

IQBAL REVIEW

Journal of the Iqbal Academy, Pakistan

October 1965

Editor

Bashir Ahmad Dar

IQBAL ACADEMY PAKISTAN

Title : Iqbal Review (October 1965)
Editor : Bashir Ahmad Dar
Publisher : Iqbal Academy Pakistan
City : Karachi
Year : 1965
DDC : 105
DDC (Iqbal Academy) : 8U1.66V12
Pages : 126
Size : 14.5 x 24.5 cm
ISSN : 0021-0773
Subjects : Iqbal Studies
: Philosophy
: Research



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WALI ALLAH: HIS LIFE AND TIMES

B. A. Dar

WALI ALLAH was born in a family of great saints and scholars, some of whom had distinguished themselves in learning while others were famous in the field of battle. He traces his lineage from 'Umar, the Second Caliph. ¹The first of his ancestors who came to India was Mufti Shams al-Din. He settled at Rohtak, a town about thirty miles west of Delhi. Ratak had been a populous town since early arrival of Muslims in India and people of eminent families had settled there. Shams al-Din was probably the first of the family of the Quraish who chose this town for habitation. He was a great scholar and mystic and opened an institution for the dissemination of Islamic learning; people flocked to it in large numbers. He belonged to the Chishti order of mystics and was appointed Qadi. ²The descendants of Shams al-Din retained this judicial rank (*Qada'*) for several generations. One of them, Qadi Qadan, ³ became the mayor of the town (Ra'is-i Baldah). Shaikh Mahmud, the son of Qadi Qadan, bade farewell to the ancestral office and decided to join military service of the king. For four or five generations, the members of the family retained this love for military life. But it seems that the tradition of mysticism was never given up by the family. It is related that Shaikh Ahmad, Shaikh Mahmud's son, was brought up by Shaikh 'Abd al-Ghani who was a mystic of great renown and was, as Khwajah Muhammad Hashim Kashmi (author of *Zubdat al-Maqamat*) relates, a contemporary of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi's father whom the former met while he was on a visit to Sirhind. Both had an intimate discussion on some important mystic problems. ⁴

¹ This account is based mostly on Wali Allah's book, *Anfas al-'Arijin*, Matba'-i Mujtaba'i, Delhi, 1335/1917. It consists of seven smaller tracts. Parts 1 and 2 deal with the account of the life and activities of his father and uncle; part 3 deals briefly with his ancestors; part 4 deals with the family of his father on maternal side; part 5 with his own maternal lineage and the last part deals with his teachers at the Hejaz. *Hayat-i Wali* by Hafiz Rahim Bakhsh (Maktaba-i Salafiyah, Lahore, 1955), is mainly based on *Anfas* but some other sources have also been utilised.

² Wali Allah states (*Anfas*, p. 159) that every prominent Muslim who *came* from outside to settle in these towns was asked to participate in the political and civic life of the town, as a Qadi, Muhtasib or Mufti in an honorary capacity.

³ Wali Allah thinks this is perhaps the transformation of 'Abd al-Qadir or Qiwam al-Din (*Anfas*, p. 159).

⁴ *Anfas*, pp. 160-61.

Shaikh Wajih, the grandfather of Wali Allah, was a soldier of great eminence as well as a mystic of high standing. During the reign of Shah Jahan, he won great laurels while fighting under the command of a Mughal general, Syed Husain, in Malwa. In this campaign he succeeded in defeating and killing turn by turn three brothers in single combats. The aged mother of these brothers later on entreated Wajih al-Din to look upon her as his mother—a pledge which he fulfilled till the end. ‘Abd al-Rahim relates that he took this aged woman as his real grandmother. Shaikh Wajih took part in the battle of Khajwah (1070/1659) on the side of Aurangzeb and played a decisive role in the defeat of Shah Shaja‘ And yet when he was offered a special increase in his rank, he politely refused. In spite of such a life, Shaikh Wajih was a man of high moral calibre. Throughout his life, whether at home or abroad, he used to read two parts (*paras*) of the Qur'an daily. When in old age his eyesight became weak, he managed to have a copy of the holy book written in bold letters. In his latter life he gave up active military service and spent his days in religious exercises. He once received indication in his prayers that he was destined to die a martyr. At this he started for the Deccan, thinking that he had been asked to participate in the holy war against Siva who was desecrating Muslim institutions in his domains. On the way he had to fight a gang of highwaymen in which he met a martyr's end.⁵

The wife of Shaikh Wajih belonged to a family of eminent scholars and mystics. The family had settled at Uch, Multan, but Shaikh Tahir came to Bihar in search of knowledge and then settled at Jaunpur. His son, Shaikh Hasan, set up a school for imparting religious knowledge. He was the disciple of Sayyid Hamid Raji Shah, a well-known Chishti Sufi.⁶ It was at the request of Sultan Sikandar Lodhi that Shaikh Hasan came to settle at Delhi. He died in 909/1503. One of his sons, Shaikh Muhammad, known as Khayali, was a mystic of great renown, who spent many years in Medina. Shaikh Aman Allah Panipati, the well-known mystic who upheld Ibn ‘Arabi's *Wandat al-Wujud*, was one of his Khalifahs. The second son of Shaikh Hasan was Shaikh ‘Abd al-‘Aziz (d. 975/1567) who in course of time attained a high

⁵ Ibid., pp. 162-67.

⁶ Raji Shah was the disciple and Khalifah of Shaikh Hisam al-Din Manakpuri, who was *the* disciple and Khalifah of Shaikh Nur Qutb-i ‘Alam of Bengal (d. 813/1410). This great renowned mystic is a different person from Shaikh Qutb-i ‘Alam whose grand-daughter was the grandmother of Wali Allah.

status in mysticism. One of his mystic teachers explained to him the mysteries of Ibn ‘Arabi’s *Fusus al-Hikam* and initiated him into the Suhrawardi order. Later on he came under the influence of Sayyid Ibrahim Irchi who initiated him into almost all the mystic orders, but he was specially attached to the Qadiri order. Shaikh Abd al-‘Aziz, therefore, also joined this order. But he never gave up the role of a scholar. Like his ancestors, he continued to teach in his school at Delhi. His son, Shaikh Qutb-i ‘Alam, started his career as a scholar, teaching in the ancestral school. Khwajah Baqi Billah, the famous Sufi who introduced Naqshbandi order in India, was one of his pupils, and it was at his advice that Baqi Billah went to Khurasan and was initiated into the Naqshbandi order. Shaikh Qutb-i ‘Alam in his latter life became the disciple of Khwajah Baqi Billah. Shaikh Rafi‘ al-Din Muhammad, the son of Shaikh ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, was a scholar as well as a mystic. Though in the beginning he was initiated into the Chishti order under the guidance of his father, he later on came into intimate contact with Khwajah Baqi Billah who, being the pupil and later on the mystic teacher of his father, had a special affection for him. In spite of his old age and physical weakness, he undertook an arduous journey to participate in the marriage ceremony of Shaikh Raff al-Din. The mother of ‘Abd alRahim was the result of this wedlock which was blessed by the presence of very eminent mystics.

‘Abd al-Rahim was born in 1059/1641⁷ and received his early education from his father, Shaikh Wajih, and his elder brother, Abu Rida (d. 1101/1689).⁸ Abu Rida started his life after the pattern of his father in the service of the State. He got the customary education but all of a sudden he decided to give up the world and adopted the life of a mystic. He was the disciple of Khwajah Khurd, the son of Baqi Billah. He used to deliver sermons on Fridays based on three traditions which he would first translate into Persian and then into Hindustani for the advantage of the audience. During the early part of his life he used to lecture on almost all subjects but later on he confined himself to the commentary of Baidawi and *Mishkat* among the books of traditions. He upheld the doctrine of *Wandat al-Wujud* and gave his own interpretation of it. He was fond of discussing among the *elite* abstruse points in the works of the mystics.⁹ It is related that Mulla

⁷ *Hayat-i Wali* (p. 303) puts it as 1054/1644 and his death as 1131/1718 (being 77 years).

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 320

⁹ Some of the points are mentioned, discussed and explained in *Anfas*, pp. 99 ff.

Ya'qub, a contemporary scholar of great repute, had certain doubts about *Wandat al-Wujud*; these were cleared when he came to his assembly.¹⁰ He held that *Wandat al-Wujud* could easily be proved through mystic intuition and experience; those who raise objections against it are really not able to appreciate its truth through argumentation.¹¹ The spirit of *taṭbiq* (compromise)—the trait that is manifest most conspicuously in Wali Allah—can be seen in Abu Rida's approach in the doctrine of the vision of God. The Mu'tazilites and the She'ites both deny that God can be visible, for, according to them, it implies direction. For them, however, complete manifestation is the result of lifting of all veils. The Ahl-i Sunnah assert that the vision of God without quality and direction is possible and this, according to them, is complete manifestation. Thus the controversy, as he puts it, is only verbal and not real.

'Abd al-Rahim started his education under the direction of his brother, Abu Rida,¹² and later under Mir Zahid of Herat,¹³ with whom he read *Sharh Muwafiq* and all other books of *Kalam* and *Usul al-Fiqh*.¹⁴ His natural abilities helped him attain eminence in this sphere very soon and he became the object of envy to his companions. He was able to point out some discrepancies in the text of *Fatama-i Alamgiri* which nobody else was able to do. Naturally his companions felt disgusted and manoeuvred to get his name struck off the list of workers.

He says, "Sometimes by the repetition of 'There is no god but God' or through ecstasy one gets to the state of *Wahdat-i Shubudi* but it is not trustworthy" (*Anfas*, p. 109).

¹⁰ *Anfas*, p.98. At another place (p. 101), it is said that Abu Rida once presented the doctrine of *Wahdat al-Wujud* before a select audience and supported it by rational arguments derived from the Mutakallimin and quoted traditions, etc., without mentioning the controversial term *Wahdat al-Wujud*, and everybody agreed with this exposition.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 14. Mirza Muhammad Zahid was a great scholar of Shah Jahan's time. He has written commentaries on several of the classics of philosophy and *Kalam*. In Sufism he was a Naqshbandi. He was a pupil of Mulla Muhammad Fadil of Badakhshan and Mulla Sadiq Halwai of Kabul. In philosophy he received instruction from Mulla Mirza Jan of Shiraz, and in *Hikmah* he was the pupil of Mulla Yusuf who was an authority on this subject (*ibid.*, p. 33).

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

In Sufism ‘Abd al-Rahim was from the beginning initiated into the Naqshbandi order.¹⁵ At the advice of Khwajah Khurd,¹⁶ he attached himself to Hafiz Sayyid ‘Abd Allah,¹⁷ one of the Khalifahs of Shaikh Adam Bunnuri (d. 1050/1640) and later on to Khwajah Khurd himself. Wali Allah has clarified the position of his father in this respect. He says that his father preferred the Naqshbandi order of Khwajah Baqi Billah to other systems, for he had been initiated and trained in this system throughout.¹⁸ Later on, he had the opportunity of being initiated into other orders. Quoting his father, Wali Allah says, "The *nisbah* that I received from Shaikh ‘Abd al-Qadir Jilani is purer and subtler; the *nisbah* that I received from Khwajah Naqshband is more overpowering and more effective; the one that I received from Khwajah Mu’in al-Din [Chishti] is nearer to love, and more conducive to the effect of Names [of God] and the purity of *Khatir*."¹⁹

He had high regard for Ibn 'Arabi and claimed that he would explain the doctrine (of *Wandat al-Wujud*) presented in *Fusus alHikam* in away that its incompatibility with the Qur'an and traditions would be removed and all doubts in this respect totally resolved. He, however, still preferred to make these problems a topic of discussion, for, as he alleged, the majority of his contemporaries could not understand them and were thus prone to be led astray. He emphasised the importance of the study of the books dealing with

¹⁵ It is said that a Naqshbandi Sufi Khwajah Hashim, who came from Bukhara and began to live in the street where ‘Abd al-Rahim lived, took a fancy to him and tried to teach him a prayer which he claimed to be very effective. ‘Abd al-Rahim was at that time about nine or ten years of age (ibid., p. 4).

¹⁶ Khwajah Khurd, the younger son of Khwajah Baqi Billah (d. 1012/1603). After the death of his father, he was initiated into Sufism by Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, from whom he got the necessary permission. Later on, he became the disciple of Khwajah Hisam al-Din and Shaikh Allah Dad, the disciples of Khwajah Baqi Billah (ibid., p. 18). Khwajah Hisam al-Din (d. 1043/1633), after the death of Khwajah Baqi Billah, joined the circle of Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind. See Ikram, *Rud-i Kautbar*, p. 205.

¹⁷ Sayyid ‘Abd Allah was one of the best *Qaris* of the Qur'an in those days, which art he had learnt from a Sufi of the Punjab.

¹⁸ It is very difficult to agree with this interpretation of Wali Allah. Khwajah Khurd and Khwajah Hisam al-Din were both the disciples of Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind. Hafiz ‘Abd Allah was the disciple of Shaikh Adam Bunnuri who was one of the leading disciples and Khalifah of Shaikh Ahmad. The real reason seems to be that Shaikh ‘Abd al-Rahim had a predilection for *Wahdat al-Wujud* which was criticised by Shaikh Ahmad and his disciple and therefore naturally he preferred the one to the other.

¹⁹ *Anfas*, p. 77.

this subject. Under his guidance Wali Allah studied *Lawa'ih* (of Jami) and the commentary on *Lum'at* (of 'Iraqi) and the controversial problems were thoroughly discussed and debated. *Naqd al-Nasus* (of Jami), a commentary in Persian on *Fusus al-Hikam*, was taught by 'Abd al-Rahim to a group of people and Wali Allah had the opportunity of attending some of these lectures.

Wali Allah mentions particularly one or two problems which 'Abd al-Rahim used to discuss. One is the problem of relation of the one and many, God and His creatures. The Intelligible Forms (*Suwar-i 'Ilmiyyah*) that we see are not possessed of external reality; their reality is dependent on our knowledge; it is our knowledge that has appeared in so many forms. We can neither say that they are identical with knowledge, for knowledge was and these forms did not exist; nor can we say that they are different from knowledge, for these different things need some cause (*mansha'*) and ground (*qayyum*) and that is knowledge. Knowledge is without quality and multiplicity and all this multiplicity does not stand in the way of its nature which is free from all quality and multiplicity.

God says in the Qur'an that "He is with you" (lvii. 4). The problem is to determine the nature of this witness (*ma'yyat*). According to 'Abd al-Rahim, this "witness" is not only intellectual *Cam*^o; it is actual also; but this is not like the association of a substance with another substance, or of an attribute with another attribute or of a substance with an attribute. God's witness with the creatures is quite different from it—one that is not within human comprehension. He explains that different people have interpreted this witness in different ways. Some think that God encompasses everything through His knowledge, power, hearing and sight, as it is said in the Qur'an.²⁰ Some say that every action and reaction, movement and quality, that is visible in the world is from God, as is said in the Qur'an.²¹ Others say that

²⁰ "Nowhere is there a secret counsel between three persons but He is the fourth of them, nor (between) five but He is the sixth of them, nor less than that nor more but He is with them wheresoever they are . . ." (MU. 7).

²¹ "Say: All is from Allah" (iv. 78); "And whatsoever favour is (bestowed) on you it is from Allah" (xvi. 53).

everything that exists is He and that there is nothing in existence except He, as is mentioned in the Qur'an.²²

He held that attributes are identical with His essence and everything in the world is good in itself and evil is only relative. For instance, the sharpness of the sword is good in itself and possesses beauty as a piece of iron, but when it is used to kill a person wrongfully, it assumes evil character.²³

In religious matters 'Abd al-Rahim was a man of liberal views. Generally he followed the Hanafi school but in certain respects he accepted the decisions of other schools on the basis of traditions or his own judgment (*wijdan*, intuitive insight). One of the disputed points is whether, in prayer, the assembly should recite Surah Fatihah (first Surah of the Qur'an) or keep silent, as the Imam is expected to recite it. According to the Hanafi school, the assembly should remain silent. Shaikh 'Abd al-Ahad, a grandson of Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind, who was a staunch and uncompromising adherent of the Hanafi school, adduced the same argument in discussion with 'Abd al-Rahim which Shibli ascribes to Abu Hanifah.²⁴ But 'Abd al-Rahim contested that the real function of prayer, viz. purification of heart, sense of submissiveness before God, cannot be fully achieved without reciting the Fatihah.²⁵ In mysticism also he claimed to follow independent views in certain respects. One day Khwajah Naqshband, a grandson of Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind, asserted that the mystics of their times were mere imitators of the ancients and had nothing new to their credit. 'Abd al-Rahim contested this statement and said that the mystics of the day did possess something new which the ancient mystics lacked. Thereupon he elaborated his own particular stand in contrast to what had been handed down from the ancients.²⁶

Unlike his father, 'Abd al-Rahim led the life of a true mystic free from worldly entanglements and never liked to associate with kings. Aurangzeb once expressed a wish that 'Abd al-Rahim should see him, but he refused in

²² "Everything is perishable but He" (xxviii. 88); "He is the first and the last, the Apparent and the Hidden" (lvii. 3). For a detailed discussion of this topic, see *Anfas-i Rahimiyyah* (Matba'-i Ahmadi, Delhi, n.d.), pp. 8-10.

²³ *Anfas*, pp. 82-83.

²⁴ Shibli, *Sirat al-Nu'man* (M. Thana Allah, Lahore), pp. 112-113.

²⁵ *Anfas*, p. 70.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

the best tradition of renowned mystics.²⁷ When Shaikh Hamid, one of his classmates in the school of Mirza Muhammad Zahid, came to his house and offered him to work jointly in the revision of the *Fatawa* on a certain daily remuneration, he flatly refused. When his mother heard of this, she asked him to accept the offer in view of economic stringency. Due to her exaggerated insistence he was forced to accept the offer. When his mystic teacher, Abu al-Qasim, heard of it, he advised him to renounce it. 'Abd al-Rahim explained that he could not, though he wished it, because of his mother. He requested his teacher to pray to God that this should terminate of itself. In the course of time, his name was struck off and he was offered a piece of land in its stead which also he refused.²⁸ And yet he did not lead the life of an anchorite. As Wali Allah puts it, he possessed in abundance the wisdom of the hereafter as well as the wisdom of this world;²⁹ his was a life of the golden mean.³⁰ His attitude regarding the Shi'ah-Sunni controversy was definite and clear; he regarded the Shi'ahs as misguided but he did not try to spoil the atmosphere by importing fanaticism in the discussion. Once he had a chance of meeting an emigree from Iran, one 'Abd Allah Chalpi. Before the discussion started, he said plainly that his approach would not be sectarian at all; his standpoint would be the search for truth in an objective way, accepting whatever is true and rejecting whatever is wrong. He claimed that with this approach he was able to convince the Shi'ahs without raising any unnecessary commotion. In the end 'Abd Allah Chalpi became his disciple.³¹ But his aversion towards the Shi'ah sect remained unabated.³² Abd al-Rahim died in 1131/1719.

Wali Allah³³ was born in 1114/1703. As is the usual custom among Muslims, he began to attend school at the age of five. After two years, i.e. at the age of seven, he was asked to say his prayers and keep Ramadan fasts. By

²⁷ Ibid., p. 69. He quoted the famous statement of Chishti saints: "When a person's name is written in the court of kings, his name is struck off from the court of God."

²⁸ Ibid., p. 24.

²⁹ Wali Allah has given some precepts of 'Abd al-Rahim in *Anfas*, pp. 85-86.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 85.

³¹ Ibid., p. 54.

³² Ibid., p. 55.

³³ His other name was Qutb al-Din Ahmad after the name of a Sufi saint who had informed 'Abd al-Rahim about the birth of a son and advised him to give him his name. His name from which his date of birth can be numerically calculated was 'Azim al-Din (ibid., p. 44).

the end of the seventh year he finished the Qur'an and started studying Persian texts along with Persian grammar. Thereafter the gates of knowledge were opened before him and he made full use of it. Wali Allah relates that at this stage he used to enjoy the company of boys of his age. One day they decided to go for an outing. When he returned his father expressed regrets at his having spent the day unprofitably while during this period he had repeated blessings (*darud*) on the Holy Prophet so many times. Thereafter Wali Allah never had the desire for such things.³⁴ He took interest in his studies which was exceptional for a boy of his age.³⁵ When fourteen he was married.³⁶ At the age of fifteen he was initiated into mysticism at the hand of his father and he devoted himself to the mystic practices, particularly of the Naqshbandi order. He studied the following books on different subjects as detailed by himself:

In Hadith, he studied the whole of *Mishkat*, a part of Bukhari's *Sahih* (from the beginning up to the chapter on Cleanliness) and attended the classes where *Shama'il al-Nabi* was read by others in the presence of his father.

In Tafsir, he studied a part of Baidawi, and a part of *Mudarik*. But his greatest asset was the study of a part of the Qur'an in the school under the guidance of his father with particular emphasis on understanding the meaning and significance of the text, along with the study of the situational context with the help of commentaries. It proved of greatest help to him in understanding the holy book. In Fiqh, he studied almost the whole of *Sharh Waqayyah* and the *Hidayah* except a few pages. Similarly, he got through all the common text-books on *Usul al-Fiqh*, logic, Kalam, mysticism, medicine, theosophy (*Hikmah*), etc. His originality and creative spirit became evident very early in his life. "During this period of learning," he says, "I began to

³⁴ Ibid., p. 64.

³⁵ He tells us that his father repeatedly expressed his desire to pour all knowledge into his heart. It was due to this, perhaps, that, as he briefly states, he was able to finish the prescribed courses without any difficulty.

³⁶ Wali Allah explains the reason of his early marriage. His father had a foreboding and he insisted that this marriage should take place as early as possible. Immediately after this marriage most of his near relations, including his uncle, Abu Rida Muhammad, died. A few years later, his father also died (*Anfas*, p. 202)

have ever-new ideas in these fields and, with a little effort, the scope of development increased enormously."³⁷

When Wali Allah completed his studies at the age of fifteen, his father celebrated the occasion with proper ceremonies, inviting people to a grand feast. This function signified the successful completion of his education as well as the grant of permission to assume the responsibility of running the *Madrasa*, so far run by his father. During his last illness, his father gave him the authority to receive *bai'ah* from others and to guide others in mystic exercises and contemplation.

