deduced from the *Qur'an* at all.³ This is delightfully simple, and if the 'Ulamá of Constantinople, and the learned professors in the great College of al-Azhar in Cairo, would discard Abú Hanífa and his teaching, and cast away their legal text-books, it would, no doubt, be a blessing to many a land and many a home. I have already shown⁴ this writer's attitude towards the canonical law, and so I need now quote only the following statement: “All the fighting injunctions in the *Qur'an* are, in the first place, only for self-defence, and none of them has any reference to making war offensively. In the second place, they are transitory in their nature. The Muhammadan Common Law is wrong on this point where it allows unbelievers to be attacked without provocation.”⁴

Maulavi Cheragh 'Alí next deals with the meaning of the word *jihád* itself. It is said that the classical meaning of *jahada* and *jáhada* is that a person “laboured vigorously,” and that the meaning of “fighting an

¹ *Reforms under Moslem Rule*, pp. 16, 17. I regret to say that this highly cultured and liberal-minded Muhammadan gentleman died in the year 1895. He was one of the ablest men of the new school of Muslims in India.

² Verses 40 and 41 of *Súratu'l-Hajj* (xxii) are sometimes quoted to show that *jihád* is purely defensive, but the passage is of local, not general application. The orthodox commentators deduce from it the eternal obligation of *jihád*. See *The Historical Development of the Qur'an*, p. 127, the *Tafsír-i-Husaini*, vol. ii, p. 71, and the *Khuláṣatu'l-Tafsír*, vol. iii, pp. 247-8.

³ *Ans*, pp. 221-3.

⁴ *Critical Exposition of the Jihád*, p. 116.

enemy" is a post-classical and technical one. The classical age¹ is that of the poets before the time of Muḥammad, after whose death foreign words crept in and the language became more or less corrupt. It is maintained that jahd, jihād, and their derivatives are to be rendered according to the classical usage of the term, when it would not mean "fighting in warfare," for which the Arabic words ḥarab and qitāl do service. Jahd and its derivatives occur in thirty-six verses. Setting aside those which cannot possibly refer to war, the rest are said to be of two kinds. First, those which occur in the Meccan Sūras, and secondly, those in the Sūras which were delivered at Madīna. Maulavi Cherāgh 'Alī asserts that those in the second class, which are generally interpreted to mean "fighting," should be used in the sense of "strenuous exertion," as is done in the earlier Sūras. "I fully admit," he says, "that in the post-classical language of the Arabs, the word jihād was used to signify warfare;" but "the subsequent corrupt or post-classical language cannot be accepted as a final or even a satisfactory authority upon the point."² The argument used is that a purely conventional meaning of the word jihād came into use after the time of Muḥammad, and that the Canonical Legists have affixed that meaning to the word in the Qur'ān, and so have built up an entirely wrong system.

A careful analysis of all the texts bearing on the subject is made. Some present great difficulties, but it is laid down as a principle of interpretation that those which seem to declare the duty of jihād must be read in connection with other passages in which the permission or the call to fight is only conditional. Thus: "When two commandments, one conditional and the other general or absolute, are found on the same subject,

¹ Muslim writers call this "the days of ignorance."

² *Critical Exposition of the Jihād* (ed. Calcutta, 1885), pp. 168.

the conditional is to be preferred, and the absolute should be construed as conditional."¹

It is further stated that the wars of Muḥammad were defensive, and that, therefore, the verses referring to them "are strictly temporary and transitory in their nature," for the circumstances were purely local. The ninth Sūra is generally supposed to have been given at the end of the ninth year of the Hijra, but Maulavi Cherāgh 'Alī, in opposition to Nöldeke, one of the greatest Qur'ānic scholars of the day, considers that the opening verses were delivered in the eighth year, while Muḥammad was marching against Mecca, and that, therefore, they have a limited and local application, and not a general one forming a rule for all time. This is very ingenious, but it is in striking opposition to the law doctors, who hold them to be of general application, and to whom it matters little whether they were revealed in the eighth or the ninth year.