For twelve years after the death of his father, i.e. from 1131/1719 to 1143/1731, Wali Allah carried on the work of the school, teaching books on religion and philosophy. It was during this period that he had the ample opportunity of going deep into what he had learnt and read. In the classical system of education where the teacher and the pupils work on the most personal and intimate level, and where questions are raised and discussions follow, an intelligent person like Wali Allah was able to formulate his own point of view in every subject. He would often sit at the grave of his father and thus received abundance of mystic illumination which helped to broaden his vision and gave depth to his thought. A thorough study of the books of all the four schools of jurisprudence, their *usul* and the traditions on which their inferences are based, enabled him to grasp the basic principles of jurists and traditionists.³⁸

Wali Allah succeeded to the headship of the ancestral school at the age of sixteen in 1131/1719, the year when Farrukh Siyar was blinded and dethroned by the Sayyid Brothers, an event which, as Wali Allah himself says, brought about a great chaos in the affairs of the State.³⁹ Only nine years before Wali Allah assumed this sacred charge, the Rajput princes, in an assembly in 1122/1710 near Ajmer, decided to renounce their loyalty to the Mughal crown, and determined to wage an open war against the Muslim power.⁴⁰ The Sikhs under Bunda, determined like Rajuts to destroy Muslims, perpetrated untold cruelties on the innocent Muslim population wherever

³⁷ Ibid., p. 203.

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 203-04.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 87.

⁴⁰ Hafiz Malik, *Muslim Nationalism in India and Pakistan*, p. 104.

they went. In 1122/1710 the town of Sirhind "was pillaged for four days with ruthless cruelty, mosques were defiled, houses burnt, the women outraged and the Muslims slaughtered."⁴¹

The imperial court was dominated by people who were thoroughly corrupt and unscrupulous. A man like Asad Khan, who had been a minister of Aurangzeb for thirty-seven years, was in the regular pay of the British to safeguard their interests in the court.⁴² In the War of Succession after the death of Bahadur Shah, Asad Khan and his son Zulfiqar Khan played a very fiendish and treacherous role in supporting the most incompetent of the princes, Jahandar Shah, and when later on, having been defeated by Farrukh Siyar, he sought their protection, they handed him over to the new king in order to retain their privileges.⁴³ The same was the case with most of the nobles who wielded authority at the centre. The court was also the scene of constant strife between the Turani nobles which reflected itself unfortunately in Sunni-Shi'ah conflicts. This rivalry was a legacy of the foreign policy of the Mughals, as they had to deal with Safawid kings who were Shi'ahs and the Uzbeks of Central Asia who were Sunnis. The Mughal kings treated alike all people who came to settle in India, whether from Iran or Turkestan, but naturally when relations with the Safawids were strained, the Iranian element had to go down before the Turani element. This pro-Turani policy became marked during Shah Jahan's reign, due to his quarrels with Persia. It continued during Aurangzeb's reign.⁴⁴ The pro-Shi'ah temperament of Bahadur Shah⁴⁵ and later the rise of the Sayyid Brothers, worked in favour of Irani-Shi'ah element. This conflict played no mean part in the disintegration of the State. Fearing lest the TuraniSunni party might rise against him in Delhi, Husain Ali brought with him to Delhi (in 1132/1719) a Maratha army

⁴¹ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 322.

⁴² S.M. Ikram, *History of Muslim Civilization*, pp. 328-29.

⁴³ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 329.

⁴⁴ 'Abbas II incited the Deccan rulers to rise in revolt against Aurangzeb. See Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environments*, p. 43.

⁴⁵ Bahadur Shah (r. 1119/1707-1125/1712) ordered that the title of *Wasi* should be added after the name of 'Ali in the Friday sermon. It meant the repudiation of the Sunni creed according to which the Caliphate was the legitimate right of Abu Bakr. This happened when he was at Lahore during his campaign against the Sikhs. This undiplomatic move of Bahadur Shah led to a revolt of the people of Lahore which was ruthlessly quelled. S.M. Ikram, *History of Muslim Civilization*, p. 333; *A History of Freedom Movement*, Vol. I, p. 85.

of eleven thousand soldiers under Balaji Wishwanath the Peshwa. No doubt, at this time, the Marathas proved timid and weak and were slaughtered in great numbers but the way was opened for their later attacks and expansion at the cost of the Mughal Empire. A year later in 1133/1720 when Baji Rao succeeded his father as Peshwa, he united, on the basis of anti-Muslim feeling, the local Hindu rulers and neighbouring Rajputs of Jaipur and Mewar, against the oppressors of their common religion.⁴⁶ The result of mutual rivalries of the courtiers thus contributed to the strength of the Marathas and eventual dismemberment of the Empire. The Jat menace was also raising its head. Seeing the inefficiency of the officers of the State, the Jat chiefs began to indulge in highway robbery and in spite of repeated efforts their lawlessness could not be brought under control. In 1135/1722 Nizam al-Mulk was invited from the Deccan, offered the post of Wazir, and requested to set the affairs of the State straight. He put forward the following proposals for the consideration of the Emperor:

- (1) Farming out of the *Khalsab* lands should be discontinued.
- (2) Bribes under the name of offerings upon appointments to office should cease.
- (3) The number of assigned lands (*Jagirs*) should be reduced and should be given to really capable and powerful nobles.
- (4) The Emperor should help the ruler of Persia in repelling the domination of the Afghans who might one day turn their attention to India.⁴⁷

It is significant that Wali Allah, in one of his letters addressed to the king, the wazir and the nobles, suggested almost identical proposals for the reform of administration. Among other things, he says:

- (1) The *Khalsab* lands should be greater in area. All or most of the area around Delhi, extending to Agra, Hissar, and the Ganges up to the boundaries of Sirhind, should be included in it. Lesser *Khalsab* lands which automatically lead to impoverishment of treasury become the cause of weakness of the central authority.
- (2) *Jagirs* should be given only to nobles of higher rank; nobles of lower

⁴⁶ Hafiz Malik, op. cit., p. 104.

⁴⁷ Yusuf Husain, *The First Nizam*, p. 128.

ranks should be paid in cash, for they cannot keep their lands under proper control.

- (3) The custom of giving *Khalsab* lands on contract should be abolished. This custom destroys the land and impoverishes the people.⁴⁸

These wise counsels fell on deaf ears. Nizam al-Mulk could achieve nothing in face of opposition from the king and his favourite courtiers. After about two years' futile stay in the capital, he left for the Deccan in the last month of 1723. During his absence the intrigues of the courtiers led to a further deterioration in the administration. The Marathas became bolder and attacked and even looted Delhi. The Emperor gave Muhammad Khan Bangash, the Nawab of Farrukhabad, charge of Malwa in order to stem the tide of Maratha aggression. In spite of his successes against the enemy, the Amir al-Umara tried to belittle his efforts and advised the king to appoint Raja Jai Singh in his place as the governor of Malwa, one of the most important parts of the country where Marathas could be successfully resisted and pushed back. The appointment of Rajput princes to the governorship of key provinces like Malwa and Gujerat were most deplorable,⁴⁹ for most of them were in league with the Marathas.⁵⁰

It was in this atmosphere of moral chaos and political instability that Wali Allah had been working in Delhi. In 1143/1731, during the reign of Muhammad Shah, he decided to go to the Hejaz.⁵¹ His object seems to be not only to pursue higher studies but to get proper inspiration for his future work which perhaps he had not been able to define and formulate. He had already realised that the Muslims of this land had been cut off from the main source of their tradition, i.e. the Qur'an, and before they could be infused

⁴⁸ K. A. Nizami, *Wali Allah Ke Siyasi Maktubat*, pp. 94-95.

⁴⁹ Wali Allah in his famous letter to Abdali mentions the importance of these provinces, the governorship of which was given by later Mughal kings to non-Muslims through short-sightedness (*ibid.*, pp. 99).

⁵⁰ During the governorship of Muhammad Khan Bangash, Raja Jai Singh wrote the following letter to one Nandlal Chaudhury: "Thousand praises to you that at my word alone you and the rest of the sardars protected our religion in Malwa by driving out the Moghals from there. . . ." (Yusuf Husain, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-69).

⁵¹ He was accompanied on this journey by his friend and co-worker, Muhammad 'Ashiq of Pehlat. See 'Abd al-'Aziz Muhaddith, *'Ujalia-i Na'fiab* (Persian), p. 22, and *Fuyuz ai-Haramain* (Urdu) by Professon Sarwar, p. 130.

with the dynamic spirit of their religion, they must learn directly what the Qur'an wanted them to know and follow. For this purpose, he considered a good translation of the Qur'an in Persian necessary so that all the people, scholars as well as others, could benefit from it. He made a thorough search for such translations and, failing to get any good one, he decided to do it himself, keeping all these points in view. This work was undertaken before he went to the Hejaz, but it could not be completed before 1150/1737, five years after his return to Delhi from pilgrimage.⁵²

Wali Allah's decision to go to the Hejaz was a revolutionary step in itself. Muslims of India had sufficient contacts with the Muslims of Iran and Central Asia but had almost no deeper contacts with the people of the Hejaz. During the days of Akbar, Mulla 'Abd Allah Sultanpuri had declared the Hajj to be no longer obligatory because of the danger of the European pirates in the Indian Ocean and the control of the land route (i.e. Iran) by the Shi'ite Safawids.⁵³ Shaikh 'Abd al-Haqq Dehlvi (959/1551-1052/1642) took a bold step during that very period and his stay in the Hejaz proved highly fruitful not only to the Shaikh himself but also to the Muslims of India, for his contacts with the scholars and mystics of the Hejaz brought about very far-reaching formative influence on his thought. It was in the Hejaz that he came into contact with Shaikh 'Abd al-Wahhab Muttaqi who was responsible to a great degree in producing in 'Abd al-Haqq a balanced view regarding the controversy about *Wandat al-Wujud* of Ibn 'Arabi. It was this sojourn in the Hejaz that prompted 'Abd al-Haqq to pay more attention to Hadith. After a labour of six years, he completed in 1025/1616 (i.e. twenty-six years after his return from the Hejaz) a commentary in Persian on *Mishkat* and concentrated his attention on popularising literature about Hadith which, according to him, was the only and sure antidote against moral and intellectual chaos of the time.

⁵² Introduction to *Tafsir Fath al-Rahman*. The story related by Rahim Bahsh in *Hayat-i Wali* (p. 418, footnote ff.) that the orthodox Mullas of the time were enraged at this Persian translation of the Qur'an and decided to kill him seems to be a fabrication. His visit to the Hejaz was not, as is alleged in the story, motivated by any idea of escape from these storms of protests; the visit was a part of his spiritual training. The translation was completed, as stated by the author himself, five years after his return from the Hijaz.

⁵³ *Rud-i Kautbar*, p. 90.

The same proved to be the case with Wali Allah.⁵⁴ When he entered the Hejaz, the country was in a total chaos, both morally and politically.⁵⁵ But he was fortunate in having met really great scholars and mystics there. The outstanding among them was Abu Tahir Muhammad b. Ibrahim Kurdi (d. 1145/1732) who inherited the scholarship and piety of his father, Shaikh Ibrahim (d. 1041/1631). The latter was a great scholar as well as a mystic. He was eminent as a jurist of the Shafi'i school and Hadith. During discussion of the problems of *Hikmah* he would present the mystic point of view and express his preference for the latter, for, as he said, the philosophers could not reach the truth through mere discursive reason. He had great regard for Ibn 'Arabi.⁵⁶ Abu Tahir distinguished himself as a scholar both of Fiqh and Hadith which he acquired from his father and many other scholars of eminence like Shaikh Hasan 'Ajami⁵⁷ (d. 1113/1701), Shaikh Ahmad Nakhli⁵⁸ and Shaikh 'Abd Allah Basri⁵⁹ (d. 1134/1721). He had an opportunity of studying the books of Mulla 'Abd al-Hakim Sialkoti and Shaikh 'Abd al-Haqq Dehlvi (d. 1052/1642) through the help of Shaikh 'Abd Allah Lahori who had gone to the Hejaz for pilgrimage and who had acquired proper authority from the authors themselves. He was characterised by piety and *ijtihad* (independent judgment) like the pious ancients and always tried to be objective in discussion. One day while studying Bukhari, the discussion started about the difference between the traditions and Fiqh. Abu Tahir

⁵⁴ In *Fayyuz al Haramain*, p. 131, he states that the Ka'bah is one of the manifestations of God's *taballi* and therefore a means of attaining nearness to God. Pilgrimage is the last stage on this journey of nearness to God.

⁵⁵ For situation at Mecca, see Gerald de Gaury, *Rulers of Mecca*, London, 1951, pp. 165 ff. The war between the Ottomans and the Safawids had their effect on the people of the Hejaz. See *ibid.*, pp. 166-67.

⁵⁶ *Anfas*, pp. 191-92.

⁵⁷ He was a Shaikh-i Hadith and had met Shaikh Ni'mat Allah Qadiri and other mystics. He was a Hanafi in Fiqh but in practice a man of independent judgment. He used to combine the two prayers of noon and afternoon as well as evening and night while on journey; he also recited the Fatihah in prayers after an Imam—both being forbidden in Hanafi Fiqh (*ibi*, 193-95).

⁵⁸ He was master of both esoteric and exoteric sciences. He was a great scholar of tradition, specialising in Bukhari and *Muwatta*. In mysticism he preferred Naqshbandi order (*ibid.*, pp. 195-97).

⁵⁹ He devoted his life to the preservation of the books of traditions, especially of Imam Ahmad. He revived the ancient method of preserving Hadith by committing it to memory and transmitting it to the pupils (*ibid.*, pp. 197-98).

replied that the personality of the Holy Prophet was marked by a tendency towards a synthesis of divergent elements and therefore these differences could be easily reconciled.⁶⁰ Besides receiving instruction and authority in traditions, Wali Allah got initiation through him in almost all mystic orders. As related in *Intibah fi Salasil al-Awliya' Allah'* he received *kbirqah* from him in Qadiriyyah, Naqshbandiyyah, Suhrawardiyyah, Kibruya, Shadhiliyyah and Shattariyyah orders.⁶¹ Wali Allah's regard for Abu Tahir can be realised by the fact that when in 1145/1732 he decided to leave for India, he went to him and recited the following verses:

نیست کل طریق کنت اعرفه
الا طریقاً یودینی الی ربکم

[I have forgotten all the paths that I knew

Except the one that leads to your place]

On hearing these words, Abu Tahir began to weep bitterly and his cheeks became red with excitement, choking his throat. The letter of condolence which Wali Allah wrote to Ibrahim Madani, on the death of his father, Abu Tahir, reveals the depth of his love and extent of his attachment to his teacher.⁶²

Another scholar from whom Wali Allah learnt traditions by way of *Sama'*, *Qir'at* and *Ijazab*⁶³ was Muhammad Wafd Allah who was the son of

⁶⁰ This insight of Abu Tahir seems to have influenced Wali Allah greatly. His life work seems to be a practical demonstration of this basic truth.

⁶¹ *Intibah*, pp. 16, 29, 101, 119, 126, 134, 137. See also *Anfas*, p. 204. The authority of initiation into most of these orders, Abu Tahir had got from his father, Ibrahim, who got it from Shaikh Ahmad Qashashi (d. 1071/1660) and the latter got it from Shaikh Ahmad Shinawi (d. 1028/1616). Both were scholars of Hadith as well as great mystics, upholding the doctrine of Ibn 'Arabi but in a way which was not antagonistic to the Shari'ah (*Anfas*, p. 185).

⁶² *Anfas*, p. 200; *Hayat-i Wali*, pp. 513, 517, where Wali Allah's letter to Ibrahim Madani is given in full. The same feelings are expressed in other letters. See *Hayat-i Wali*, pp. 518-26.

⁶³ These are some of the forms of learning Hadith. In *al-Sama* the student attends the lectures of a traditionist which may be in the form of simple narration of traditions, or accompanied by dictations of the same. In *al-Qir'at*, a student reads to a traditionist the traditions which have been narrated or compiled by him or he may hear these traditions recited by another student before the teacher. *Al-Ijazab* is getting permission of a traditionist

Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Sulaiman al-Maghribi. The latter was a *Hafiz* of traditions, and introduced for the first time the method of correcting the books of traditions in the Hejaz. It was before Muhammad Wafd Allah that Wali Allah read the whole of Malik's *Muwatta* as narrated by Yahya b. Yahya.⁶⁴ In one of his letters, written after his return to Delhi, to Muhammad Wafd Allah, Wali Allah writes, "I have come to know from your son, Shaikh Rashid, that you met in your early age Shaikh Muhammad b. 'Ala' al-Babuli⁶⁵ (d. 1077/1666) from whom you got *ijazah* of all his true traditions. If it is a fact, then it is in reality a *sanad* (authority) of the highest order. I would request you to grant me a brief as well as a detailed *ijazah*. I request you also to let me know your *isnad* and continuous chain of transmitters (*Musalsalat-i Muttasilah*)."⁶⁶

The third teacher from whom Wali Allah received instruction in Hadith was Shaikh Taj al-Din Qal'i Hanafi (d. 1144/1731). He was a great scholar of Hadith who had acquired it from different teachers of eminence and had *ijazah* from them and especially from Ibrahim Kurdi. Wali Allah attended his lectures and got *ijazah* from him with regard to Bukhari, a part of *Muwatta* of Malik, the six canonical works, *Musnad* of Darimi, *Kitab al-Athar* of Imam Muhammad and his *Muwatta*.⁶⁷

Wali Allah performed Hajj for the first time in 1143/1730. Thereafter he spent some months, probably three, in Mecca. In Rabi' al-Awwal 1144 (1731) he visited the house in Mecca where the Holy Prophet was born.⁶⁸ In the month of Safar he had a dream which is significant in that it opened for him a new chapter in his life. As recorded in his autobiography, the period of twelve years before his journey to the Hejaz was spent in teaching books on religion and philosophy and in thinking over different problems of religion, Fiqh and mysticism.⁶⁹ Most probably he wrote nothing during this period.

to narrate to others the traditions compiled by him. See Dr. Muhammad Zubayr Siddiqi, *Hadith Literature* (Calcutta University, 1961), pp. 158-59.

⁶⁴ *Anfas*, p. 191.

⁶⁵ Shams al-Din Muhammad b. 'Ala' al-Babuli was a *Hafiz* of ahadith. Regarding *Muwatta* and Bukhari, he had an authority from a continuous chain of transmitters and similarly with regard to other books of traditions (*Anfas*, pp. 189-90).

⁶⁶ *Hayat-i Wali*, pp. 528-29.

⁶⁷ *Anfas*, pp. 201-01.

⁶⁸ *Fayyuz*, pp. 99, 115.

⁶⁹ *Anfas*, pp. 203-04.

The only thing that we know definitely in this respect is that he had begun dictating the Persian translation of the Qur'an which, however, remained incomplete.⁷⁰ The period of writing started after his return which is symbolically prophesied in this dream, recorded in *Fuyuzal-Haramain*. "It was 10 Safar 1144 (1731) in Mecca," he records, "that I dreamed that Hasan and Husain both came to my house. Hasan had a pen, the point of which was broken. He stretched his hand in order to give it to me saying that it belonged to the Holy Prophet. But then he withheld it saying: Let Husain mend it because it is now not so good as when Husain first mended it."⁷¹ Then a cloth (*chadar*) which had white and green stripes was placed before them. Husain took it up and saying that it belonged to his grandfather, the Holy Prophet, put it over and around me "⁷² In *al-Durr al-Thamin*, the following significant words are added in the end: "From that day, my breast was expanded for writing books on religious problems."⁷³ 'Abd al-'Aziz relates that the people who were familiar with Wali Allah's teaching before he left for the Hejaz noticed a great change in him: his lectures were now totally different in form and contents.⁷⁴ He continued his connection with his institution but his mode of work now totally changed. He had prepared several people in different branches of learning and handed over the work of teaching pupils in these subjects to them. He spent most of his time in writing books and discussing abstruse problems of religion.⁷⁵ He would sit

⁷⁰ It was completed in 1150/1737, about five year after his return to Delhi from the Hejaz. See Introduction to his Persian translation of the Qur'an.

⁷¹ In another book, *al-Durr al-Thamin* (Arabic) which records some revelations (*Mubashsharat*) from the Holy Prophet, this sentence is differently stated as follows: Let Husain mend it, because nobody else can mend it so beautifully as Husain does. See *al-Furqan* (*Shah Wali Allah Number*), 1359/1940, p. 214. Here pen refers to the pen made out of reed that was usually used in writing in the East and was mended by knife to make its point suitable.

⁷² *Fuyuz*, pp. 99-100. See also *Maljuzat-i Shah Abd al-'Aziz*, p. 158.

⁷³ *Al-Furqan*, op. cit., p. 218. "Expansion of heart," a Qur'anic term (vi. 126; xx.25; xciv. 1) signifies (i) illumination of the heart with wisdom and the characteristic of its receptiveness to divine message; and (ii) courage to face with equanimity the severe, struggle and opposition to be met in life. See note 2761 (p. 1187) in Muhammad Ali's English translation of the Holy Qur'an (Lahore, 1951). In the twelfth experience, Wali Allah himself states that he was given the ability to derive, understand and explain the basic spirit behind the laws and principles of the Shari'ah according to the circumstances and capacities of the

⁷⁴ people (*Fuyuz*, p. 149). *Maljuzat*, pp. 158-59.

⁷⁵ Ibid. "Ma'arif" literally means knowledge which is revealed in *Kashf*, intuition. As explained by 'Abd al-'Aziz, Wali Allah wrote whatever he saw in *Kashf* after meditation.

down in the early hours of the day and continue doing his work till late in the noon.⁷⁶

The *Fuyuẓ al-Haramain* contains the record of forty-seven spiritual experiences. The first eight were experienced during his stay at Mecca in the early months of 1144 (1731), the next twenty-five were experienced during his stay at Medina while pursuing his studies with his different teachers, some at the mausoleum of the Holy Prophet and some at the graves of Ahl-i Bait and the last fourteen were experienced again at Mecca in the latter months of 1144 (1731) where he then performed the second pilgrimage.⁷⁷ This book is remarkable in several respects. It is probably one of the earliest books that he wrote after his return to India.⁷⁸ It gives us a glimpse of the way his mind was working in the field of philosophy, politics, Shariah, Fiqh and Sufism. As a result of these experiences, he had to forgo some of the ideas that he previously held.⁷⁹ Here we meet Wali Allah tackling almost all the problems, religious as well as social and political, that were dividing the Muslim community in those days, problems that brought about division, animosity, hatred, attacks and counter-attacks, and thus weakened the community at a crucial period of its history, when its very life was at stake.

(1) The first was the problem of *Wandat al-Wujud* and *Wandat al-Shubud*. This controversy had reached its height during those days and the Sufis were generally divided into two warring camps. Mazhar Jan-i Janan, a contemporary of Wali Allah and follower of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, was the leader of the advocates of *Wandat al-Shubud*,⁸⁰ while Wali Allah's father and uncle were protagonists of *Wandat al-Wujud*.⁸¹ These controversies, according

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 100.

⁷⁷ This division is in most cases definite, based on specific references to one place or the other but in other cases only probable.

⁷⁸ It is, of course, very difficult to arrange his books in a definite chronological order on the basis of any external or internal evidence. There are stray references in his works to different books written earlier. For instance, in *Fuyuẓ*, he refers to only one book, *al-Qaul al-Jamil* (p. 238). Perhaps, the Persian translation of the Holy Qur'an, completed in 1150/1737, only five years after his return from the Hejaz, was done before these books.

⁷⁹ *Fuyuẓ*, p. 226.

⁸⁰ See *Kalimat-i Tayyabat* (Mujtaba'i Press, Delhi, 1309/1891), pp. 16 ff., for the letters of Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan and others in which the doctrine of *Wabdāt al-Shubud* is presented and its criticism explained.

⁸¹ See *Anfas*, pp. 3, 157.

to Wali Allah, were not germane to the maintenance of the spirit of Sufism; especially the protagonists of *Wandat al-Wujud* (a doctrine true in itself, as he held) have erred so much in some respects that they have generally tended to miss the very object for which Sufism was devised, viz. moral transformation of the self.⁸²

(2) The differences in the four schools of Fiqh were equally a cause of conflict. The majority of Indian Muslims followed the Hanafi Fiqh while the scholars whom he met in the Hejaz were mostly Shafi'ite or Maliki. Emphasising his personal allegiance to the Hanafite Fiqh,⁸³ he tried to establish the validity of the doctrines of other schools as well.⁸⁴ He even tried to accommodate that group which does not claim to owe allegiance to any school at all.⁸⁵ But the main spirit behind this attempt of his was that the conflicts and differences in the *Ummah* should be resolved amicably.⁸⁶

⁸² *Fayyuz*, pp. 53-57.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 175-76, 220, 337.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 123-25.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 124-26. This school of thought later came to be known as Ahl- i Hadith.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

(3) The spirit of Sufism permeates throughout the book. This spirit he inherited from his father and uncle and was confirmed and developed during his stay in the Hejaz. But he was aware of the many defects in the current mystic life. He had to face criticism of mysticism from several 'Mama of the Hejaz and tried to answer it but he was forbidden by the Holy Prophet to undertake this job because, as he understood and interpreted this negative order, these critics were not far wrong and that they were serving the cause of the Muslim community perhaps in a better way.⁸⁷ He often emphasises at different places the superiority of the way of the 'Ulama which he calls the way of the prophets, to the path of the Sufis.⁸⁸ The main purpose, here again, was to remove the tension between the 'Ulama and the Sufis,⁸⁹ though Wali Allah was ordered by the Holy Prophet to adopt the way of the prophets,⁹⁰ because, as he puts it, the Holy Prophet did not like the way of the Sufis.⁹¹ And yet he hastens to add that if, from one point of view, one is superior to the other, from another point of view, both are equally valid and useful and there seems to be no reason to prefer one to the other.⁹²

(4) The Shi'ah-Sunni controversies were so much intense and the conflicts, both political and social, as a result of the controversies had assumed such dimensions in those days that Wali Allah could not rise above them and propose a higher synthesis in which Shi'ah Fiqh could be accommodated as he did with regard to the other four schools of Fiqh.⁹³ In

⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 179-80.

⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 181, 184.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 128.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 221.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 181.

⁹² Ibid., pp. 81-82.

⁹³ It is often claimed by some people that Wali Allah "laid down lines of approach best calculated to remove the sectarian differences and to assist in the building of common, harmonious nationhood." Cf. S. M. Ikram, "Shah Waliullah," in *A History of Freedom Movement*, Vol. I, p. 499. This opinion seems to be based on a superficial acquaintance with the works of Wali Allah. A thorough study of *Izalat al-Khifa'*, *Qurrat al-'Ainain* and the letters of Wali Allah in *Kalimat-i Tayyabat* will reveal that Wali Allah called the Shi'ahs as *zindiq*, *nanabit* and *mubtadi*, i.e. heretics and innovators in religion, as did Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind. The books that Wali Allah wrote about this controversy were purely from the Sunni point of view, as was done before him by Ash'ari and Ibn Taimiyah. Nowhere do we find any attempt by him to bridge the gap between the Sunnis and the Shi'ahs, or between the Ash'arites and the Mu'tazilites, as, for instance, claimed by S. M. Ikram (*Rud-i Kautbar*, p.

Fuyuz al-Haramain, he refers to only one aspect of the Shi'ah-Sunni controversy, viz. the superiority of Abu Bakr and 'Umar over 'Ali. He says that personally he was inclined to regard 'Ali as superior to the other two caliphs,⁹⁴ but he was ordered by the Holy Prophet to regard Abu Bakr and 'Umar as superior to 'Ali, because, as he interpreted this order, the former followed the path of the prophets.⁹⁵

One point, however, must be noted. At one place he refers to the fact that "it is the will of God that He should bring unity among the different scattered units of the *Ummah* through you." He adds that he was also advised, first, not to indulge in discussions which would provoke others to a refutation of his stand and condemnation of his attitude and, secondly, not to take any stand in minor religious affairs (of Fiqh) that would be against the attitude of the Muslim nation.⁹⁶ Whether this advice covered the Shi'ahs is doubtful. Similarly, at another place, he emphasises that, according to the Prophet, as he understood it, all the schools of Fiqh are equally valid and, even if a person does not follow any of these schools, the Holy Prophet would not express his displeasure. The crucial point, however, as he concludes, is that nothing should be done which may lead to division in the community and breed conflicts and controversies.⁹⁷ I think that Wali Allah interpreted this advice to be applicable only to the different schools of thought within the Sunni world and made no concrete efforts, on the plane of thought at least, to accommodate Shi'ah attitude in Fiqh within any higher synthesis.

(5) Another very important point discussed, of course briefly, in this book is the sharp division that he draws between the functions of the 'Ulama

516). These books of his intensified the Shi'ah-Sunni controversy and his son 'Abd al-'Aziz was forced to write another and more comprehensive book, *Tuhfat Ithna' Ashriyyah*, to defend Wali Allah's stand in these controversies which had assumed a more menacing form in his days. See *Rud-i Kauthar*, pp. 567-74.

⁹⁴ In *Fuyuz* (pp. 183 ff.) and later on in *Qurrat al-'Ainain*, he ascribes this belief in the superiority of 'Ali over Abu Bakr and 'Umar to the mystics, but in both these books he tries to prove that the superiority of a person with regard to the adoption of the mystic path is only partial, while true superiority lies in the adoption of the way of the prophets, in which case Abu Bakr and 'Umar were superior to 'Ali.

⁹⁵ *Fuyuz*, pp. 183, 228.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 124-25.

and the politicians, the spiritual and the worldly caliphs respectively, both of whom, of course, will find their true pattern in the life of the Holy Prophet. The functions of the politicians are enumerated as follows: to enforce the laws of the Shari'ah; to make arrangements for war; to protect the frontiers of the State; to send embassies abroad; to collect charities and revenues (*kharaj*) and to spend the money thus collected on appropriate needy persons; to decide cases through legal procedures; to look after the orphans, the *anqaf* of Muslims, roads, mosques, etc. The role of the 'Ulama is to disseminate the teachings of the Qur'an, the Sunnah and the Shari'ah; to enjoin what is good and to forbid what is evil. The Mutakallimin who are engaged in controversies and defend Islam against the attacks by people of other faiths, the preachers who exhort people to the right path through their sermons, the Sufis who strengthen the faith of the people through personal contact and those virtuous people whose upright life inspires others to lead a life of virtue, are all included among the 'Ulama. Then he goes on to explain that the 'Ulama should send their deputies to different parts of the country to perform these functions. He refers to the similar practice of the Holy Prophet who sent Abu Musa Ash'ari, Abu Dharr Ghaffari and others to different tribes of the Arabs. The concluding lines are very significant. He says, "The Holy Prophet did not entrust them with any responsibility that was within the sphere of the Khilafat al-Zahirah (worldly khilafah). Their function was *only* to call people to Islam and teach them the Qur'an and the Sunnah."⁹⁸ These lines clearly show that Wali Allah wanted that the 'Ulama should scrupulously maintain this division of work in the light of the policy adopted by the Holy Prophet.

Wali Allah claims that he was entrusted with this Khilafat-i Batini.⁹⁹ He claims that he was also made a *Mujaddid* (Renovator), *Qutb* (Pole), *Wasi* (successor of the Prophet by nomination) and leader of the *Tariqah*, etc.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 237, 239.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 234.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., pp. 127, 151, 160, 229. Sometimes the word *Qutb* is used singly (e.g. pp. 151, 160) and at other places it is qualified by the word *Irshadiyyah*, viz. a *Qutb* whose function is to guide people to the right path (see pp. 127, 229) to distinguish it from the purely theosophic conception of *Qutb*. S.M. Ikram states that his "mission did not include any claim or ambition for himself. A major difficulty even with great and sincere religious leaders in Indian Islam has been that, while aiming at the revival of Islam, they have made their own claims a part of their teachings. It is characteristic of Shah Waliullah that he resisted these

Another important dream which Wali Allah experienced a month before his last pilgrimage, in Mecca (on 21 Zi al-Qa'dah 1144/5 May 1732) reflects his reaction to the social and political chaos prevalent in India and maybe, in other Muslim countries. He sees that non-Muslims have gained political and military dominance over Muslims; their properties have, been confiscated, their children have been enslaved and their religion and its laws have been replaced by the religion and laws of non-Muslims.¹⁰¹ This situation produced a state of extreme revulsion and rage in him which, as Wali Allah puts it, was the reflection of the similar state produced in an ideal form in the *Mala'ih A'la*. This state of rage was then transferred to the crowd of people who had gathered around him. They asked him what the will of God was in such circumstances. He replied: Total and complete revolution. They asked: For how long? He replied: Till my rage subsides. At this, a total battle and destruction started in which town after town were conquered and destroyed. Ajmer was won and the king of the non-Muslims was defeated and captured. At the order of the king of the Muslims, the defeated king of the non-Muslims was killed. At this his rage subsided and he saw peace and *sakinah* descended on the hearts of the Muslims who had taken part in the battle. Then a person stood up and asked: What should be done with the Muslims who have fought along with the non-Muslims against their brethren? He remained silent and did not like to give any reply.¹⁰²

This dream reflects very beautifully the anguish and anxiety of Wali Allah at the political and social disintegration of the Muslims of India in those days. In a way it prophesies the pattern of events that were to unfold

temptations" (*A History of Freedom Movement*, Vol. I, p. 495; see also *Rud-i Kauthar*, p. 492). In the light of what has been said above, it is perfectly clear that this judgment of Mr. Ikram is totally wrong. Wali Allah claimed not only to be a *Mujaddid* here as well as in other works but also to be a *Khatim al-Hukama'* (the perfect thinker) (see *Khair-i Kathir*, p. 129) and *Qa'im al-Zaman* (an instrument through whom God's will to bring about good is realized in the world). See *Fuyuṣṣ*, p. 297.

¹⁰¹ In the dream, Ajmer has been used as a symbol for the centre of Islam due to the historical fact that the missionary activity of Khwajah Mu'in al-Din Chishti started from Ajmer and from there spread over other parts of India.

¹⁰² *Fuyuṣṣ*, pp. 297-99.

before his eyes in 1175/1761, in the shape of the Third Battle of Panipat in which Abdali succeeded in defeating the Marathas.¹⁰³

But this great event was still far off—full three decades of total misery and wretchedness were yet to pass when Wali Allah after his pilgrimage returned to Delhi in 1145/1732. The Maratha menace had assumed dangerous dimensions and, in this fateful year, they had occupied a part of Gujerat, partitioned Bundelkhand and overrun Mewar. The imperial forces could do nothing to check their advance and very soon they were in virtual control of the country from Gwalior to Ajmer. In 1150/1737 Baji Rao Peshwa even dared to reach and plunder the suburbs of Delhi. In these circumstances Muhammad Shah decided to call Nizam al-Mulk back. He returned to Delhi in 1151/1738 when the danger of Nadir Shah's invasion was already visible.¹⁰⁴

The Amir al-Umara' invited Raja Jai Singh and other Rajput princes to help the King at this crucial moment but none of them responded. It is a sad reflection on the intelligence of those nobles who were unable to understand the new trend of ideas among the non-Muslims which was apparent to almost everybody then. Wali Allah in his letters clearly points out that the non-Muslims in no circumstances would side with and fight loyally for the Muslims.¹⁰⁵

Under these circumstances Nizam al-Mulk tried to arrive at some agreement with Nadir Shah who agreed to leave India if he got fifty lakhs of rupees. But during these negotiations Khan-i Dauran died and the Emperor,

¹⁰³ Usually this dream is interpreted to refer to the Battle of Panipat only. But if we look deeply into the matter, we shall find that it is more universal in its application. The defeat of the Marathas did not bring peace and security to the country; it led to the rise of the British in India and in other countries of the Muslim world and naturally the Muslims suffered everywhere and their religion and its laws were subdued. The Muslims fought on the side of non-Muslims against Muslims almost everywhere and such a situation exists even to this day. The recipe of Wali Allah—total and complete revolution—therefore still stands until God causes Islam to prevail over all religions, however averse the non-Muslims may feel over it (Qur'an, ix. 33).

¹⁰⁴ The contemporary records show that the two parties at the court, the Turanis headed by Nizam al-Mulk and the Hindustanis headed by Khan-i Dauran, accused each other of inviting Nadir Shah. Other records put the blame on Sa'adat Khan, the first Nawab of Oudh. See Ashirbadi Lal Srivastva, *The First Two Nawabs of Oudh*, pp. 61-62.

¹⁰⁵ *Siyasi Maktubat*, pp. 121-22, 149.

in view of the services rendered by Nizam al-Mulk, conferred on him the rank of Amir al-Umara', a rank formerly promised to Sa'adat Khan. When the latter heard this news he got enraged and jealousy so blinded him that he went to Nadir Shah and advised him to raise his demand. This led to the imprisonment of Nizam al-Mulk and forcible extortion of money from the King. The general massacre of the population of Delhi was the most gruesome part of this tragedy, described by a contemporary chronicler: "For a long time the streets remained strewn with corpses.... The town was reduced to ashes and had the appearance of a plain consumed with fire. The ruin in which its beautiful streets and buildings were involved was such that the labour of years alone could restore the town to its former state of grandeur." After quiet was restored, the invading army started collecting money from the people. No house was left. Every quarter of the city had to contribute. The collections were made in a most remorseless manner and people had to bear great persecution. Many committed suicide. The North-West India was sucked dry of wealth; industry and trade were so completely paralysed that they were not restored to their former prosperity for a long time to come.¹⁰⁶

The main result of Nadir Shah's invasion was that the central authority was weakened beyond repair. The provincial governors became almost independent and, in their dealings with foreigners, they never cared to refer to the royal authority at Delhi. It was this weakening of the central authority that ultimately led to the rise and growth of the unruly Sikhs, Jats and Marathas and, above all, the crafty and the unscrupulous British. The same opinion is expressed by Wali Allah: "Nadir Shah destroyed the power of the Muslims but left the power of the Marathas and the Jats intact. After Nadir Shah, the Muslim armies disintegrated and the central government became a child's play."¹⁰⁷

After Nadir's departure, the conflict between Iranian and Turanian parties assumed very dangerous proportions. Becoming increasingly suspicious of the Turani party, the Emperor began to patronise the Irani party. Nizam al-Mulk¹⁰⁸ became totally disgusted and left for the Deccan in

¹⁰⁶ Yusuf Husain, op. cit., p. 198.

¹⁰⁷ *Siyasi Maktubat*, pp. 52, 106.

¹⁰⁸ Wali Allah had a very high opinion of Nizam al-Mulk. "We have great expectations from you," he wrote to him in one of his letters, "and like that through your efforts oppression

1153/1740 and Safdar Jang, the second Nawab of Oudh, became the virtual Wazir. Ahmad Shah succeeded to the throne in 1161/1748 after the death of Muhammad Shah. At the death of Nizam alMulk in May 1748, Safdar Jang became Prime Minister. This appointment accentuated the already present Turani-Irani or Sunni-Shi'ah conflict. In order to safeguard his position, Safdar Jang sought the help of the Marathas and the Jats against his enemies, the Turanis and the Ruhillas. The latter, on their part, tried to bring Safdar Jang into disgrace, plotted against his life and forced him to take steps which he should not have taken (and which he might not have taken if the situation had been normal), merely to save his life and prestige.¹⁰⁹ His unjustified opposition to Mu'in al-Mulk, the viceroy of the Punjab, who happened to be the late Wazir's son, unfortunately led to the creation of confusion and chaos in the Punjab which helped in the revival of Sikh lawlessness to such a degree that it could never again be put down by the Mughals. He desired to drive the Afghans out of the Punjab and Multan with the Maratha assistance and place the latter, as imperial governor, in charge of the north-western frontier province—a scheme which if successful would have made the Marathas the virtual rulers of northern India.¹¹⁰ These intrigues and counter-intrigues went so far that Safdar Jang raised the banner of revolt against the King and for six months (in 1166/1753) this civil war went on. On the side of the King, Ahmad Shah,¹¹¹ Najib Khan Ruhilla was the new emerging leader of the

and cruelties will be removed, good established and evil suppressed because you seem to be by nature efficient, well-disposed and inclined towards good. . . ." (*Siyasi Maktubat*, p. 147).

¹⁰⁹ There is sufficient evidence to prove that Safdar Jang started his career with a great ambition of arresting the disintegration of the Empire. See Srivastva, op. cit., p. 131; also *A History of Freedom Movement*, Vol. I, p. 215.

¹¹⁰ When Safdar Jang could not pay the Marathas as promised they began to plunder Delhi and the villages around it. "Every morning they would issue out of their camp in small foraging parties, ravage the country as far as they could reach and return laden with plunder in the evening. Most of the villages to a distance of 40 miles around Delhi were plundered and the capital itself lay at the mercy of the Deccanis" (Srivastva, op. cit., p. 203).

¹¹¹ Ahmad Shah had great respect for Wali Allah. In one of his letters to his friend and pupil, Muhammad 'Ashiq, he relates that Ahmad Shah and his mother both visited him in the mosque after Friday prayers, stayed there for about four hours and took their meals there. He sought Wali Allah's advice on certain public welfare measures (*Siyasi Maktubat*, pp. 126-28). The estrangement between the King and Safdar Jang may have been the result of the advice given by Wali Allah who did not like his policy, based as it was on hostility towards the Afghans and *rapprochement* towards the non-Muslims, and also because of his being a

Afghans who later rendered meritorious service to the cause of the State. Safdar Jang called the Marathas and the Jats to his aid who plundered the city most ruthlessly. This plunder and loot was so ferocious and universal that the people of Delhi could not forget it even as late as the early years of the nineteenth century.¹¹² In one of his letters, Wali Allah says that this plunder went on for two months—a great calamity in which property was looted and houses were burnt but "God kept me, my family and my house safe from them."¹¹³

The real cause of this chaos was that Safdar Jang regarded the growing power of the Afghans in the person of Abdali as a great menace for the Mughal Empire and looked upon the Afghan colonies within the Empire like the Ruhillas as outposts of the traditional enemies of the Mughals. He wanted to fight the Afghans with the help of Marathas and the Jats, a policy which was not acceptable to his opponents who did not like to solicit Hindu help against the Muslim Afghans. The position of the Muslims *versus* the non-Muslims was so marked and definite that nobody could claim to be ignorant of the real intention of the Hindus. In the letter written to Abdali between April 1756 and June 1757,¹¹⁴ Wali Allah relates that wherever the non-Muslims had succeeded in securing power they had invariably tried to destroy the Muslims and their mosques. He specifically mentions that when the Jats gained control of the city of Biyana, where the 'Ulama and the Sufis had been living for seven hundred years, they turned out all the Muslims from that land. Throughout their territories nobody was allowed to call the people to prayer. The Muslims, he goes on to relate, have become mere hewers of

Shi'ah. The part played by Najib during all this period seems to be equally inspired by Wali Allah, as revealed by many letters addressed to him in *Siyasi Maktubat*.

¹¹² "At his (Safdar Jang's) instigation, the Jats . . . so thoroughly plundered old Delhi by piecemeal that nothing was spared, not even the house of Shah Basit, the spiritual preceptor of Safdar Jang, from their merciless hands. The whole of the old city, of which the population was a bit larger than that of Shah Jahan's town, was utterly ruined and was left without a lamp" (Srivastva, op. cit., pp. 230-31). Wali Allah refers in one of his letters to this sad state of affairs. "Safdar Jang Irani rebelled, making an alliance with Suraj Mal Jat. They attacked Delhi and plundered the entire population of the city" (*Siyasi Maktubat*, pp. 49, 102).

¹¹³ Ibid., pp. 89, 153.

¹¹⁴ The letter refers to Siraj al-Daulah as the young and inexperienced ruler of Bengal (*Siyasi Maktubat*, pp. 103-04). Siraj al-Daulah succeeded 'Ali Verdi Khan at the latter's death on 10 April 1756 and died in the Battle of Plassey on 22 June 1757. It shows that the letter was written between 1750 and 1757.

wood and drawers of water. "All the services are in the hands of the Hindus who have amassed great wealth while the Muslims are reduced to utter poverty."¹¹⁵ In another letter to Najib al-Daulah, he explicitly warns him that the Hindus in his service did not wish that Najib al-Daulah should take any initiative which might impair their interests as against the Muslims.¹¹⁶ In another letter to Taj Muhammad Khan Baloch, he categorically states that the main cause of the weakening of Muslim power was that the Muslims had ignored national interests for the sake of their selfish ends and allowed the Hindus to interfere in and control their affairs.¹¹⁷ It is evident, he adds, that the Hindus could not countenance destruction of the non-Muslims. To be liberal is good, he concludes, but it is wrong to follow this policy when the non-Muslims are conquering one town after another and destroying the Muslims.¹¹⁸

Naturally, the policy of Safdar Jang, which implied fight against the Muslims with the help of the non-Muslims, could not be palatable to the general body of the Muslims. The intensity of the hatred and aversion felt by Wali Allah at this policy can be realised from the derogatory words used by him for Safdar Jang in his letters.¹¹⁹

ʿImad al-Mulk, the grandson of Nizam al-Mulk, succeeded him as Wazir but he was not a whit better than his predecessor. In order to gain his ends he raised the question of Shiʿah-Sunni differences. Claiming to support Sunni

¹¹⁵ *Siyasi Maktubat*, pp. 102-05.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 121, 122, 124.

¹¹⁷ Some people seem to frown at Shaikh Ahmad's uncompromising attitude towards the non-Muslims. See S.M. Ikram, *Rud-i Kauthar*, pp. 267 ff. On p. 549 he says that Wali Allah's attitude in this respect was not so uncompromising. This judgment is definitely based on a superficial reading of Wali Allah's works.. With regard to non-Muslims, Wali Allah's advice, as shown in the text, was not a bit different from Shaikh Ahmad's. If the latter tried to dissuade Shaikh Farid from mixing very freely with the Hindus, Wali Allah equally advised Najib al-Daulah to beware of the intrigues of these people.