The next step in this most recent treatment of the subject is to substitute other readings for some of the words in the Qur'ān.² The verse, "Whoso fight for the cause of God, their works He will not suffer to mis-carry" (xlvii. 5), is disposed of by the suggestion of another reading, *Qutūlū*³—"those who are killed" (or fought)—for the word in the text, *Qātalū*—"those who kill or fight." If this explanation is not accepted, then it must be interpreted by other verses which mean fighting in self-defence, such as, "Fight for the cause of God against those who fight against you; but commit not the injustice of attacking them first" (xl. 186).

¹ *Critical Exposition of the Jihād*, p. 119.

² *Ibid*, p. 152.

³ The reading "those who are killed" (قَتُلُوا) is adopted by the Rāwī Ḥafṣ, who has recorded the qir'at of 'Āsim of Kūfa. The Qārī Abū 'Umar also supports this reading. All the rest of the Qārīs are against it, and support the text, "Those who kill or fight," (قَاتِلُوا) which has, therefore, overwhelming authority in its favour. See also Baidāwī, vol. ii, p. 261.

This is the standard text to which all doubtful passages must be brought, and however difficult it may be to do so, they must, according to Maulavi Cherágh 'Alí, be interpreted in connection with it.

In order still further to prove the defensive character of the wars of Muḥammad, a different reading of another verse is adopted. For "have fought"—*Yuqáttilūna*,—the words "have been fought"—*Yuqátalhum*—are substituted, so that the verse reads not "a sanction is given to those who fight," but "a sanction has been given to those who have been fought" (xxii. 40). The passive form is adopted by the Qáris Náfí of Madína, Ibn 'Ámir of Syria and Ḥafs, the Ráwí of 'Āsim of Kúfa.¹ All the other Qáris retain the active form. In the commentary of Jalálu'd-din, this very verse is quoted as the first verse which descended from heaven to authorise jihád, so that there is good authority for *Yuqáttilūna*—"have fought." However, it is only fair to say that Maulavi Cherágh 'Alí does not rest his case on a disputed reading, and the loss of the support he thought he had from these two verses will not affect it much.

Such is a very brief outline of the ablest work on jihád, which I have yet seen. It is undoubtedly the best position for enlightened Musalmáns to adopt, although it brings them into conflict with all the canonists of preceding ages, and with the views of commentators and theologians of all the various sects.

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¹ Baidáwí, (vol. i, p. 234) gives the text thus, يُقَاتِلُونَ (المشركين) and the other "reading thus, يُقَاتَلُهُم (المشركون).

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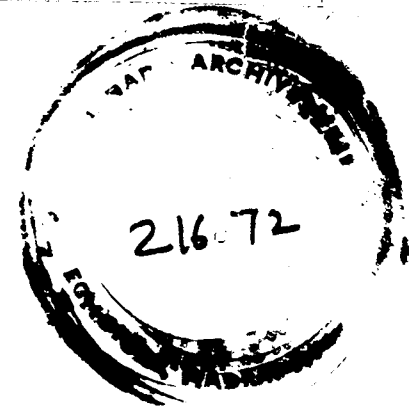
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1	96	96	103	34	90	88	77
2	68	74	100	35	86	89	78
3	73	111	99	36	54	75	75
4	74	106	91	37	38	83	70
5	111	108	106	38	7	69	109
6	81	104	1	39	72	51	107
7	87	107	101	40	36	52	55
8	92	102	95	41	25	56	56
9	89	105	102	42	35	70	67
10	93	92	104	43	19	55	74
11	94	90	82	44	20	112	73
12	103	94	92	45	56	109	75
13	100	93	105	46	28	113	79
14	108	97	89	47	27	114	54
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19	113	87	96	52	12	76	71
20	114	95	113	53	15	44	52
21	112	103	74	54	6	50	50
22	53	85	111	55	37	20	45
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25	95	99	88	58	39	19	30
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83	30	42	28	107	66	22	33
84	29	10	23	108	65	48	57
85	83	34	22	109	64	66	61
86	2	35	21	110	61	60	48
87	8	7	17	111	48	110	60
88	3	46	16	112	5	49	66
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