¹¹⁸ *Siyasi Maktubat*, p. 149.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 102-03. Sarkar says of him, "Safdar Jang was the malignant star in the Delhi firmament. Devout of far-sighted statesmanship, patriotism or devotion to the throne, he was destined to ruin the Moghal empire by pursuing a policy of self-aggrandizement. . . . The Persian party among the nobles, with Shia recruits of other races, was to be installed in office everywhere" (*Fall of the Moghal Empire*, Vol. I, p. 234). At another place he says, "Safdar Jang . . . raised a host of enemies by trying to keep every office of power and emolument out of the hands of Turani chiefs and their followers" (*ibid.*, p. 254).

orthodoxy he tried to destroy Shi'ah influence at the Mughal court, and prohibited Shi'ah processions in the month of 'Muharram, which had been allowed since the reign of Farrukh Siyar. On the other hand, he was in alliance with the Marathas who came to dominate the whole of northern India. Through their help, he deposed Ahmad Shah in 1171/1757 and a son of Jahandar Shah under the title of 'Alamgir II was raised to the throne. Five years later (in 1173/1759) he murdered the King for co-operating with Najib al-Daulah and placed a puppet prince on the throne with the title of Shah Jahan III. When Abdali defeated the Marathas in 1175/1761, 'Imad al-Mulk took shelter with Suraj Mal.¹²⁰ Abdali nominated 'Ali Gauhar, the son of 'Alamgir II, as Emperor under the title of Shah 'Alam. Najib al-Daulah was made Amir al-Umara', and became regent of Delhi.

Najib was a remarkable personality. Sarkar has paid him rich tributes: "Najib Khan rose by sheer ability and strength of character to the highest position in the realm and guided the fortune of the Empire of Delhi as its supreme regent for a full decade. In the combination of first-rate military and administrative capacity, diplomatic skill and tact in dealing with others and, above all, in his instinctive perception of the realities of the politics of his days and concentration on the essentials, he had no equal in that age except Ahmad Shah Abdali."¹²¹ But what is more important in his life is his unflinching loyalty to the cause of Islam and the Muslim nation of India. Keeping in view Safdar Jang's attempts to destroy Ruhillas in collusion with the Marathas, he felt no aversion in approaching his son Shaja' al-Daulah to enlist him in support of Abdali whom he looked upon as perhaps the sole means of restoring Muslim supremacy in the country. Shaja' al-Daulah was aware that Abdali had been defeated during Muhammad Shah's reign through the efforts of his father and perhaps the Afghan king might be harbouring some grudge against him. He wanted therefore to be neutral in the coming conflict which in the eyes of Najib was not a conflict between two persons or two factions but a challenge to the every existence of Islam and the Muslims in the sub-continent. Being an extreme Sunni, he did not allow his sectarian differences with Shaja' al-Daulah to stand in the way of

¹²⁰ Some glimpses of 'Imad al-Mulk's character can be had from the letters of Mriza Mazhar Jan-i Janan. The Mirza says that he was totally unreliable, mean and crafty, and the public had to suffer great oppression during his ministership (*Kalimat-i Tayyabat*, pp. 58-61, 66, 70).

¹²¹ Sarkar, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 305.

forging a united front against the Maratha confederacy which he was clear-headed to perceive as a "conflict between Islam and infidelity."¹²² His final words which moved Shaja' al-Daulah to the core and won him over to his side are worthy of note: "Do one of the two things now: either come to the help of Abdali or here is my sword and here my neck: cut it with your hand."¹²³ These noble words reveal his deep conviction in the righteousness of his cause. His enthusiasm for the safety and integrity of the Muslim nation proved contagious and other noble souls joined him. His unflinching loyalty to the cause of Islam is revealed by another event. When the Marathas realised that their cause was almost lost, Bhao decided to beg for peace. He gave a *carte blanche* to Shaja' al-Daulah and was willing to accept any terms. Abdali's Wazir was inclined to agree for a large sum of money. When Najib heard of this, he opposed it tooth and nail. He declared, "I have girt up my loins for Jihad in the service of God." This bold stand of Najib and the encouraging words of Qadi Idris, who endorsed his stand, decided the matter and the peace offer was rejected.¹²⁴ It is not without reason that Wali Allah had great expectations from him and there is no doubt that the spirit of devotion to Islam that he manifested in his life was all due to the influence of Wali Allah. It is not also without reason that in his letters Wali Allah calls him the "leader of the warriors in the cause of God."¹²⁵

No doubt the Marathas were defeated in the Battle of Panipat (January 1761) and Wali Allah advised Najib to tackle the Jats and Sikhs with equal vigour.¹²⁶ But the efforts of Abdali and Najib and the prayers of Wali Allah could not put fresh blood in the veins of the dying Empire. Four years before this decisive event in the north, the British had defeated, through treachery and intrigues, "the young and inexperienced ruler"¹²⁷ of Bengal at the Battle of Plassey (1171/1757) and thus in a way sealed the fate of Muslim rule in India. Shah 'Alam, the new Emperor, was unworthy of the throne on which he was placed by Abdali. Wali Allah died on 29 Muharram 1176 (1762) without seeing any tangible result of his effort.

¹²² Ibid., p. 197.

¹²³ *A History of Freedom Movement*, Vol. I, p. 287; Sarkar, op. cit., Vol II, p. 198.

¹²⁴ *A History of Freedom Movement*, Vol. I, p. 291; Sarkar, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 232-33.

¹²⁵ *Siyasi Maktubat*, pp. 115 ff.

¹²⁶ Ibid., pp. 118 ff.

¹²⁷ Ibid., pp. 103-04.

In the introduction to his *magnum opus*, *Hujjat Allah al-Balighah*, describing the reason for writing it, he says, "Time has come when every order of the Islamic Shari'ah and every teaching of Islam should be presented before the world in a rational way... ." ¹²⁸ Some people think that this statement implies some influence of the new learning of the West on Wali Allah, which, they allege, might have reached him through the presence of the Westerners on the Indian soil of his day.

It is true that the intellectual revolution in the West has given birth to rationalism and enlightenment in almost all spheres of knowledge—science, law, education, technology, religion and philosophy. People like Descartes (1596-1650), Kepler (1571-1630), Newton (1642-1727), Voltaire (1694-1778), Hobbes (1588-1679), Locke (1632-1704), Spinoza (1632-1677), Rousseau (1712-1778) had absolutely changed the intellectual atmosphere of the West and completely new ideas in the field of religion and politics were being presented, criticised and defended. But it is also a historical fact that till the early decades of the eighteenth century, these ideas had not yet travelled to the East. No doubt, the Ottoman Turks and the Safawid rulers of Iran in the last decades of the seventeenth and the early decades of the eighteenth century were not so powerful politically as before, but they were not yet inferior to the West as to feel the necessity of looking towards them with a view to learning what they had to offer.

The contact of the Europeans with the local people of India was for long confined to the field of commerce and trade. A Portuguese delegation came to the court of Akbar for the propagation of Christianity but their efforts were shortlived. Their presence in the sea and coastal regions was later on felt as merely disturbing factors in the even flow of pilgrimage traffic. Sir Thomas Roe came to India in 1612/1615, Sir William Norris in 1613/1701 and John Surman in 1626/1714 visited the Mughal court, ¹²⁹ but their missions were purely political and commercial. No trace of any cultural contact between the Europeans and the Indians can be found prior to 1688/1774. ¹³⁰ The only exception perhaps is that of Bernier (the disciple of the French thinker Gassendi) who came to India in 1669/1659 and lived in

¹²⁸ Urdu translation, p. 120.

¹²⁹ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V, pp. 104, 105, 111.

¹³⁰ A Yusuf Ali, *A Cultural History of India during British Period* (Bombay, 1940), p. 29.

Delhi for five or six years. He relates that a courtier of Aurangzeb, Nawab Danishmand Khan, was very much interested in philosophy and *Hikmah*. Bernier had translated into Persian books of Descartes and Gassendi and both used to discuss the problems of philosophy. Descartes, no doubt, gave a new look to the problems of medieval philosophy, but, as a matter of fact, he was much indebted to Ghazali, and his thought was in reality a continuation of Muslim thought as represented by the Mutakillimin.¹³¹ The spirit of new learning began to be felt in India long after the first decade of the nineteenth century.

Moreover, *Hujjat Allah al-Balighah* was written perhaps within ten years of his return from pilgrimage in 539/1145. It is unimaginable that any influence from Western sources should have reached him at such an early date. He was definitely aware of the presence of the Europeans on the soil of India as is evident from his reference to them in his letter to Abdali,¹³² but it does not warrant us to assert that at this date there was any permeation of Western cultural influence among the people of India.

In order to understand the real position, we must try to define the true significance of what Wali Allah means by the word "rational" in this context. The exact word used by Wali Allah in *Hujjat* is "*burhan*" which means rational ground of a thing. We can easily understand the significance of this word used here by reference to *Tafhimat* (Book I, No. 31). He calls himself *Wasi* which he defines as one who is able to understand the real and hidden significance (*asrar*) of the laws of the Shari'ah, etc., and who, along with *Mujjadid* and *Wall*, is the successor of the prophets and is able to expound the laws of God in a language and a mode that are prevalent during his days. When in any age people are fond of eloquence of speech, the *Wasi*, the *Mujjadid* and the saint will address the people through eloquent speech; when people are inclined towards reason, they shall expound the laws of the Shari'ah in rational categories.

¹³¹ Professor M. M. Sharif, "Muslim Philosophy and Western Thought," *Iqbal* (July 1959), pp. 1-14.

¹³² *Siyasi Maktubat*, p. 47.

اولاد نظام الملک مرحوم... گایے فرنگیاں را با خود رفیق گرفته

This letter was written, as stated earlier, between 1169/1756 and 1170/1757.

Explaining this principle, Wali Allah says that the *Wasi* (i.e. Wali Allah) is born in an age which is distinguished by three characteristics. The first is argument and reason (*burhan*). This is, he says, due to the influence of Greek philosophy and the extra attention paid by the ancient scholars in the field of *Kalam*, as a result of which all discussions about '*aqa'id*' permeated through and through with rational arguments.¹³³ From this it is conclusively proved that when Wali Allah refers to rational approach in the study of religion, he does not mean rational in the sense of Western thought but in the sense in which it had been current among ancient and later writers on *Kalam*.

The second characteristic is emphasis on mystic intuition (*wijdan*). The people of the East and the West have accepted the Sufis as their guides so that they prefer the sayings and deeds of these Sufis to everything else and even to the Qur'an and the Sunnah. He who does not talk in terms of mystic parlance is not looked upon as a pious man. The preacher in a mosque refers to their ideas, the scholar thinks over the problems posed by them and even in the assemblies of the rich discussions centre round the experiences they have expressed in the peculiar language and terms they employ.

The third characteristic is attachment to what is received on authority (*naql*) from ancient scholars. But now-a-days people show strange independence of spirit and follow their own opinions. Although they are not proficient in knowledge and are totally ignorant of the problems of theology, yet they are bent upon learning the deeper significance of the laws of the Shari'ah and manifest an inclination towards speculative thought. Every man has formulated his own opinion and follows it with the result that conflicts and differences have appeared everywhere with no prospect of compromise.

Wali Allah claims to possess through God's grace a methodology by which he can explain the laws of the Shari'ah in a way which is liable to remove these conflicts. This methodology comprises of (1) rational method, (2) mystic intuition and (3) reliance on authority (*nag*^o). He is thoroughly conversant with the knowledge prevalent in his day and therefore is able to put forth his ideas in a language which appeals to the people.¹³⁴

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THE CONQUEST OF NATURE¹³⁵

Hadi Husain

(I) The Birth of Man

Love shouted a paeon, "Ah!
 One with a bleeding heart draws nigh."
 Beauty shuddered and said, "Look!
 Here comes one with a seeing eye."

Nature was surprised to see
 From its heap of passive dust appear,
 All of a sudden, one who was
 Of himself maker, breaker and seer.

Whispers travelled all the way
 From the Heaven to Night's primeval abode.

¹³⁵ *This is a translation of Iqbal's poem "Taskhir-i Fitrat" taken from *Payam-i Masha'riq*, PP. 97-104.

"Veiled ones, beware, O,
There's one who tears up every shroud."

Ignorant of its very self,
And curled up still in Being's lap,
Desire opened its eyes wide
And found a whole new world unwrap.

Life said, "O happy day!
I writhed in dust aeon after aeon.
Now opens at long last
A door out of this ancient prison."

(2) Satan's Denial

I'm not an ignorant creature of light
That I should bow to man.
He is a base-born image of dust
And I am of fire born.

The blood in the veins of the world is
A kindle with my flame.
The tearing speed of the wind is mine
And mine is thunder's boom.

I forge the atoms' harmony and
The elements' concourse.
I burn, but also shape: I am

The fire that makes the glass.

Whatever I make I break to bits
And scatter in the dust,
In order to create new forms
From fragments of those lost.

This restlessly revolving sky
Is but a wavelet of my sea;
And in my throbbing substance dwells
The shape of things to be.

The stars' bodies were made by you;
But I'm their motive force.
I'm the spirit behind all forms:
I'm life's original source.

Imbuing body with soul is yours;
Mine is rousing the soul.
Yoy waylay with blissful peace;
Jlead with action's call.

I never begged obeisance of
slaves who always pray.
I rule without a hell: I judge
Without a judgment day.

That lowly creature of earth, man,
Of mean intelligence,
Though born in your lap, will grow old
Under my vigilance.

(3) The Temptation of Adam

A life of struggle, strain and stress
Is better than eternal rest.
When a dove is straining at its net,
An eagle's heart beats in its breast.

You're capable of nothing but
Prostrating yourself like a slave.
Like a tall cypress stand erect,
O you, who do not act but crave.

These streams of milk and honey have
Deprived you of the strength to act.
Come, take a hearty draught of wine
From the goblet of the vine direct.

Good and evil, virtue and sin,
Are myth created by your Lord.
Come, taste the pleasure of action and
Go forth to seek your due reward.

Arise, for I will show to you
The prospect of a whole new world.
Open your eyes and look around;
Go forth and see it all unfurled.

You are a tiny, worthless drop;
Become a shining, priceless pearl.
Descend from Heaven's halcyon heights
And plunge into the life-stream's whirl.

You are a brightly shining sword;
Go, dip into creation's heart.
To prove your mettle issue forth
And from your scabbord's bosom part.

Unfold your eagle-wings and soar
And shed the blood of timid quails.
For an eagle it is very death
To live within its eyrie's walls.

You have not learnt this lesson yet;
Fulfilment is desire's death.
You know what is eternal life:
To burn anew with each new breath.

(4) Adam Sings on His Exit from Paradise

O what a joy it is to make

One's life a constant, passionate glow!

And with one's breath make desert and hill
And plain like molten metal flow!

To open a door out of one's cage
Onto the garden's vast expanse!

Roam in the space of the sky,
And tell the stars one's weal and woe!

With secret yearnings and open prayers
Cast looks on Beauty's seraglio!

At times to see a single flower
In the riot of a tulip-field!

At other times tell hurtful thorns
From roses that in their midst blow!

I burn with a slow-consuming fire;
I am all an agonising desire.

I give up faith for a living doubt;
I seek, I question, I aspire.

THE EARLIEST CONCEPTS OF THE SOUL AND THEIR BEARING ON ALCHEMY

S. Mandibassan

NOTHING shocks the human mind so much as the loss of a companion or a relative whose presence had meant so much happiness to the survivor. As its reverse experience the most pleasant surprise comes to an intelligent child on discovering an overnight addition of a brother or a sister in the family. In other words, the phenomena of birth and death leave the deepest impressions of all. To an acute observer the same is true of plant life. In a temperate region everything appears desolate and dead during winter, while, with the advent of spring, life seems to burst forth as though forced by an explosive. Now, to a reflective mind these contrasts, between life and death and active and latent life, are nothing compared to those between organic and inorganic world. To know this difference is to solve the fundamental problem of life. Reasoning logically man could trace his descent to an Adam. But Adam himself had to be conceived as "dust" enlivened. The real riddle of life consisted, therefore, in explaining the conversion of dead into living matter. This we shall see has a direct bearing on understanding alchemy which tries to imitate creation and to make live gold out of dead copper.

Alchemy is an offshoot of herbalism which had accepted animism as its basic doctrine. This attributed a soul even to a herb so that its soul could transmigrate into man. Alchemy had incorporated this doctrine but was also inspired by dualism. According to this everything is dual-natured, as male/female, applicable even to the soul. The male component of the soul is *Animus* in Latin, *Ruh* in Arabic, and *Spirit* in English. The female counterpart is *Anima* in Latin, *Nafas* in Arabic, and *Soul* (specific) in English. *Anima* or *Nafas* gives form or individuality ; *Animus* or *Ruh* imparts duration of life. Thus a crippled old man would have a poor *Nafas*, because he is physically infirm, but since he is already superannuated his *Animus* or *Ruh* must have been strong. Likewise herbalism discovered that Ephedra, as an ordinary herb, can only possess a weak *Nafas*, but, being a perennial plant and, above all, having red berries and even a red pith, it must be exceptionally strong in

its *Rub*. The value of bearing red fruits will be explained later. Being rich in *Rub*, Ephedra was extolled as the Soma-plant and its juice, a donor of longevity. Just as repeated blood transfusions can prolong human life, recurring use of Soma could postpone death on its threatening to approach one. On this account Soma has been interpreted as a drug of immortality. The alchemist, however, wanted a real drug of immortality, one which could confer immortality with a single dose. This is how alchemy branched off from herbalism.

The limitations to the properties of Soma had first to be explained. It has *Rub* or Spirit but relatively no *Nafas* or Soul (specific). Such a soul is not reproductive, it cannot increase in totality ; it is, so to say, only male. To avoid misunderstanding soul, as a whole or as ordinarily understood, is written here with a small "s" as "soul"; whereas the male-soul as Spirit ; and the female-soul, or Soul specific, as Soul with a capital "S". Now, if the donor of a male-soul should be made to co-operate with another which can donate an equally powerful female-soul, a pair of *Rub* and *Nafas* can fuse into a unity and become, like a hermaphrodite, capable of breeding its kind. The *male-soul could be discovered in many herbs*, but not the female-soul, because of the delicate constitution of such plants. On the contrary, metals are known for their solidity and this virtue is the expression of a strong female-soul or *Nafas*. Thus if a herb like Soma and a metal like Copper can donate their souls together we shall have two weak elements and two strong ones. On calcining them, the poor *Nafas* of the herb and the weak *Rub* of the metal will disappear, leaving the strong Herbal Spirit to combine with the powerful Metallic Soul. In other words, the Soma-Copper complex gives rise to a strong pair of *Rub-Nafas* or Spirit-Soul which on union becomes self-reproductive as a true hermaphrodite. If such a calcined herbometallic preparation is consumed, its soul, now self-generative, can continue to increase in its new environment and thus make it permanent for ever. Such a drug turns copper into gold and man becomes immortal. Above all, the gold that results is live gold, like a living virus or ferment. If seeded into another metal, like mercury or an amalgam, this in turn becomes gold. Synthetic gold has been actually called ferment gold on that account and differs from ordinary gold which must be looked upon as fossil gold. The soul of synthetic gold or live gold is a hermaphrodite-soul while that of fossil gold

preponderantly a female-soul. We see now that *gold was created out of copper* and the product was a live metal. The metal was infused with a soul.

It is evident from the above consideration that the alchemical synthesis of gold depended on the Soma-juice as the donor of Spirit or *Rub*. And the most obvious effect was the transformation of copper into gold. Thus the juice, which was a drug of immortality, could be designated, even better, by its spectacular effect, as the gold-making juice. The Chinese name for it is Kim-Iya, literally Gold-Plant juice. The Arabicised form became Ki-Miya, which, taking the article "al," was changed into al-Kimiya, later Europeanised into alchemy. *Ki-Miya* in Chinese and *al-Kimiya* in Arabic are *primarily substances* and not the names of any science. Thus *these terms mean plant-juice* and as such are comparable with Soma-Ras or Soma-juice. While the latter had to be regularly consumed, Kimiya, after having been calcined with a metal, was to be taken only once. We see, by now, that the entire play of alchemy depended upon the concept of the soul, for this represents the life-donating agent, and alchemical preparations were all charged with powers to impart longevity. Their active principle was lif-essence, i.e. soul.

Let us now go into details, taking a particular concept of the soul and comparing each with a corresponding alchemical preparation. The early man was a hunter. He had to decide if the animal he killed was still alive or already dead. A problem of life was thus forced on him. Beginning with himself he realised that he has a body, but then there was a world of difference between his own and that of a corpse. He had to discover the labile factor to explain the difference. The animals he killed first lost their blood and subsequently died. The obvious impression was that:

1. Blood = Life-principle.

This life-donating agent, the element present in life and absent on death, was called soul. Blood represented the first concept of the soul. This was further confirmed when injury to a dead body did not result in any flow of blood. In fact by this test a dead body could be differentiated from a living one. Such an early differentiation between body, as the container, and blood, as its real content, between flesh and blood, or between body and soul, has been fully recognised. The Old Testament, for example, refers to Blood as Life and does not permit its use as food, while that of flesh alone is sanctioned. If the blood of a goat were to be consumed one would

unwittingly receive the entire soul of a goat and would make the recipient partly behave like that animal. On the contrary, its flesh would be perfectly neutral and can only add to build the human body. On the above principle if a brave enemy is overpowered and killed, his blood would represent a courage-imparting element and to taste it would be to become braver still. Such a custom of drinking human blood did exist in heathen times. When it was further known that liver and heart are special organs rich in blood, these were eaten by preference. Even those that were not cannibals accepted such drugs.

It was, later on, realised that fresh blood alone is red while spilt blood darkens in time. Thus what actually represented life-force was something red and accordingly:

2. Redness = Life-principle.

Exploiting this idea everything red became a life-donating agent. From red earths to red berries all were life-prolonging drugs. In fact even the bones of the dead were painted with red ochre as though this would serve to revive the dead in due course. An excellent example of a red fruit being exceptionally prized is the pomegranate. Its home is Persia but the fruit, on account of its colour, was introduced early into Egypt and Greece in the West, as also into China in the East. On Greek tombstones it is carved as though it could donate life-essence enough to resuscitate the dead. The role of pomegranate was the same as that of red ochre above, in either case on account of its redness. Soma-juice also got its importance from its plant bearing red berries and having a red pith. That red earths and red fruits were eaten with this view, is an accepted fact. Looking out for substances which approached blood in colour the best happened to be Cinnabar. When further purified, by dry distillation, it sublimes as vermilion which is pure mercuric sulphide. This substance has been extolled as the pride of alchemy. It occupies such a position in the pharmacopoeias of China, India and of Yunani medicine. In Sanskrit it is called *Makara Dhwaja*, the emblem of the god of love, a synonym for the god of rejuvenation and immortality. No explanation exists as to why vermilion acquired its esteemed position wherever alchemy had spread. Alchemy, as the art of increasing longevity, and believing, redness = blood = soul, could not but accept vermilion as the best life-donating agent. It is evident that, instead of purifying cinnabar into vermilion, the latter was more conveniently made from sulphur and mercury.

As components of vermilion both mercury and sulphur acquired special importance and each was made an independent unit. Moreover, in harmony with dualism, one component became male, which was Sulphur, and the other female, which was Mercury. Vermilion, being sublimable, its two constituents were likewise volatile. This was another property later on attributed to the soul.

When wounded animals came more to be observed it was revealed that blood, soon after it gushes forth from wounds, gives rise to vapours. Only when these have disappeared somewhere in the heaven that spilt blood begins to darken. Thus we can say that if:

2. Redness=Life-principle, it is even more precise to maintain that:
3. Blood-vapours = Life-principle.

Up to Homer's time the Greeks used to believe blood-vapour as the soul and called it Thymos.

Later on hunting gradually became uncertain when man turned to agriculture. With a more settled life there arose more accurate observations on natural deaths, specially among fellow-men. It was established that breathing is a positive sign of life and that the last breath meant the signal of life-exit. Hence the conclusion:

4. Breath =Life-principle.

But what is breath, other than Wind or Air, so that:

5. Air= Life-principle?

Comparative etymology tells us that words for soul (as a whole) in most languages mean breath, wind or air. Breath is an even more mysterious element than blood-vapours, as the former leaves the body unseen and unnoticed for man to expire. On the basis that air=life-principle, there arose in China and India a system of prolonging life by exercising breath control or holding the air inhaled as long as possible to fully extract its energy content. Air, therefore, became a donor of life-principle and it was believed that the less it is contaminated, or the purer it is, the greater is the proportion of *Ruh* in it. On this account atmosphere of higher altitudes was preferred and such localities became the haunts of lovers of longevity performing Yoga exercises.

As agriculture advanced contacts with vegetable life correspondingly increased. Man came to appreciate the fragrance of plants like the rose and the mint. When such a flower is completely withered it has lost most of its smell. To the primitive mind such loss meant the loss of soul. It must be reminded that according to animism a plant owned a soul, and in this light, what could the soul of a flower, like rose, be other than its essence? As a relic of such a concept we still have terms like *Rub-i vulab*, soul-of-rose, its life-principle. Some South African tribes entertain the notion of soul as identical with such an essence.

We are thus made to realise the qualities attributed to a soul as sharply contrasted with those of a body. The latter is solid, visible and easily handled; the former is invisible, volatile and capricious to the utmost, disappearing without indicating its way and time of exit. With such qualities:

6. Volatile-essence = Life-principle.

The alchemist being solely after drugs of longevity invented the process of distillation. He could then isolate the active principle, which meant mainly its *Rub* or Spirit, free from *Nafas* or Soul specific. Thus all distillates were Spirits. It has been pointed out that every form of life had its own *Nafas* or Soul specific, but all forms of life had the same element of longevity, only quantitatively different from individual to individual. Thus the distillates came under the category of *Rub* and were concentrated active principles imparting longevity.

The history of pharmacy teaches us that man first used simples or crude drugs as such. Then he made extracts or decoctions to separate the soluble or the assimilable portion from the rest representing its ruffage. Then he concentrated these extracts to reduce the bulk by evaporating the water which he had himself added. Later he tried to crystallise the active principle wherever possible, e.g. ammonium chloride, camphor. His idea of purification was backed by a most vital consideration. The active principle should be *Rub* without any admixture of *Nafas*. Crystals which reappear unchanged on recrystallisation could stand the test of purity. Surveying all available substances nothing proved so ideal as mercuric sulphide. It is crystalline, thus as pure as it can be, sublimable as any volatile Spirit should be. On being sublimed it regains its form showing its freedom from any contamination or admixture with a *Nafas*. Moreover, it can be regenerated

from pure elements, from pure Mercury and pure Sulphur. In such a synthesis a germ of creation is implied. To introduce soul (as a whole) into dust meant creation of living creatures. Introduction of light sulphur into heavy mercury cannot but suggest an imitation of such a soul/body creation. With a self-generating soul mercuric sulphide would possess all the potentialities of conferring immortality upon man. It was also difficult to calcine it considering its volatile nature. Accordingly calcined mercuric sulphide sells as a more costly drug than calcined gold itself. Vermilion was, therefore, hailed as a drug of immortality, a donor of life-principle.

SUMMARY

1. Man, as hunter, believed Life = Body + Blood, and made Blood = Life principle. Since fresh blood alone was red, Redness = Life-principle. Red fruits, red earths, all became life-donating agents. Nothing approaches blood here more than vermilion.

2. Spilt blood darkens after blood-vapours have disappeared which, therefore, appear to be the subtle life-principle or Blood-vapours = life-principle. Later on distillates of fragrant vegetable products became life-prolonging agents. Vermilion is also sublimable.

3. With the introduction of farming life became more settled and observations on human deaths more precise. Breathing became the best sign of life and what was breath but air. Hence, Air = Life-principle. To hold the breath for a long time meant extracting energy from the atmosphere. Yogic exercises of breath control were invented in China and India.

4. According to dualism even a soul is made up of two elements as male/female. Only when these two are well balanced the issue is self-generative. The human race became self-reproductive because of Adam/Eve, although each by oneself was not. The Soma-juice was rich in the male element or *Ruh*, but poor in *Nafas* or the female-soul. Metals were rich in *Nafas* but poor in *Ruh* or Spirit. Soma-Copper complex, however, contained a well-balanced union of *Ruh/Nafas* which became a hermaphrodite-soul with powers of self-generation. An ever-increasing soul made its vehicle everlasting, a metal became gold, a man immortal. Soma-Copper complex became a drug of immortality as also synthetic gold. This was a live metal for it could be seeded like a ferment making other metals like itself. Thus to synthesise gold was to infuse a soul into copper as its recipient; it was

imitating creation.

5. The only substance where the elements were two, each separable and again returnable, was vermilion. One component was Sulphur, light like a soul, and the other Mercury, heavy like a body. To introduce Sulphur into Mercury was to infuse a soul into a body. The resultant was vermilion, red like blood, covering the first notion of soul. It was sublimable and again returnable to its original state, thus meeting the standard of a volatile Spirit. It was dual-natured with each element capable of being purified and reunited unlike Soma-Copper complex. Vermilion represented the ideal reality of theoretical alchemy.

MA'ALI AL-HIMAM OF AL-JUNAID¹³⁶

Habibullah Ghaẓanfar

THE earliest known work on Islamic mysticism is *Kitabal-Luma'* by Abu Nasr Sarraj, who died in 378/988. Next to it in chronology are *Hilyat al-Anliya'* by Abu Nu'aim of Isfahan who died in 430/1039, *al-Risalah* of al-Qushairi which was written in 437/1046, and the *Kashf al-Mahjub* of al-Hujwiri who died in 465/1073. All these works belong to the last quarter of the fourth and the fifth centuries of Hijrah. But the book which I propose to discuss in this article, i.e. *Ma'ali al-Himam* by al-Junaid Baghdadi, is a work of the third Hijrah century and, consequently, it is now the earliest known work on Muslim Sufism. I had the privilege of working on a manuscript of this book in 1929-30 under the auspices of the Allahabad University. I found the MS. in the Rampur Library. This MS is one of the two, the other being in the Mawsil Library, Iraq.

The Rampur MS. bears No. 313 of Suluk (Arabic Section). It is in *naskh* and seems to have been written by two scribes at least, the first of whom is a careful scribe, whose writing is clear and legible and contains very few slips of very slight nature, while the other is less careful and makes comparatively a larger number of mistakes. But on the whole the MS. is legibly written.

The colophon contains neither a date nor the name of the scribe. In the margin of folio 9b, however, there is to be found a note by one Shah 'Abd al-Rasul which runs:

فعلم من هذا ان اهل النار اكثر من اهل الجنة معرفة وكمال المعرفة التامة لاهل
الاعراف والكثيب و فوقه مقام المحمود و هو لرجل واحد و ذات الحق المتعل و ما بعده
الا العدم و الظمة المحضمة- من شاه عبدالرسول نور الله قبله-

["From this it is known that God's recognition by those in Hell is clearer than those in Paradise. And the recognition by those in the Purgatory is the most profound. And above this there is the 'illustrious place' which

¹³⁶ The catalogue and the slip bear the title "Ma 'ani al-Himmah" which is based apparently on incorrect reading.

is reserved for one man only. And above it there is God and beyond Him there is nothing but nothingness and complete darkness.

"By Shah 'Abd al-Rasul — may God enlighten his heart!"

To this Shah 'Abd al-Rasul, I could find only one reference in a pedigree preserved in the private collection of Baqir Rida Khan of Rampur. It contains 54 folios and was written by the order of one Ahmad 'Ali Shah, alias Fida 'Ali Shah, in 1250/1834 and was handed over to his disciple Qurban 'Ali Shah, alias Nabi Bakhsh. The name of Shah 'Abd al-Rasul occurs ten times, on folios 9, 12, 17, 21, 28, 29, 30, 32, 34. and 35. The whole genealogy runs thus: (1) Ahmad 'Ali Shah, (2) Muhammad 'Ali Shah, (3) Ghulam Pir, (4) Ghulam Nabi, (5) Makhdam 'Alam, (6) Shah 'Abd al-Rasul, (7) 'Abd al-Rahman Chishti, (8) Shaikh Hamid Qutb al-Din, (9) Pir bin Awliya', (10) Muhammad 'Arif, (11) 'Arif Ahmad, (12) Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq, (13) Jalal al-Din Turk of Panipat, (14) Shams al-Din Turk, and (15) 'Ala' al-Din 'Ali Ahmad Sabir.

It is known with certainty that Sabir, the progenitor, flourished in the early eighth/fourteenth century, while Ahmad 'Ali Shah, the last of the line, lived in the early thirteenth/nineteenth. It means that fifteen generations covered the period of five centuries — three generations to a century. Calculating on this datum, it may be asserted that Shah 'Abd al-Rasul must have flourished in the early eleventh/seventeenth century. If the marginal note was made by the same Shah 'Abd al-Rasul, for which little doubt may be entertained as no other person of the same name is traceable, we can conclude that the MS. was written in the latter half of the tenth/sixteenth century and not later than the beginning of the eleventh/seventeenth.

Another copy of the *Ma'ali al-Himam* is in a library at Mawsil,¹³⁷ which was written in 1050/1640. This copy has not been available to me.

The book is ascribed to al-Junaid of Baghdad, who flourished in the third century of the Hijrah, and notices of whose life are to be found in the works of Ibn Khallikan and Yafi'i, both of whom are reliable authorities. Their accounts of his life are brief and also contain a few anecdotes. The Sufi writers al-Qushairi, al-Hujwiri and Jami have also given short accounts

¹³⁷ Dawud Chalipi, *Makhtutat Mawsil*, p. 89.

mostly of a historical character. 'Attar gives in his *Tadhkirat al-Awliya'* a number of anecdotes and disconnected sayings of Junaid.¹³⁸

Life of the Author. Abu al-Qasim al-Junaid b. Muhammad b. al-Junaid of Baghdad is said to have been a silk-merchant, for which reason he was known as *al-Khazzaz*. His father was a dealer in glassware, and so al-Junaid was known as *al-Qawariri*¹³⁹ and as al-Zajjaj¹⁴⁰ also. The date of his birth is not known.¹⁴¹ He must have been born some time before 220/835 for he was already past twenty¹⁴² in 240/855 when his teacher Abu Thawr died.¹⁴³

The biographers of Junaid have credited him with indications of a great future before him in his boyhood, and a number of stories are related to prove that. To mention only one of the many, Junaid, when a boy of seven, had accompanied his maternal uncle, al-Sari, on a pilgrimage to Mecca, where they happened to attend an assembly of four hundred Sufis who were holding a discussion on "Gratitude." Every one of them expressed his views on the subject, but they could not agree on a suitable definition of the term. Al-Sari referred the matter to his young nephew, who defined it in these words: "Do not make Providence's gifts the means of disobeying Him." All present appreciated the definition and praised the boy, while al-Sari predicted that al-Junaid had a great future before him.¹⁴⁴

Junaid must have been an intelligent youth to have acquired all the necessary knowledge of jurisprudence in the prime of his life.¹⁴⁵ According to

¹³⁸ There is also a book in Urdu by Muhammad Hasan Qadiri of Rampur, entitled *Tawarikh A'inah-i Tasawwuf*, in which some space has been given to al-Junaid, but the book is a mixture of ignorance and whim and has no historical value. According to this book, al-Junaid must have lived for 178 lunar years.

¹³⁹ *Fibrih*, p. 18 ; al-Qushairi, p. 18 ; Hujwiri, p. 103 ; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 117.

¹⁴⁰ Jami, p. 53.

¹⁴¹ Sharar, however, records it (p. 20) as about 218/833 which is probable. According to Muhammad Hasan Qadiri (p. 31) it was the 11th of Sha'ban 157/774, but this can hardly be accepted, as it is too early and makes him live for about 200 years.

¹⁴² Al-Qushairi, p. 18.

¹⁴³ *Fibrih*, p. 211, but Ibn Khallikan (Vol. I, p. 3) says that Abu Thawr died in 246/860. If the latter date be correct, Junaid's birth may be placed some time before 226/840

¹⁴⁴ Attar, Vol. II, p. 7 ; Yafi'i, Vol. II, p. 236 ; Jami, p. 53 ; Abu al-Falah, *Shadharat* ; al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 368.

¹⁴⁵ Qushairi, p. 18 ; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 117 ; Yafi'i, Vol. II, p. 231 ; al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 366.

al-Qushairi, his tutor, Abu Thawr, had permitted him to deliver *fatwas* and decrees even before he had completed his twentieth year¹⁴⁶ He is said to have studied the system of al-Thawri's jurisprudence.¹⁴⁷ But this is highly improbable as al-Thawri did not live so long as to teach al-Junaid his system. This assumption is probably based on the confusion between Abu Thawr and al-Thawri.

When he had completed his education in jurisprudence his uncle placed him in the charge of Harith al-Muhasibi — one of those five distinguished men of that age who are famous saints and theologians¹⁴⁸ — for spiritual discipline and guidance in the early stages of his career. When al-Harith died in 243/858,¹⁴⁹ Muhammad b. ‘Ali al-Qassab took charge of the young Junaid,¹⁵⁰ who also profited for some time in the learned company of Abu al-Kuraini.¹⁵¹ His instruction in the domain of Sufism was at last consummated by his uncle al-Sari.¹⁵² In quite a short period of time the young protege had attained a position superior to that of his teacher, who maintained that it was possible for a disciple to surpass his spiritual guide and quoted the case of al-Junaid as an instance in support of his statement.¹⁵³

Although fully equipped to function as a pulpit-preacher, Junaid seems to have been too modest to adopt that profession. Repeatedly his uncle and spiritual guide al-Sari advised him to take to preaching, but every time he declined. In the end, however, he undertook to preach publicly on being commanded to do so by the Prophet himself, whom he believed to have seen in a dream. Once while he was addressing the public, a Christian inquirer came forward and asked him to explain the Prophet's saying: اتقوا فراسة المؤمن

الله فإنه ينظر بنور الله ["Beware of the believer's insight, because he looks with

¹⁴⁶ Qushairi, p. 18.

¹⁴⁷ Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 117.

¹⁴⁸ These five men were al-Muhasibi, al-Junaid, Abu Muhammad, Abu al-‘Abbas b. ‘Ata’ and ‘Amr b. ‘Uthman al-Makki (*Shadharat*).

¹⁴⁹ Abu al-Falah, *Shadharat*.

¹⁵⁰ Qushairi, p. 18.

¹⁵¹ Ibn al-Jawzi, p. 477.

¹⁵² ‘Attar, Vol. II, p. 6 ; Qushairi, p. 18.

¹⁵³ Qushairi, p. 18 ; Hujwiri, p. 103.

Divine Light"]. Junaid meditated for a minute and then offered Islam to him. The Christian accepted the offer and joined the fold of the faithful.¹⁵⁴

Junaid is said to have been very punctual in attending the mosque for all the five congregational prayers, so much so that for twenty years he never missed a single *Takbir*¹⁵⁵ Besides the prescribed and obligatory prayers, he used to offer four hundred *ruk'ats* a day as supererogatory prayers, and carried on this practice continually for thirty years. Once he was asked how he had attained that saintly position and reputable honour in the world. He made no reply, but pointed to the place where he had worshipped God for thirty years.¹⁵⁶

Al-Junaid made thirty pilgrimages to Mecca on foot.¹⁵⁷ For twenty years he took food only once a week.¹⁵⁸ At the time of his death Muhammad al-Hariri¹⁵⁹ asked Junaid to express his will. He said, "After I am dead, wash my body, put my corpse into a coffin, offer prayers and bury it." All the persons present were touched by the remarks and began to weep bitterly. Abu Muhammad asked him if he had anything else to add. "Keep the food ready," replied Junaid, "as rich and sumptuous as if at a wedding feast, so that those who carry my bier may not go hungry after their return from the graveyard."¹⁶⁰

Then al-Junaid resumed to recite the verses of the Holy Qur'an. Abu Muhammad said to him, "Show mercy and do leniency to your soul." He replied, "Have you ever come across anyone more needy of God's mercy than myself?"¹⁶¹ Then he began to recite the Qur'an, and when he had completed it once, he began it again from the beginning. When he had reached the seventieth verse of the second Surah, al-Baqarah, he breathed his last. It was late on Friday that he died and his burial was delayed till the following

¹⁵⁴ Hujwiri, p. 103 ; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 117 ; Yafi'i, Vol. II, p. 231 ; 'Attar, Vol. II, pp. 10-11 ; Jami, p. 53 ; Abu al-Falah, *Shadharat*.

¹⁵⁵ 'Attar, Vol. 11, p. 10.

¹⁵⁶ Al-Qushairi, p. 19.

¹⁵⁷ Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 117.

¹⁵⁸ Al-Man'awi, Vol. I, p. 267.

¹⁵⁹ Al-Sha'rani, p. 100 ; Abu al-Falah calls him al-Jaziri.

¹⁶⁰ Sha'rani, p. 100.

¹⁶¹ Abu al-Falah, *Shadharat*.

morning. He was buried in the famous graveyard Shuniziyyah in old Baghdad by the side of his uncle and spiritual guide, al-Sari al-Saqati.¹⁶²

There is difference of opinion regarding the exact date of his

19. Hujwiri, p. 103 ; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 117 ; Yafi'i, Vol. II, p. 231 ; 'Attar, Vol. II, pp. 10-11 ; Jami, p. 53 ; Abu al-Falah, *Shadbarat*.
20. 'Attar, Vol. 11, p. 10.
21. Al-Qushairi, p. 19.
22. Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 117.
23. Al-Man'awi, Vol. I, p. 267.
24. Al-Sha'rani, p. 100 ; Abu al-Falah calls him al-Jaziri.
25. Sha'rani, p. 100.
26. Abu al-Falah, *Shadbarat*.
27. Ibid. ; al-Qushairi, p. 19 ; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 117 ; 'Attar, Vol. II, pp. 35-36.

¹⁶² Ibid. ; al-Qushairi, p. 19 ; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 117 ; 'Attar, Vol. II, pp. 35-36

death. Al-Yafi'i places it in 298/911 though he considers 296 or 297 as possible.¹⁶³ Ibn Khallikan gives 297 and 299¹⁶⁴ According to Jami, it was 297, or 298, or 299.¹⁶⁵

Junaid's chief disciples were Shibli, Abu al-'Abbas b. Surajj (a Shafi'i jurist),¹⁶⁶ Abu 'Ali al-Daqqaq¹⁶⁷ and Abu Bakr al-Wasiti.¹⁶⁸ He never seems to have put on the coarse garment of the Sufis. Once somebody objected to his wearing the gown of theologians. He met the objection by saying, "It is the burning of the heart, and not the coarse garment that counts."¹⁶⁹

A few anecdotes so often mentioned by Junaid's biographers may be found interesting and helpful by way of illustrations of his thought and ways of life.

Once a person offered him a purse of 500 dinars. Junaid asked him if he had anything besides that money. On the man's replying in the affirmative, he asked him if he required anything more. "Yes," was the reply. Thereupon Junaid returned the money to him and said, "Although I do not possess anything, yet I required nothing, while in spite of your having something you require still more. Therefore, you are better entitled to keep this money with you than anybody else, as you need it more than anyone else."¹⁷⁰

Once a thief stole away Junaid's shirt, and went to the market to sell it. Junaid happened to pass that way, and recognised his shirt while a broker was bargaining with the thief. The broker asked the seller in good faith to produce someone to prove that the shirt belonged to him. A man came forward and testified that the shirt was the vendor's property. And lo! the testifier was no less a person than Junaid himself.¹⁷¹

Junaid was accustomed to keep a rosary in his hand. Once a person remarked that he had passed the stage when people required rosaries. He

¹⁶³ Yafi'i, Vol. II, p. 231.

¹⁶⁴ Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 117.

¹⁶⁵ *Nafahat*, p. 53.

¹⁶⁶ Al-Qushairi, p. 19.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Yafi'i, Vol. II, p. 231.

¹⁶⁹ 'Attar, Vol. II, p. 9.

¹⁷⁰ Sha'rani, p. 99 ; 'Attar, Vol. II, p. 16.

¹⁷¹ Attar, Vol. II, p. 18.

replied, "The rosary has been a means of my approaching God; and it will be unfair on my part to discard it after reaching the final goal."¹⁷²

Junaid had an intense desire of having an interview with Satan. His wish was after all realised when once Satan appeared before him in the garb of a saint. Junaid asked him why he had not prostrated himself before Adam. "God alone is worthy of being worshipped; this was the reason why I did not prostrate myself before Adam," was the reply. Junaid seemed to be satisfied with this answer at first, but after a while his inner self prompted him to say: "Thou art wrong. Hadst thou been an obedient servant, thou wouldst have carried out His orders."¹⁷³

Once Junaid noticed a stout and sturdy man begging for alms in the streets. He felt disgusted at this and thought the man must be too lazy to take to work. In the night he saw in a dream that he was offered a dish of human flesh and was asked to eat it. He refused the offer, whereupon he was informed that traducement and eating human flesh were equally condemnable. When the morning dawned, he hurried to tender his apologies to the beggar. As Junaid approached him, the beggar recited the following verse of the Qur'an:¹⁷⁴ "And it is He who accepts the repentance of His servants and forgives their evil actions."¹⁷⁵

Once, while passing through a street of Baghdad Junaid heard a slave-girl singing these lines:

اذا قلت اهدى الهجرلى حل البلى

تقولين لولا الهجر لم يطب الحب

و ان قلت هذا القلب احرقه الهوى

تقولى بنير ان الهوى اشرق القلب

¹⁷² Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 117; Yafil, Vol. II, p. 231.

¹⁷³ Hujwiri, p. 104.

¹⁷⁴ xlii. 25.

¹⁷⁵ 'Attar, Vol. II, p. 16.

وان قلت ما اذنت مجيبة

حياتك ذنب لا يقاس به ذنب

["When I say: 'The separation has presented to me the garments of distress,' thou sayest (to me): 'Were there no separation, love would not have been sweet.' And when I say: 'Love has burnt this heart (of mine),' thou sayest: 'It is with the flames of love that heart is brightened.' And when I ask: 'What sin have I committed ? ' thou sayest in reply: 'Thy very existence is a sin with which no sin can be compared.' "]

This was enough to throw Junaid into ecstasy. A short while after, the master of the slave-girl came out of the house and offered the girl to him. He accepted the offer with thanks, declared the slave-girl free, and introduced her to one of his friends, who took her in marriage.¹⁷⁶

Junaid's Mystic Theory. All the authorities are silent on this point, but Junaid's sayings and writings and the anecdotes connected with his life-story afford a fair field of information in this connection.

A close study of his writings and of his sayings that are found scattered throughout the Sufistic literature lead one to the inevitable conclusion that he was more a pious devotee than a mystic. For twenty years he never missed a single congregational prayer and was unfailingly present in the mosque at the first call to prayer ; he made thirty pilgrimages to Mecca on foot ; every day he used to offer four hundred *rak'ats* of prayer. All these things lead one to the same conclusion. He believed in practice rather than in theory. "One's share in this world," says he, "is in proportion to one's endeavours for it, and in the next world one will get as much as one strives for it."¹⁷⁷ He seems to have possessed a correct notion of Fate and Destiny, his motto being: "Keep yourself busy with your undertakings, and do not think of what is to happen." He always exhorted the people to adhere to the right path of Islam. "There is no way to God," he used to say, "except to follow in the footsteps of the Prophet."¹⁷⁸ That he attached great importance to a sound knowledge

¹⁷⁶ Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 117 ; Yafil, Vol. II. p. 232; Abu al-Falah,, *Shadbarat*.

¹⁷⁷ The Mean, MS., f. 2b.

¹⁷⁸ Ibn al-Jawzi, pp. 10-11; al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 369.

of the Qur'an and the Traditions and to strictly following the orders and injunctions of those religious sources, is evident from his sayings

like the following:

(1) "One who does not attend lectures on Traditions and has never been in the society of Faqihs misleads his followers."¹⁷⁹

(2) "One who does not memorise the Qur'an and does not narrate Traditions shall not be followed, as our creed is based on the Qur'an and the Traditions."¹⁸⁰

(3) "The Qur'an and the Traditions are two lamps in the light of which one may go along the path safely."¹⁸¹

(4) According to Junaid, Muslim mysticism lies in "constant hunger and abstention from the world, and not in a complicated discourse."¹⁸²

(5) "Ecstasy busy in search of knowledge is better than knowledge sunk in ecstasy."¹⁸³

In short, he seems to have combined in himself the qualities of a theologian and a Sufi. He talked in terms of theology but practised asceticism. He used to put on a theologian's costume and would take food only once a week.¹⁸⁴ He laid so much stress on the study of the Qur'an and the Traditions, but wrote on Mysticism alone, and believed in the miraculous powers of saints.¹⁸⁵ Although he was a distinguished disciple of Abu Thawr, yet, instead of evolving a juristic system, he founded an order of mystics, called Junaidis after him,¹⁸⁶

¹⁷⁹ Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 367.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.; Abu al-Falah, *Shadharat*.

¹⁸¹ Attar, Vol. II, p. 8.

¹⁸² Qushairi, p. 19.

¹⁸³ Jami, p. 53.

¹⁸⁴ Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 367.

¹⁸⁵ Junaid, *Ma'ali*, Chap. IX.

¹⁸⁶ Hujwiri, p. 104.

In latter days this system was termed as *Sabw*, "Sobriety," as against *Sukr*, "Drunkeness," of Bayazid.¹⁸⁷ These terms were applied in contradistinction to denote that the people of *Sabw* used to follow the precepts of Islam as laid down in the books of religion, while others were absorbed in deep meditation and hence in communion with God.

Criticism of the Book. (a) Title of the Book. As already stated, the Catalogue of the State Library of Rampur gives the title of the book as Ma'ani al-Himmah. The book, however, opens with these words: الحمد لله الذى

اصفيا اعلى هم اصفيا ["Parise be to God who has heightened the aspirations of His true friends"] which contain the figure (براعة الاستهلال) thus hinting that the title should be Ma'ali al-Himam. This is supported by the words (i) يطالع على

188 معالى هم العارفين ["He knows the heights of the gnostics' aspirations"], (ii)

189 ان اصنف كتابا فى معالى الهممة

فى فيما ذكرنا (iii) ["that I write a book on the heights of aspiration"] and

فى هذا الكتاب من معالى الهممة و شرفها ["of what we have related in this book of the heights of aspiration and its nobility"]. Amore conclusive proof of this assertion than all these passages is the concluding passage of the book in which the scribe says: تمت¹⁹⁰ [sic.] كتاب معالى الهممة: Ma'ali al-Himmah"].

Thus the first word of the title is Ma' ali and not Ma' ani. As regards the second part of the title, there is again a difference of opinion. According to the scribe of the Rampur MS. it is Himmah (in singular), while according to

¹⁸⁷ Attar, Vol. II, p. 5.

¹⁸⁸ MS., f. la.

¹⁸⁹ Ms., f. lb,

¹⁹⁰ Ms., f. 19a.

Junaid himself ¹⁹¹ the scribe of the Mawsil MS. ⁵⁷ and Haji Khalifah it is *Himam* (in plural). I, therefore, regard it as *Himam* instead of *Himmah*.

(b) *Authenticity of the Book*. Scribes of the Rampur and the Mawsil MS ¹⁹². along with Haji Khalifah ¹⁹³ ascribe the book to Abu al-Qasim al-Junaid while Ibn al-Nadim, the earliest and the most reliable authority ascribes no book to him. ¹⁹⁴ This omission on the part of Ibn al-Nadim may cast some doubt on the authenticity of the *Ma'ali* and its ascription to Junaid. This doubt is strengthened by the study of the text itself. There is one quotation from Abu Bakr al-Wasiti ¹⁹⁵ who was Junaid's disciple and who survived him for more than twenty years; and there is an anecdote of Hammad al-Qurashi who was a younger contemporary of Junaid. Similarly, there are quotations and anecdotes of Sari introduced in a way that shows that the writer had no relation with him, while as a matter of fact Junaid was his nephew and disciple. On the other hand, we find that he devotes a full chapter to an account of Bayazid and showers praises on him. All these facts go to prove that the book was written by someone else in the name of Junaid, and a long time after him. Allowing due credit to these objections one may say that the text contains the anecdotes and sayings of persons who had preceded Junaid or were contemporary with him, a fact which leads one to the probability of its having been written in the days of Junaid. And as long as the authorship is not contested and the real author, if there be any, is not known, we cannot but ascribe it to the famous Muslim saint Junaid of Baghdad. As regards the omission on the part of Ibn al-Nadim it may be explained thus. Most probably the book remained for some time in the form of notes by the author which were not known to anyone but a very few of his disciples, and it was not till after the death of Ibn al-Nadim that those notes were given the shape of a book. This omission is, however, sufficient proof of the fact that no book had been publicly ascribed to Junaid till about the end of the fourth century of the Hijrah. Also the manner in which Sari has been mentioned in the book indicates that the book was arranged and edited by someone long

¹⁹¹ Junaid, *al-Maqsad*, f. 78.

¹⁹² Dawud Chalipi, *Makhtutat Mawsil*, p. 89.

¹⁹³ Haji Khalifah, Vol. V, p. 613.

¹⁹⁴ On the other hand he mentions the *Amthal al-Qur'an* and the *Rasa'il* by another Junaid, and describes Abu al-Qasim al-Junaid as a "talker on the subject" (*al-Fihrist*, p. 186).

¹⁹⁵ MS., f. 9b.

after the death of al-Junaid. Taking all these facts into consideration, one is led to believe that the author of the book was al-Junaid, although it was arranged and published at a later date. *Another Work Ascribed to al-Junaid*. I was surprised to find another book *al-Maqsad Ilallah* ascribed to another al-Junaid al-Hanafī of Baghdad, by Haji Khalifah,¹⁹⁶ but I venture to think that *al-Maqsad* and the *Ma'ali* were written by one and the same man, and, after a careful study of the materials available to me, I cannot but say that both the books are by the famous saint, Abu al-Qasim al-Junaid of Baghdad.

A MS. copy of *al-Maqsad* is in possession of Mawlana Qutb al-Din 'Abd al-Wali of Firangi Mahall, Lucknow, who very kindly placed it at my disposal for a short period. It consists of 79 folios and contains an interlinear translation of the Arabic text. Like the *Ma'ali*, it comprises of ten chapters and the ninth chapter is devoted to a description of Bayazid's ascension. The last lines of the book, which led me to conclude that it was also written by the author of the *Ma'ali*, run as follows:

فان وقفتم معاشر اخوانى كلما ذكرنا لكم في هذا الكتاب فبخ و الافى كتاب
معالى الهمم لكم كفاية ان تعرفوا بيان ما ذكرنا بيه من لطائف الاشارات و جواهر مكنون
العبارات فان وقفتم في ولاية الله تعالى و نظتم فيه بعين التحقيق و قفتم عليه انشاء الله
تعالى!

["O brethren! a good fortune, very good fortune, if you are acquainted of what we have put in this book. Our exposition, in this book *Ma'ali al-Himam*, suffices you, provided that you comprehend it and capture those subtle points and jewels which are hidden in its expression. If you are familiar with the companionship of God and go through it with a searching eye, God willing, you will be successful in understanding it."]

(c) *Importance of the Book*. Besides the antiquity of the book, its importance lies in its comprising the theories of Junaid, one of the greatest Sufis of Islam, who is unanimously called Shaikh alMasha'ikh ["Chief of the Chief"] and Sayyid al-Ta'ifah ["Lord of the Party"]. At the same time it gives a correct and vivid idea of the mysticism that was in vogue in those days.

¹⁹⁶ Haji Khalifah, Vol. VI, p. 90.

Consequently the theories the modern scholars have framed about Sufism will have to be modified and changed accordingly, as the angle of vision must change after the study of the *Ma'ali*.

The book also introduces mystics and Sufis of that age the importance of whom has been overshadowed by their successors, and consequently their memory has gone into oblivion. Their works and words, which have been recorded in the book, will help us to widen our range of vision in the field of early development of mysticism.

(d) *Summary of the Book.* The book contains ten chapters, which bear the following headings:

(i) Of grades of aspiration and the different kinds of people in them.

(ii) Of one who feels contented with the Lord regardless of this world and the hereafter.

(iii) Of the jealousy of Allah (Holy and Exalted is He), regarding His pure ones and His favourite lovers.

(iv) Of the youthful vigour of the gnostics with Allah the Mighty, the Great.

(v) Of the manly courage of the gnostics with Allah, and the heights of their aspirations.

(vi) Of the charity of the gnostics, their ways and the heights of their aspirations.

(vii) Of whatever is necessary for everyone who desires to talk in the idiom of the men of aspiration.

(viii) Of the excellence of the utterance of the Great and the Leaders of Guidance regarding the heights of aspiration.

(ix) Of the utterance of Abu Yazid al-Bistami (may God's mercy be on him), his good days, and the heights of his aspiration.

(x) Of the state of the secret evils of self-delusion and conceit.

What the author proposes to say is briefly this. All the people of the world may be divided into three kinds, viz. those who are people of this world,

those who are of the next, and those *who are devoted body and soul to the worship of God*. Again, there is another division of the people who worship God — first those who worship Him for fear of Hell, secondly those who worship Him in hope of a happy abode in Paradise, and lastly those who worship neither for fear nor for favour *but for His love*. It is obvious that Junaid as a true mystic should give preference and allot a high rank to the persons who devote themselves to the worship of God for His love alone.

He adds: "One who is fortunate enough to receive favours from God should not communicate them to the worldly men but remain silent and quiet, and keep what favours he receives a secret. Everyone should adapt himself to the circumstances, and one should not use a language unintelligible to the addressee and of a subject beyond his understanding."

In support of these theories he has quoted sayings and anecdotes of the Sufis who had preceded him.

It must be noted, however, that the work has certain shortcomings. The author has quoted freely the sayings of a number of saints but in mentioning the authorities for them he has unfortunately been not careful. In his narration one almost invariably fails to find the chain of the authorities, and has to be content with the name of the first in the link. He always begins with "It is related" which does not by any means seem definite enough. Besides this, he does not seem to have taken the trouble of giving the evidence thoroughly. Again and again one comes across such anecdotes as one has reason to disbelieve. As an illustration may be quoted the story of the Caliph Abu Bakr, who is admittedly the first of all the Muslims to join hands with the Prophet when he commenced his mission. But Junaid says that Abu Bakr was asked about the means of his attainment of the high position he held, in reply to which he is made to state that before he joined the fold of Islam he had observed that the Muslims were then divided into two classes: those after this world and those after the next, while he himself desired to have communion with God alone, and was thereby able to attain the glorious position he held.¹⁹⁷ This story reflects that at the time Abu Bakr joined the fold of Islam there were numerous Muslims. But this is not a fact.

¹⁹⁷ MS., f. 7

A similar story is related about Husain, the son of 'Ali b. Abi Talib. According to Junaid's version of it, he was studying a book with Abu 'Abdillah, a companion of less repute, and had to rectify a mistake.¹⁹⁸ This seems highly incredible, as no written books were in vogue in those days.

Authors and Divines whose Names Occur in the Text. 'Abd Allah b. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-'Umari heard Traditions from Ibn Tiwalah, an unknown person as a narrator of Traditions.¹⁹⁹ He used to pass his time in graveyards, and upon being asked why he did so, replied: "A grave is a great warner and seclusion provides a good protection for faith." He died in 184/800 at the age of 66.²⁰⁰

Abu 'Abdillah, a companion, an authority of al-Bukhari in his *al-Adab al-Mufrad* and also in the *Sunan* of Abu Dawud. There is another companion of the same Kunyah who appears as an authority in the *Sunan* of al-Nasa'i.²⁰¹

Abu 'Abdillah Sa'id b. Yazid al-Nabbaji belonged to the first generation of Sufis such as Dhu al-Nun and Ibrahim b. Adham.²⁰² Thus he must have flourished during the first half of the third century of the Hijrah. Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Musa²⁰³ al-Wasiti, known as Ibn al-Farghani, was a disciple of al-Junaid of Baghdad. After having travelled extensively through many lands, he finally settled at Merv. It appears that he wanted to develop his faculties to enable him to perform miracles, but was admonished by al-Junaid who sent him a letter, commencing with these words: عافانا الله و اياك ["May God keep you and us away (from miracles)"]. He died some time before 320/932. Abu al-'Abbas was his disciple.²⁰⁴

Abu Said Ahmad b. 'Isa, known as al-Kharraz ["the Cobbler"],²⁰⁵ an inhabitant of Baghdad, was a disciple of Muhammad b. Mansur of Tus, and had also enjoyed the company of Dhu al-Nun of Egypt, Abu 'Ubayd, al-Sari

¹⁹⁸ MS., f. 21.

¹⁹⁹ Al-Manawi, p. 226.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., p.227 ; Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 396.

²⁰¹ Ibn Hajar, p. 427. There also appears (only once) the same Kunyah in Abu Dawud's *Fadl al-Ansar* but, as Ibn Hajar points out, it is an incorrect reading for Abu 'Ubayd Allah.

²⁰² Jami, p. 60.

²⁰³ Hujwiri, p. 122; Jami, p. 112.

²⁰⁴ Jami, p. 112.

²⁰⁵ Hujwiri, p. 114 ; Jami, p. 49.

al Saqati and Bishr al-Saqati and Bishr al-Hafi.²⁰⁶ He died in 286/899 or 287/900.²⁰⁷

Abu Sulaiman ‘Abd al-Rahman b. Ahmad b. ‘Atiyyah al-`Ansi al-Darani,²⁰⁸ a resident of Darayya, a village in the suburbs of Damascus,²⁰⁹ was a disciple of Ma'adh b. Jabal. He would accept a view only after careful scrutiny according to the Qur'an and the Traditions.²¹⁰ He was called Raihan al-Qulub ["Perfume of the Hearts]."²¹¹ Yafi'i places his death in 205/821,²¹² while al-Manawi²¹³ and Jami²¹⁴ give 215/831 as the year of his death. Ibn Khallikan gives both the dates.²¹⁵ He was buried at his native place.²¹⁶

Ahmad b. Harb,²¹⁷ born in 176/793 at Nishapur, heard Traditions from the contemporaries of Sufyan b. `Uyana, and was considered to be one of the Abdal.²¹⁸ His spiritual guide was Yahya b. Yahya.²¹⁹ Traditionists regard him as a weak, though not altogether rejectable, authority. Ibn Kidam lived in his company. He died in 234/849 when he is said to have been fifty-eight years old.²²⁰

Al-Ala' b. Ziyad, a *Tabi'i* (تابعي) is said to have heard Traditions from Imran b. Husain, Abu Hurairah, Ma'adh b. Jabal, Qatadah and ‘Ubadah b. al-Samit.²²¹ Once a person informed him that he had seen in a dream that he

²⁰⁶ Al-Sha'rani, p. 107; Jami, p. 49.

²⁰⁷ p. 23; al-Sha'rani, p. 107.

²⁰⁸ Al-Qushairi, p. 15; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 271; but Jami omits the word "Ibn" between ‘Abd al-Rahman and Ahmad.

²⁰⁹ Yafi'i, Vol. II, p. 29 ; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 276. Jami (p. 27) gives the name of the place as Daran.

²¹⁰ ‘Attar, Vol. I, p. 236.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² Yafi'i, Vol. II, p. 29.

²¹³ Al-Manawi, p. 425.

²¹⁴ Jami, p. 27.

²¹⁵ Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 276.

²¹⁶ Not to be confounded with his contemporary Ahmad Bazargan, a rich merchant of Nishapur. See ‘Attar, Vol. I, p. 241.

²¹⁷ Al-Dhahabi, Vol. I, p. 42.

²¹⁸ ‘Attar, Vol. I, p. 242.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Al-Dhahabi, Vol. I, p. 42.

²²¹ Abu Nu‘aim, f. 195.

(al-Ala') had entered the paradise. "It was a Satanic dream," replied al-Ala'.²²² According to another version of the same story, al-Ala' betook himself to a small chamber where he wept for three days. Then Hasan of Basrah got the door opened, and asked him to rejoice and not to be sad.²²³ He died in 94/713.²²⁴

Bayazid al-Bistam, Abu Yazid Taifur b. `Isa b. Surushan,²²⁵ an inhabitant of Bistam, a town in the suburbs of Qumas, the frontier town of Khurasan on the Iraq side,²²⁶ is very much respected by Sufis; and al-Junaid has devoted one full chapter in the *Ma'ali* to an account of his life,²²⁷ and in a full chapter in *al-Maqsad* he gives a detailed description of his ascension.²²⁸ Bayazid died at the age of seventy-three in 261/875 or 264/878.²²⁹

Abu Wuhaib Buhlul b. Amr al-Sairafi of Kufah²³⁰ attended the lectures of Aiman b. Nabil, Amr b. Dinar and Asim b. Abi al-Najwad.²³¹ He died *circa* 190/806.²³²

Abu Sulaiman Dawud b. Nusair al-Tai²³³ heard Traditions from Abd al-Malik b. `Umair, `Urwah b. Hisham and al-A`mash, and narrated them before Ibn `Iliyyah, Ishaq al-Saluli, Abu Nu`aim and Musa'b b. al-Muqaddam.²³⁴ In *fiqh* he was a disciple of Abu Hanifah and was not on good terms with Abu Yusuf, because of the latter's appointment as the Chief Qadi. He was one of the greatest ascetics and Habib Ra'i was his spiritual guide.²³⁵ His mother left

²²² Ibid., f. 194; al-Sha'rani, p. 41; al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 246.

²²³ Al-Junaid, *Ma'ali* (MS.), p. 17; Abu Nu`aim, f. 195.

²²⁴ Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 246.

²²⁵ Sam`ani, f. 81a. Ibn Khallikan (Vol. I, p. 240) inserts in the chain of lineage `Adam b. `Isa b. `Ali after `Isa, but this cannot be correct as he himself says that Bayazid's grandfather was the first of the family to embrace Islam.

²²⁶ Yafi'i, Vol. II, p. 173.

²²⁷ Al-Junaid, *Ma'ali al-Himam*, Chap. IX.

²²⁸ Al-Junaid, *al-Maqsad Ilallah*, Chap. IX.

²²⁹ Al-Qushairi, p. 14; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 240; Yafi'i, Vol. II, p. 175; Jami, p. 38; al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 422.

²³⁰ Hasan, p. 67; Ibn Shakir, Vol. I, p. 82.

²³¹ Ibn Shakir, Vol. I, p. 82.

²³² Ibn Qutaibah, p. 175; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 177; Ibn Hajar, p. 117. Jami (p. 28) has Nasr which appears to be a misprint for Nusair.

²³³ Al-Manawi, p. 185.

²³⁴ Hujwiri, p. 88; Jami, p. 28.

²³⁵ Qushairi, p. 12; Hujwiri, p. 87; `Attar, Vol. I, p. 219; Jami, p. 28.

to him a legacy of 20 dinars²³⁶ or 300 dirhams²³⁷ which he spent in twenty years.²³⁸ He died in 162/779 or 165/782.²³⁹ Ibn Hajar gives 160/777 also as the year of his death.²⁴⁰

Dhu al-Nun al-Misri, Abu al-Faid²⁴¹ Thawban (surnamed Dhu al-Nun) b. Ibrahim²⁴² was born at Ikhmim,²⁴³ a town in upper Egypt, and took his permanent residence at Nuba.²⁴⁴ He heard Traditions from Malik b. Anas, al-Laith al-Misri, Ibn Luhai'ah, Fudail b. 'Ayad, Ibn 'Uyainah and Aslam al-Khwass.²⁴⁵ He was a disciple of Shaqran al-'Abid,²⁴⁶ though Jami would have us believe that he received his light direct from the archangel Saraphel.²⁴⁷ Al-Hasan b. Musa`b al-Nakh'i, Ahmad b. Sabbah al-Fayyumi and Ta'i obtained Traditions from him.²⁴⁸ He died in Dhu al-Qa'dah 245/860²⁴⁹ (according to some in 246 or 248²⁵⁰) and was buried at Qurafat al-Sughra.²⁵¹

The name of Abu Muhammad²⁵² al-Fath al-Mawsili's father was either Sa'id²⁵³ or 'Ali.²⁵⁴ He was a contemporary of Bishr al-Hafi (who died in 227 A.H.) and Sari al-Saqati (who died some time after 250 A.H.), hence the date of his death cannot be 120/738 as given by al-Manawi.²⁵⁵ The scribe has

²³⁶ Qushairi, p. 12; 'Attar, Vol. I, p. 227.

²³⁷ Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 177.

²³⁸ See notes 4 and 5.

²³⁹ Yafi'i, Vol. II, p. 35; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 177; al-Manawi, p. 162; Jami, p. 28.

²⁴⁰ Ibn Hajar, p. 117.

²⁴¹ Jami, p. 23.

²⁴² Qushairi, p. 8; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 101; al-Manawi, Vol. 1, p. 384; Jami, p. 23.

²⁴³ Abu al-Falah, *Shadbarat*.

²⁴⁴ Jami, p. 23.

²⁴⁵ Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 384.

²⁴⁶ Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 110.

²⁴⁷ Jami, p. 23.

²⁴⁸ Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 384.

²⁴⁹ Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 110; Sam'ani, 22a; Qushairi, p. 8; al-Manawi, *al-Kawakib*, Vol. I, p. 390.

²⁵⁰ Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 101.

²⁵¹ Ibid.,

²⁵² Sha'rani, p. 93.

²⁵³ Ibid.; al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 270.

²⁵⁴ Jami, p. 33.

²⁵⁵ Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 269.

written the word مائة on the margin which appears to be a mistake for مائتين
In fact he died in 220/835.

Hamid al-`Arif. All the authorities are silent about him.

Hammad al-Qurashi. There have been two persons of this name. One of them, who died in his eightieth year in 201/817,²⁵⁶ was a traditionist. He, therefore, cannot be the person meant in the text. The other Abu `Amr Hammad, who was contemporary with al-Junaid and a resident of Baghdad, was a Sufi.²⁵⁷ It seems, therefore, very probable that he is the person meant in the text.

Al-Hasan al-Basri, Abu Sa`id al-Hasan, was the son of Abu al-Hasan Yasar²⁵⁸ (a client of Zaid b. Thabit al-Ansari²⁵⁹) and Khairah (a clientess of Umm Salamah, the Prophet's wife),²⁶⁰ and had enjoyed the company of several companions, seventy of whom were those who had attended the Battle of Badr.²⁶¹ He was noted for the fluency of his language,²⁶² and is accused of relating traditions on apocryphal authority.²⁶³ Zabban b. al-`Ala,²⁶⁴ Shaiban b. `Abd al-Rahman²⁶⁵ and Wasil b. `Ata', the founder of the Mu'tazilite sect, were his disciples. He died of diarrhoea on Thursday, the 1st of Rajab 110/10 October 728.²⁶⁶

Al-Hasan al-Yawajiri. All the authorities are silent about him. Ibn Sirin, Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Abu `Umara Sirin,²⁶⁷ commonly known as Ibn Sirin was born in 33/655.²⁶⁸ Sirin was an inhabitant of Jarjarayah, whence he came to `Ain Tamar where he was made a war captive, and ultimately a war slave

²⁵⁶ Ibn Hajar, p. 101.

²⁵⁷ Jami, *Nafabat*, p. 52.

²⁵⁸ Al-Dhahabi, Vol. I, p. 245; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 128; Ibn Hajar, p. 87.

²⁵⁹ Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 128.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ `Attar, Vol. I, p. 25.

²⁶² Al-Dhahabi, Vol. I, p. 245; Ibn Hajar, p. 87.

²⁶³ Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 230; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 128.

²⁶⁴ Yaqut, Vol. IV, p. 217.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 263.

²⁶⁶ Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 128; Ibn Hajar, p. 87; al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 179.

²⁶⁷ Ibn Qutaibah, p. 103; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 453; Ibn Hajar, p. 323.

²⁶⁸ Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 453; *Sharh Majani*, p. 308.

by the famous general of Islam, Khalid b. al-Walid. Sirin fell in the lot of Anas b. Malik who promised to set him free, if he paid him 20,000 or 40,000 dirhams.²⁶⁹ Ibn Sirin's mother Safiyyah was a clientess of Abu Bakr al-Siddiq.

Ibn Sirin was a great traditionist and related Traditions to Qatadah b. Da'ama, Khalid and Ayyub²⁷⁰ on the authority of the Companions Abu Sa'id al-Khadri, Ibn 'Umar, Ibn al-'Abbas, Abu Bakrah,²⁷¹ Abu Hurairah, 'Imran b. Husain, Anas b. Malik²⁷² and 'Abd Allah b. al-Zubair. He was a cloth-merchant, and, on account of the defect in his *sense* of hearing, was known as al-Asamm ["the Deaf"²⁷³]. He had thirty children, of whom only 'Abd Allah survived him.²⁷⁴ A spendthrift that he was, he always stood in debt, and for his inability to pay off his debts he had even to bear the hardships of imprisonment.²⁷⁵ He died at the age of seventy-eight on the 9th of Shawwal 110/18 January 729, a hundred days after the death of his contemporary al-Hasan of Basrah.²⁷⁶ Al-Yafi'i and al-Manawi do not seem to be correct when they assign him an age exceeding eighty.²⁷⁷

Abu Ishaq Ibrahim b. Adham b. Mansur belonged to the tribe of Banu 'Ajal, a clan of Asad, whence he derived his *nisbah* al-'Ajali.²⁷⁸

It is also said that he belonged to the tribe of Tamim, whence he derived the *nisbah* al-Tamimi.²⁷⁹ He was a prince of Balkh and was born at Mecca where his parents had gone on a pilgrimage. At the time of his birth his mother prayed to God to make him a righteous person.²⁸⁰ He narrated traditions to Abu Ishaq al-Qarari, Baqiyyah and Shaqiq of Balkh on the authority of Yazid al-Raqqashi, Yahya b. Sa'id al-Ansari and Malik b. Dinar.²⁸¹

²⁶⁹ Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 453.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.; Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 223.

²⁷¹ Abu Nu'aim, Vol. I, p. 368.

²⁷² Ibid.; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 453.

²⁷³ Ibn Qutaibah, p. 103; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 453.

²⁷⁴ Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 223.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ Ibn Qutaibah, p. 153; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 453; Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 232; al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 285; *Sharh Majani*, p. 308.

²⁷⁷ Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 233; al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 285.

²⁷⁸ Ibn Hajar, p. 15; al-Shakir, *Fawat*, Vol. I, p. 3.

²⁷⁹ Ibn Hajar, p. 15.

²⁸⁰ Al-Shakir, Vol. I, p. 3; *Sharh Majani*, p. 6.

²⁸¹ Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 144.

He enjoyed the company of Fudailb. ‘Ayad and Sufyan al-Thawri, and lived on what he earned by cutting wood and keeping gardens, and used to take food every fourth day.²⁸² He learnt *Qir’at* under Abu ‘Ammarah Habib b. Hamzah al-Zayyat al-Kufi (80-156 or 158 A.H).²⁸³ It is a credit to him that al-Bukhari accepts Traditions on his authority in his book *al-Adab al-Mufrad*, as also Tirmidhi in his *Sunan*.²⁸⁴ He died in 161/778²⁸⁵ or 162/779.²⁸⁶ The year 166, as given by Jami,²⁸⁷ is probably a mistake for 162. He was buried in an island²⁸⁸ in the Mediterranean Sea.²⁸⁹ It is also said that in his last days he migrated to Syria,²⁹⁰ and died at Jubail,²⁹¹ a village in the suburbs of Damascus.

Ja'far, Abu ‘Abdillah Ja'far al-Sadiq b. Muhammad al-Baqir b. Zain al-‘Abidin 'Ali b. ‘Abi Talib, was born in 80/700.²⁹² His mother Umm Farwah was the daughter of Abu Bakr's grandson Qasim b. Muhammad and granddaughter of ‘Abd al-Rahman.²⁹³ He narrated Traditions to the two Sufyans,²⁹⁴ Malik and Qattan, on the authority of his father al-Baqir, ‘Urwah, ‘Ata', Nafi.` and al-Zuhri.²⁹⁵ Al-Bukhari accepted Traditions on his authority in his book, *Khalq Aral al-'Ibad*, but not in his *Sahib*;²⁹⁶ while other writers on the subject have accepted them on his authority and included them in their *Sahibs*.²⁹⁷ The Shi‘ah considered him to be their sixth Imam, and the major portion of their Traditional literature is based on his narration. Hamzah b. Habib al-Zayyat al-Kufi,²⁹⁸ al-Dahhak b. Mukhallad²⁹⁹ and Jabir b. Hayyan

²⁸² Ibid.,

²⁸³ Yaqut, Vol. I, p. 151.

²⁸⁴ Ibn Hajar, p. 15.

²⁸⁵ Jami, p. 28; *Sharh Majani*, p. 6.

²⁸⁶ Ibn Hajar, p. 15; Abu al-Falah, *Shadharat*.

²⁸⁷ Jami, p. 28; *Sharh Majani*, p. 6.

²⁸⁸ Ibid.,

²⁸⁹ Ibn Shakir, Vol. I, p. 3.

²⁹⁰ Jami, p. 28; *Sharh Majani*, p. 6.

²⁹¹ *Sharh Majani*, p. 7.

²⁹² Ibid. p. 45; Abu al-Falah, *Shadharat*.

²⁹³ Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 170.

²⁹⁴ Sufyan al-Thawri and Sufyan b. ‘Uyainah.

²⁹⁵ Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 170.

²⁹⁶ Ibn Hajar, p. 68.

²⁹⁷ Ibid.; al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 170.

²⁹⁸ Yaqut, Vol. IV, p. 150.

(the famous Gaber), who collected Ja`far's works in a book of 1,000 folios comprising 500 booklets,³⁰⁰ were his disciples. He died in his sixty-eighth year in 148/766³⁰¹ and was buried in al-Baqi, the famous grave yard of Medina.³⁰²

Abu al-Harith al-Laith b. Sa`d b. `Abd al-Rahman al-Fahmi al-Misri was born at Qarqashanda, a village in Lower Egypt,³⁰³ in 94/714.³⁰⁴ He heard Traditions from `Ata',³⁰⁵ Ibn Mulaikah,³⁰⁶ Nafi and al-Zuhri.³⁰⁷ Shafi'i testifies that he was a greater jurist than Malik b. Anas.³⁰⁸ He held the office of Qadi,³⁰⁹ and died at the age of eighty-one³¹⁰ in 176/792.³¹¹ According to Sam'ani he died in the month of Sha`ban 174/791³¹² at Fustat.³¹³ All the compilers of the Traditions accept them on his authority.³¹⁴

Abu Yahya Malik b. Dinar al-Basri, a client of Banu Sama' b. Luwayy al-Qurashi,³¹⁵ heard Traditions from Anas b. Malik, Husain, Ibn Sirin, Qasim b. Muhammad and Salim b. `Abdillah.³¹⁶ He lived on whatever he earned from copying the Qur'an.³¹⁷ He died in 131/749.³¹⁸ Al-Manawi gives 181/797.³¹⁹ It

²⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 272.

³⁰⁰ Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 304; Abu al-Falah, *Shadbarat*.

³⁰¹ Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 304; Abu al-Falah, *Shadbarat*; al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 173; Ibn Hajar, *Taqrib*, p. 68; Amir Khwand, *Rawdat al-Safa'*, p. 16; *Sharh Majanl*, p. 45.

³⁰² Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 304.

³⁰³ Sam'ani, f. 434b.

³⁰⁴ Abu al-Falah, *Shadbarat*.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.; Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 369.

³⁰⁶ Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 369.

³⁰⁷ Abu al-Falah, *Shadbarat*.

³⁰⁸ Sam'ani, f. 434b.

³⁰⁹ *Shadbarat*.

³¹⁰ Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 369; Ibn Hajar, p. 311; *Shadbarat*.

³¹¹ *Shadbarat*.

³¹² Sam'ani, f. 434b.

³¹³ Ibid.,

³¹⁴ Ibn Hajar, p. 311; *Shadbarat*.

³¹⁵ Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 440.

³¹⁶ Abu Nu`aim, Vol. I, f. 427.

³¹⁷ Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 440; Abu al-Falah, *Shadbarat*.

³¹⁸ Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 440; al-Sha`rani, p. 43. Ibn Hajar (p. 344) gives *circa* 130; Abu al-Falah gives 128 A.H.

³¹⁹ Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 277.

appears that ثمانين was probably by mistake substituted for ثلاثين by the scribe.

Abu ja'far Muhammad b. al-Baghdadi al-Dulabi was born in 150/767³²⁰ and studied Traditions under Shuraik and his contemporaries³²¹ and died in 277/842.³²² He also compiled a book of Traditions under the title of *Sunan Saghir*.³²³ It seems that he is the person mentioned in the text, although there are two persons besides him bearing the same name. One is Muhammad b. al-Sabah al-Jarijarai³²⁴ included among the traditionists only, and is, therefore, excluded. The other is Muhammad b. al-Subh, who died in 130/748 at Kufah, but he cannot be the man referred to, because al-Manawi³²⁵ says that he related Traditions from the Tabi'is, while he is not included among the narrators of Traditions in any of the sources. It is possible, however, that 130 is a mistake for 230 in which case he may also be identified with al-Dulabi.

Abu Bakr (or Abu 'Abdillah) Muhammad b. Wasi' al-Azdi was a *qari* of the Qur'an and his title was Zain al-Qurra', "Ornament of the Readers."³²⁶ He saw a large number of the Tabi'in (تابعين) and obtained Traditions from them. Among them were Mutarrif b. 'Abdillah b. Shikhkhir al-'Amiri (d. 95 A.H.)³²⁷ Ibn Sirin, Salim al-Ghata-fani, 'Abd Allah b. al-Samit and Abu Burdah.³²⁸ He narrated Traditions on the authority of Anas b. Malik also.³²⁹ He spoke very little and mostly remained quiet, and used to put on coarse woollen garments.³³⁰ Ibn Hajar,³³¹ Yafi'i³³² and Abu al-Falah³³³ record his

³²⁰ Ibn Hajar, p. 323.

³²¹ Abu al-Falah, *Shadharat*.

³²² Ibid.; Ibn Hajar, p. 323 ; f. 233b.

³²³ *Shadharat*.

³²⁴ Ibn Hajar, p. 323.

³²⁵ Al-Manawi, Vol. I, pp. 288-90.

³²⁶ Abu Nu'aim, Vol. I, f. 404; Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 239; al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 286.

³²⁷ Ibn Hajar, p. 340.

³²⁸ Abu Nu'aim, Vol. I, f. 409.

³²⁹ Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 288.

³³⁰ Al-Sha rani, p. 42.

³³¹ Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 288.

³³² Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 259.

³³³ Abu al-Falah, *Shadharat*.

death in the year 123/741, while Ibn Qutaibah³³⁴ and al-Manawi³³⁵ put it three years earlier in 120/739.

Umm al-Khair Rabi'ah, daughter of Isma'il al-'Adawi al-Qaisi of Basrah, was a clientess of 'Ali 'Atiq³³⁶. She was born about 55/675. As long as she remained in the service of 'Ali, she used to work for him in the day and offer prayers in the night. Once he awoke and saw a flash of celestial light falling upon her, so he set her free the next morning.³³⁷ Muhammad b. Sulaiman, who was a rich man and was reputed to have hoarded up 80,000 dirhams, asked her hand in marriage. But she rejected the offer and wrote to him: "Asceticism in the world keeps the body comfortable and the desire of the world begets sorrow. It is your grave, get prepared for the Resurrection. Do not be an object of your legatees' wish who want to distribute your heirloom. Observe fast in this world, and break it when you die. If God bestows upon me wealth equal to your or more than that, I will not like to be busy but with him. Adieu!"³³⁸ There are anecdotes which show that Rabi'ah was of an advanced age before al-Hasan al-Basri died. It seems, therefore, probable that her death occurred in 135/753³³⁹ and the year 180³⁴⁰ or 185³⁴¹ is incorrect. She was buried at al-Tur,³⁴² a village in the suburbs of Nisibin.

Rubah b. 'Amr al-Qaisi flourished during the second century of Islam,³⁴³ and used to pass his time mostly in weeping.³⁴⁴ Helived on saltish bread only,³⁴⁵ and used to say, "Too much of meat hardens the heart, and the wise are not to look after their belly alone."³⁴⁶

³³⁴ Ibn Qutaibah, p. 164.

³³⁵ Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 288.

³³⁶ Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 182; al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 195.

³³⁷ 'Attar, Vol. I, p. 60.

³³⁸ Ibid., p. 66; al-Manawi, Vol. I, pp. 195-96.

³³⁹ Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 182; Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 281; Abu al-Falah, *Shadharat*.

³⁴⁰ Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 199.

³⁴¹ Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 182; Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 281; *Shadharat*.

³⁴² As for 206.

³⁴³ Al-Manawi has not given any dates, but has included his account among the second-century men. Besides, al-Junaid says that he was contemporary with Rabi'ah of Basrah, *vide* Ma'ali MS., f. 13.

³⁴⁴ Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 190.

³⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 191.

³⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 190.

Abu al-Hasan (or Abu al-Husain) Sari al-Saqati b. Mughallis al-Siqi was a disciple of the saint Ma`ruf al-Karkhi,³⁴⁷ and heard Traditions from Fudail, Haitham, 'Ali b. Ghurah, Abu Bakr b. 'Ayyash and Yazid b. Harun, and related them before al-Junaid, Abu al-'Abbas b. Masruq and Ibrahim al-Mahrabi.³⁴⁸ His death occurred some time between 251/865 and 257/871. There is much difference of opinion on this point. Al-Sha`rani gives 251 A.H. alone.³⁴⁹ Ibn Khallikan gives 251, 256 or 257 A.H. as the year of his death.³⁵⁰ Yafi'i and Jami give 253/867.³⁵¹ Considering the comparative merits of these authorities, 253 A.H. seems to be the correct date. Again, there is an irreconcilable difference in fixing the week-day of his death. Jami writes that it was Tuesday the 30th,³⁵² while Ibn Khallikan gives 6th³⁵³ of the month of Ramadan. He was buried in the Shuniziyyah, the famous graveyard of Baghdad.³⁵⁴

Abu `Abdillah Sufyan b. Sa'id b. Masruq al-Thawri belonged to the tribe of Thawr b. 'Abd Manat, whence he derived his *nisbah* al-Thawri.³⁵⁵ A story is current that once, when entering a mosque, he first put his left foot on its floor instead of the right,³⁵⁶ whereupon a divine voice called him Thawr, "a bull."³⁵⁷ This can hardly be anything but a fable. He obtained Traditions from his father (d. 126/477),³⁵⁸ and from Simak b. Harb³⁵⁹ (d. 123/741),³⁶⁰ 'Amr b. Murra al-Kamali³⁶¹ (d. 118/736),³⁶² Abu Ishaq al-Sabi'i³⁶³ (d. 129/747),³⁶⁴ al-

³⁴⁷ Hujwiri, p. 88.

³⁴⁸ Al-Manawi, Vol. I, pp. 393-96.

³⁴⁹ Al-Sha`rani, p. 86.

³⁵⁰ Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 200.

³⁵¹ Yafi'i, Vol. II, p. 158; Jami, p. 36.

³⁵² Jami, p. 86.

³⁵³ Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 200.

³⁵⁴ Ibid.,

³⁵⁵ Ibn Qutaibah, p. 170; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 210.

³⁵⁶ It is considered bad manners to begin an act with the left hand or foot.

³⁵⁷ 'Attar, Vol. I, p. 345.

³⁵⁸ Sam'ani, f. 117a; Ibn Hajar, *Taqrib*, p. 149.

³⁵⁹ Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 345.

³⁶⁰ Ibn Hajar, p. 160.

³⁶¹ Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 345.

³⁶² Ibn Hajar, p. 288.

³⁶³ Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 345; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 210.

³⁶⁴ Ibn Hajar, p. 286.

A'mash³⁶⁵ (d. 147/765),³⁶⁶ and Ibn Juraij (d.150/767),³⁶⁷ and narrated them before al-Awza'i³⁶⁸ (d, 157/774),³⁶⁹ Muhammad b. Ishaq and Malik b. Anas³⁷⁰ (d. 179/796).³⁷¹ Sufyan had evolved a jurisprudence, but it did not survive him long.³⁷² He died in 161/788 at Basrah.³⁷³ He had no issue; therefore his sister inherited the 150 dinars he had left at the time of his death.³⁷⁴

Abu Ayyub Sulaiman al-Khwass obtained Traditions from Sa'id b. `Abd al-`Aziz³⁷⁵ and died in 162/779.³⁷⁶ Ibn Hajar mentions numerous Sulaimans with the *kunyah* Abu Ayyub;³⁷⁷ but none of them can be identified with al-Khwass. As regards Sa'id b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, Ibn Hajar records his death in 167/784.³⁷⁸

Abu Muhammad Thabit b. Aslam al-Bunani belonged to the Bunana tribe, which took its name from a woman Bunana who was a clientess of Sa'd b. Luwayy b. Ghalib, to whom she had borne children.³⁷⁹ He heard Traditions from the Companions, Ibn 'Umar. Ibn al-Zubair and Anas,³⁸⁰ and narrated them to 'Ata' b. Rubah, Qatadah, Ayyub, Yunus b. `Ubaid, Sulaiman al-Taimi, Humaid, Dawud b. Abu Hind, 'Ali b. Zaid b. Jad'an and al-

³⁶⁵ Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 345.

³⁶⁶ Ibn Hajar, p. 160.

³⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 246, marginal note.

³⁶⁸ Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 345.

³⁶⁹ Ibn Hajar, p. 235.

³⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 286.

³⁷¹ Ibid., p. 344.

³⁷² *Sharh Majani*, p. 217.

³⁷³ Ibn Qutaibah, p. 170 ; Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 347 ; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, D. 210; Ibn Hajar, p. 15 ; al-Sha'rani, p. 54; al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 509; Abu al-Falah, *Shadharat*.

³⁷⁴ Ibn Qutaibah, p. 170.

³⁷⁵ Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 211.

³⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 212.

³⁷⁷ Ibn Hajar, pp. 155ff.

³⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 147.

³⁷⁹ Sam'ani, f. 91; Abu al-Falah, *Shadharat*; *Qamus*.

³⁸⁰ Abu Nu'aim, Vol. I, f. 396; al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 169. Abu al-Falah, *Shadharat*.

A`mash.³⁸¹ The date of his death is variously given as 123³⁸² and 127,³⁸³ while Ibn Hajar says that he died some time after 120A.H.³⁸⁴

Thawban al-Hashimi was a client of the Prophet. After his death Thawban migrated to Syria and died at Hims (Emessa) in 54/673.

Al-Bukhari in his *al-Adab al-Mufrad* and al-Muslim in his *Sabih* have related Traditions on his authority.³⁸⁵

Abu Hafs ‘Umar b. Salama al-Haddad was a blacksmith of Nishapur. In the prime of his youth he fell in love with a girl, and retired into a jungle lest his love-story may be known to the people. He became a disciple of al-Hiri (?) and had enjoyed the company of alAbiwardi and died in 264/878 or 267/881.³⁸⁶

Abu Zakariyyah Yahya b. Ma'adh al-Razi was a pulpit preacher, and was, therefore, known as al-Wa'iz, "the Preacher."³⁸⁷ His brothers Isma'il and Ibrahim were also ascetics.³⁸⁸ He was an optimist, while his namesake Yahya Zakariyyah was a pessimist.³⁸⁹ He died in the month of Jumada 1,³⁹⁰ 258/872³⁹¹ at Nishapur.³⁹²

Yusuf b. Asbat heard Traditions from al-Thawri, Zaidah and Mukhallad b. Khalifah, and related them to al-Musayyib b. Wadih and ‘Abd Allah b. Hasan al-Antiki.³⁹³ He inherited 70,000 dirhams which he did not spend on his person, but earned his livelihood by weaving palm-leaves, and for forty

³⁸¹ Abu Nu'aim, Vol. I, f. 396.

³⁸² Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 259; al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 168; Abu al-Falah, *Shadharat*.

³⁸³ A1-Dhahabi, Vol. I, p. 168; al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 168.

³⁸⁴ Ibn Hajar, p. 59.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

³⁸⁶ Al-Manawi, Vol. I, pp. 230-33.

³⁸⁷ Ibn Khallikan, Vol. II, p. 224; al-Sha'rani, p. 94.

³⁸⁸ Ibn Khallikan, Vol. II, p. 224.

³⁸⁹ Hujwiri, p. 98; ‘Attar, Vol. I, p. 298.

³⁹⁰ Ibn Khallikan, Vol. II, p. 224; Abu al-Falah, *Shadharat*.

³⁹¹ Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 459; *Shadharat*.

³⁹² Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 459; *Shadharat*; Hujwiri, p. 99; Jami, p. 38.

³⁹³ Al-Manwari, Vol. I, p. 323.

years he put on ragged clothes ³⁹⁴ He died in 192/808 when there were left bones only on his body and no flesh.³⁹⁵

³⁹⁴ ‘Attar, Vol. II, p. 76.

³⁹⁵ Al-Manawi, Vol.I, p. 323. Al-Sha'rani (p. 71) writes that he died sometime after 190 A.H.

THREE UNPUBLISHED PICTURES OF RIZA-I 'ABBASI, THE COURT PAINTER OF SHAH 'ABBAS THE GREAT, AND THE CONTROVERSY ABOUT HIS PERSONALITY

Lieutenant-Colonel K. A. Rashid, A.M.C. Introduction

THERE are three contemporary painters-cum-calligraphists of the period of Shah 'Abbas the Great about whom certain confusion in identification has arisen due to the similarity of their names and profession. They are (1) Aqa Riza, (2) Riza-i 'Abbasi and (3) 'Ali Riza. Of these three, the first, Aqa Riza, was a painter and calligraphist, the second, Riza-i 'Abbasi, was purely a painter, and the third, 'Ali Riza, was a calligraphist. Out of the three again, it was Aqa Riza who went over to India and served in the courts of Akbar the Great and Emperor Jahangir.

According to '*Alam Arai 'Abbasi*,³⁹⁶ they belonged to Kashan, while Jahangir in his *Tuzk*³⁹⁷ mentions them as hailing from Herat. 'Ali Riza was from Tabriz, and is commonly known as 'Ali Riza 'Abbasi Tabrizi. Riza-i 'Abbasi, the artist under discussion, came from Meshed, according to my presumption. He is known through several of his signed paintings which are scattered over many museums of the world, such as the Boston, Louvre, Bibliotheque Nationale, Tehran and the Metropolitan. His paintings are signed in two different ways, viz. Riza and Riza-i 'Abbasi. Paintings found signed as Aqa Riza do not belong to him, but to Aqa Riza, the son of 'Ali Asghar who went over to India and was also a calligraphist. We shall here discuss all these points in some detail. The pictures signed as Riza by Riza-i 'Abbasi are his earlier pictures, before he became associated with the court of Shah 'Abbas the Great, after whom he adopted the title of 'Abbasi.

³⁹⁶ Iskander Beg Turkoman, *Alam Arai Abbasi*, Tehran, 1314 A.H.

³⁹⁷ *Tuzk-i Jahangiri*, translation by Rogers and Beverage, London, 1909.

My revered friend, Dr. Muhammad ‘Abdullah Chaghtai, was the first to publish a learned article in the *Islamic Culture*,³⁹⁸ and made an excellent attempt to remove the misunderstanding and confusion about the personalities of these three artists. I shall often be referring to his scholarly: dissertation while discussing my thesis. Since the publication of his article, however, some hitherto unpublished facts have recently come to light, which both clarify and add to the confusion. My real purpose in writing this article is to introduce to my readers three pictures of Riza-i ‘Abbasi reproduced here. In an attempt to do this I found myself entangled in this "eternal triangle" and, in an effort to disentangle myself, I covered a new field on the subject, which I thought may help to further clarify the subject. The following is the result of my research.

The Life and Art of Riza-i Abbasi

In a book recently published in Iran, entitled *Karnameh Buzurgan-i Iran*³⁹⁹, it is stated:

بر زندگانی رضاء عباسی بر خلاف معاصرینش که کم و بیش در تواریخ نامی از آنان ذکر شده، هیچ روشن نیست.

Rendered into English it means: "In contrast to his contemporaries whose life is available in the books of history, there is nothing to be found about the life of Riza-i ‘Abbasi. The word معاصرینش (his contemporaries) here probably means the other artists mentioned above, whose names are very similar. The period in which Riza-i ‘Abbasi lived has also been given variously by different writers. But one thing is certain that he lived during the lifetime of Shah ‘Abbas the Great. M.S. Dimand⁴⁰⁰ fixes this date between 1587 and 1628 A.D. This corresponds to 996-1038 A.H. This gives him a life-span of 42 years. According to *Karnameh Buzurgan-i Iran* his period is given as lying between the years 995 and 1038 A.H. This gives him an age of 43 years. I am inclined to doubt this statement and feel that our artist lived

³⁹⁸ Dr. M. A. Chaghtai, "Aqa Riza-‘Ali Riza-Riza-i-‘Abbasi," *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad Deccan, Vol. XII, October 1958.

³⁹⁹ *Karnameh Buzurgan-i Iran*, Department of Publications, Tehran, 1340 Shamsi.

⁴⁰⁰ M. S. Dimand, *A Handbook of Muhammadan Art*, Heartsdale House, New York, 1947.

for a longer period of life. This is evident from the date of his signature under his writing on Picture No. 1, which says:

در مشهد مقدس آخر روز جمعه دهم محرم الحرام در دولت خانه در خدمت یاران
ساخته شد. راقم رضاء ۱۰۰۷ء خصوصاً حاجی می رزا عراجسگے سلمه اله.

["On last Friday, the 10th of Muharram, this picture was drawn in the State House, in the company of friends. Raqam Riza 1007. Specially (?) Haji Mirza Gharajasghi(?)."]

It will be noticed that he has signed his name as Riza only. If he was born in the year 995/996 A.H., then it would mean that our artist at the time of drawing this picture was hardly 11/12 ! This does not seem probable for the following reasons:

- (1) It is rather too young an age to produce such a mature work of art.
- (2) The writing on the side reproduced above also appears mature for that age.

This picture was made in the company of a few intimate friends, and was necessarily drawn in a short time. Also it is not a posed picture obviously, and, therefore, could not have taken a long time. There is humour about the picture, which is very subtle; the mood has been caught spontaneously. This shows a great mastery of the art which is inconceivable at the age of 11/12 years.

(3) This picture was made in the company of a few intimate friends, and was necessarily drawn in a short time. Also it is not a posed picture obviously, and therefore, could not have taken a long time. There is humour about the picture, which is very subtle; the mood has been caught spontaneously. This shows a great mastery of the art which is inconceivable at the age of 11/12 years.

(4) The picture depicts one Haji Mirza Gharajasghi (?) whom I have been unable to identify. He is shown as a bald-headed middle-aged bearded man, Obviously he was an intimate friend of the artist, for he says so in the marginal writing. And if it be true that he painted this picture at the small age of 11/12 years, it is very unlikely that he had friends much older than himself. The bald head gives the figure an elderly appearance. The age of this

gentleman is likely to be between 25 and 35 years. The



Picture No. 1.—Man scratching his head, dated 1007 A.H. Signed as Riza.

[Facing page 76

phrase drawn in the company of friends] is very significant and shows that the company in which this picture was drawn was of intimate friends and not just casual acquaintances. They must have been at least of the same age group.

It will be further seen from this picture that the signature is dated 1007. Now, these were tumultuous days, as we learn from the "Life of Shah 'Abbas the Great."⁴⁰¹ It says:

در ۱۰۰۶ بار دیگر عبدالمومن ازبک مشهد را گرفته بسیاری از اهالی شهر را کشته و کراسان را متصرف شد و کود در این سال در ماوراء النهر بجای پدرش عبدالله خان ازبک نشست و از بد رفتاریهای خود بقتل رسید و تا ۱۰۰۸ شر ازبکان از خراسان رفع شد.

["In 1006 'Abdul Momin Uzbek captured Meshed for the second time, and killed a lot of inhabitants of that place, thus occupying Khurasan. In this very year he went and sat in the place of his father 'Abdullah Khan Uzbek in Transoxania. On account of his misdeeds he was murdered and till 1008 the evil cast by the Uzbeks did not clear off from Khurasan."]

Riza-i 'Abbasi till then was known only as Riza! These were the earliest pictures of Riza-i 'Abbasi and much before the time he was actually introduced into the court of Shah 'Abbas. Before I proceed any further I must make one point clear and draw attention of my learned readers to an article by Dr. Mehdi Behrami on Riza-i 'Abbasi which was published in the well-known journal, now defunct,⁴⁰² *آئنده* (*Ayendeh*), Vol. III, No. 13. Besides other things which he has confused, I will point out one glaring slip, and that is, Aqa Riza the painter-cum-calligraphist who went over to India never called himself nor has he ever been known as Aqa Riza 'Abbasi. He was known just as Aqa Riza. From the following passage in his writing, Dr.

⁴⁰¹ Abu al-Kassim Sahab, *Tarikh-o Zindgi Shah 'Abbas Kabir*, Tehran, 1925 Shamsi.

⁴⁰² *Ayendeh* ("آئنده"), Vol. III, No. 13, article on Riza-i 'Abbasi by Dr. Mehdi Behrami.

Behrami seems to have retained Aqa Riza in Iran till '020, whereas actually he was in India from the time of Akbar the Great ! Now read the following passage:

مدت کار آقا رضا را از روی قطعات تاریخ وار او میتوان در بین ۱۰۰۷ و ۱۰۴۴ هجری تعیین کرد و یکی از کارهای زیبای او امروز در موزه تهران مشاهده میشود. شاید نخست درم شهید بسر میبرد و تا پیش از ۱۰۲۰ بدر بار ساه عباس تقریبی حاصل نه کرده است و در آغاز امر فقط بنام رصا اکتفا می نموده.

["The period of his life-work as found from the chronograms seems to stretch from 1007 to 1044 A.H. One of his masterpieces is in the Tehran Museum. Probably he first of all settled down in Meshed, as before the year 1020 he did not have access to the court of Shah 'Abbas, and, therefore, in the beginning he was content with just Riza as his name."]

Then again he says:

سر آمد هنرمندان اصفهان در آنوقت آقا رضا بوده که لقب عباسی را از نام شاه عباس بزرگ گرفته.

["One of the topmost artists of that time in Ispahan was Aqa Riza who had adopted the title of 'Abbasi after the name of Shah 'Abbas the Great."]

Now, from the above two quotations it will have become evident that:

- (1) Aqa Riza also used the title 'Abbasi.
- (2) The title 'Abbasi was adopted after 1020 A.H.
- (3) The title was after the Emperor's name.

This is not correct, because: (a) Aqa Riza did not call himself by the title 'Abbasi. He had no reason to do so. He was not in the good books of Shah 'Abbas the Great, and had fled to India, as will be presently shown. (b) Aqa Riza was not in Iran in 1020. He was in India during the time of Akbar the Great. It is, therefore, Riza-i 'Abbasi who signed his name as Riza-i 'Abbasi on his pictures, but never as Aqa Riza. Picture No. 1 reproduced here was

drawn in 1007 and the place of its drawing was Meshed. These two things are established from this picture in favour of Riza-i 'Abbasi.

The period of Shah Abbas's reign is also 985-1038 A.H., which approximates with the period of Riza-i 'Abbasi which we have estimated. Shah 'Abbas the Great, like Emperor Jahangir, was also an artist himself. Painting was his pastime. The art of Riza-i Abbasi at this time had developed to a great height and he was attracting the attention of connoisseurs. His drawings were truly representative of the following attribute: "In human drawing of calligraphist nature lines are suggestive of a joyous play of the moulding outlines of the human body. Without taking the help of the shades, a line gradually growing to a suitable breadth towards the centre, in the form of a muscle fibre, suggests the roundness of a limb and seems to be full with the property of life."⁴⁰³ Just ponder over these words and look at Picture No. 1 again, and the other two reproduced here. You will find the truth in this statement depicted in his pictures.

Riza-i Abbasi had attained such a fame that many an artist who came afterwards adopted the title 'Abbasi after him. As an instance may be cited the name of Shafi' 'Abbasi. Dr. M. A. Chaghtai suspects him to be the son of Riza-i 'Abbasi, but I have not come across any evidence in support of it. Dr. Chaghtai, however, thinks correctly that his style clearly bears a Western influence." I feel that Riza-i 'Abbasi was the only person after Maulana Shaikh Muhammad Sabzwari to have popularised in Iran the style of painting after the Western manner. From the dates given above of the period of Riza-i 'Abbasi's life, I am inclined to stretch it back by another ten years and make it 985-1038, and not 995-1038 A.H.! This would make him twenty-two years of age in the year 1007 when he painted Picture No. 1.

A few words more about the art of Riza-i 'Abbasi. Look at Picture No. 1 again. The posture of the scratching left hand and the expression on the face are superb and meaningful. The main peculiarity of this drawing is that it is rendered in a calligraphic manner consisting of sure undulating curves combined with short curves.

Look now at Picture No. 2. You will find four horses with two faces! They are drawn in such a manner so as to look four. The lines and the

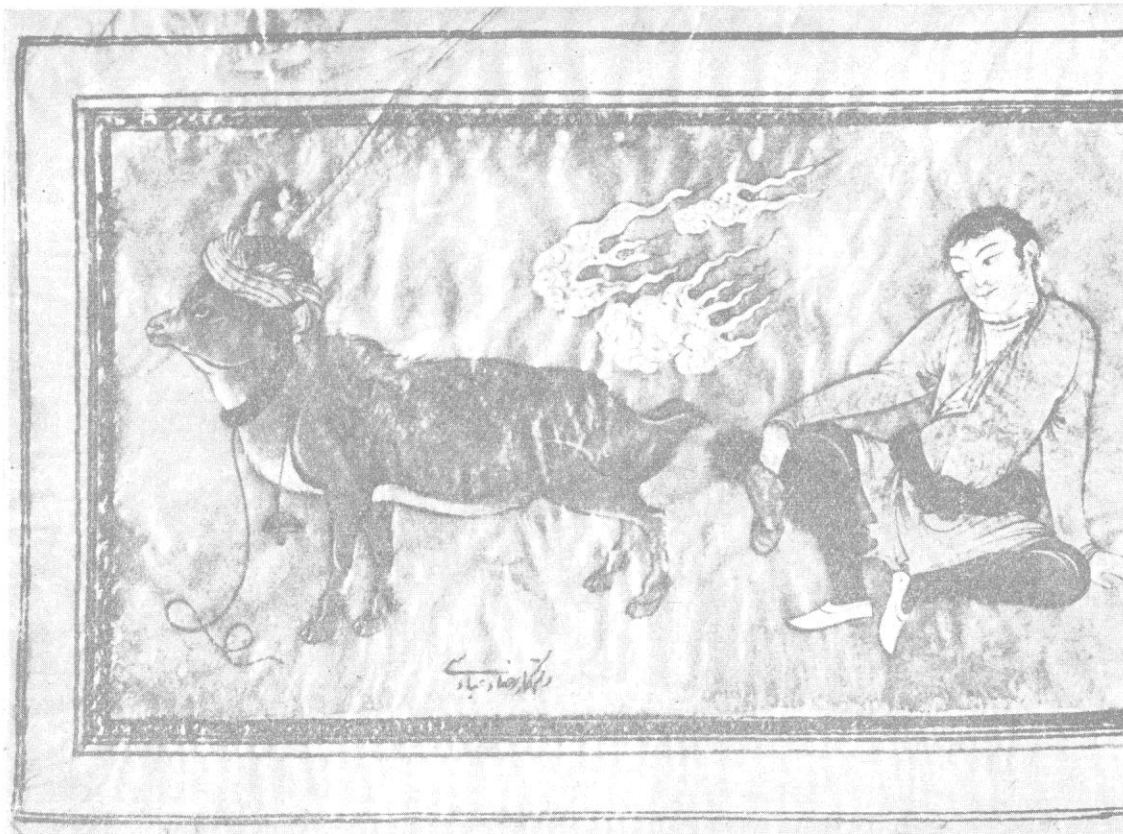
⁴⁰³ M. Zia-ud-Din, *Moslem Calligraphy*, Santiniketan Press, India, 1936.

strokes are so exquisite that they give a postural excellence to each pose. Except for the long back lines the rest of them are short. The two heads have been joined together in such a way that it gives the appearance of two stretched horses and two bending ones. The two fully stretched horses are in a galloping mood, while the two bending horses are in a drinking posture. The figure in each is perfect, and there is no break in the anatomy of the animals. Except for the two long strokes the rest of them are small and short. The calligraphic strokes are alternatively thick and thin in places, thus giving an appropriate shape to the muscles in action. It must not be construed from my statement that because his strokes are calligraphic, therefore, he was the calligraphist Aqa Riza or 'Ali Riza! Not the least. But this is the peculiarity and beauty of Riza-i 'Abbasi's art of drawing.

Riza-i 'Abbasi's influence has been found in many works of art in Iran. The Chihil Sutun or the "Hall of Forty Pillars" in Ispahan, and the garden pavilion Ala Kapi or the "Sublime Portel" have been decorated in his style. Figures of Europeans have been introduced into these decorations ! Many of the miniatures found in the *Shah Nameh* manuscripts reveal the influence of Riza-i 'Abbasi. Some authors have confused the two, Riza-i 'Abbasi and 'Ali Riza Tabrizi, while commenting on the art of these manuscripts. M.S. Dimand falls into this category. However, he is quite convinced about the artistic excellence of Riza-i 'Abbasi, and admits that his drawings are life-like: "His genre scenes and portraits are characterised by close observation of life." Look now at Picture No. 3. Pictures No. 1 and 3 are amply illustrative of this description. The third picture shows *a* humorous but relaxing attitude of a sheep-owner, who has let loose his sheep in order to relax himself near by. A further humorous touch has been given to the picture by placing a turban on the head of the sheep. The sheep itself *is a* peculiar combination of a cow and a sheep, as would appear from the hoofs and the legs, the neck and the fat tail of the animal. Even the face is a mixed one I would not be surprised if this picture is a sort of a cartoon drawn in lighter vein! Pictures No. 2 and 3 are drawn on the peritoneum of a deer and hence look shrivelled.

Picture No. 2.—Four horses with two heads. Signed Raqam Kar Riza-i 'Abbasi, undated.





Picture No. 3.—The Sheep and the Shepherd. Signed Raqam Kar Riza-i 'Abbasi, undated.

Controversy of Signatures

All the three pictures are signed. Pictures with signatures are also reproduced in other books of Persian art, and in reproductions in learned dissertations. Three types of signatures are found, e.g. (a) Riza, (b) Riza-i 'Abbasi, and (c) Aqa Riza. Let me first discuss the signatures on the pictures reproduced here, as they have so far remained unpublished. The peculiarity of the signature of Riza-i 'Abbasi is that he is in the habit of joining the R with Z (رضا). This is clearly discernible in Picture No. 1. In Pictures No. 2 and 3, although they are not exactly joined, one can see they are in the process of joining. In figure 29 on page 54 of his book, M.S. Dimand has reproduced two pictures of the artist which are both signed. On both the pictures, the artist has signed as follows: رقم کمینه رضاء عباسے which means "drawn by the humble Riza-i 'Abbasi." In Pictures No. 2 and 3 reproduced here, he has signed as (رقم کار رضاء عباسے) which again means "drawn by Riza-i 'Abbasi" or the "work of Riza-i 'Abbasi." Now, on page 523 of the *Karnameh Buzurgan-i Iran* a miniature of Riza-i 'Abbasi has also been reproduced. Here also he signed as (رقم کار رضاء عباسے) . The name Riza, in Picture No. 1, in the pictures reproduced by Dimand and in the one just mentioned from *Karnameh Buzurgan-i Iran* is written in exactly the same manner and is absolutely identical. Dr. M. A. Chaghtai in his article mentioned above has also reproduced two miniatures: one signed as آقا رضا and the other as (رقم کار رضاء عباسے) . The picture of Aqa Riza is that of a mystic. In this the word "Riza" is signed in an entirely different manner, the R and Z being distinctly separate. The second picture of a "Youth Reading" bears a signature which is identical with the signature of Riza-i 'Abbasi which I have demonstrated above.

The influence of Riza-i 'Abbasi on the Iranian paintings, as I have mentioned above, has been considerable, especially during the two centuries which followed him. We find that he was being imitated by eminent painters

like Yusuf, Kassim and Mu'in. D. Barnett of the British Museum⁴⁰⁴ says, "His dominating influence, especially in living drawings, which is often most charming and expressive, lasted right through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries."

I would like here to devote a few more words to the other two artists, viz. Aqa Riza and 'Ali Riza. 'Ali Riza, I have stated above, was a calligraphist and remained in Iran all his life, while Aqa Riza, besides being a painter, also dabbled in calligraphy. 'Ali Riza came from Tabriz. He was a master of Nasta'liq style of writing, and was also quite at home with Naskh. It was he who decorated the "Ala Kapi" with his magnificent calligraphy. He also decorated the interior of the dome of Lutfullah Mosque in Ispahan. His decoration of the Masjid-i Shah in Ispahan bears the date 1025 A.H. His life is traceable only up to the year 1038 A.H. The date of his death is not known.

Aqa Riza is the figure upon whom '*Alam Arai 'Abbasi* has dwelt at some length. According to him he hailed from Kashan. But Jahangir in his *Tuzk* states that he came from Herat. It is probable that when he came to India he may have been at the time of his departure staying at Herat. It is worthwhile quoting fully from '*Alam Arai 'Abbasi*, and then analyse for a while the implications of his statement. He says:

مولانا اصغر علی کاشی استاد بیقرینه و مصور پاکیزه ساخت در پرداخت و رنگ آمیزی منفرد و درکوه پردازی و درکت سازی از اقران در پیش بود او نیز در خدمت سلطان ابراهیم میرزا می بود. در زمان میرزا اسمعیل از اصحاب کتاب خانه شد پسرش آقا رضا در فن تصویر و یکه و صورت چهره کشائی ترقی عظیم کرده عجوبه زمانه گشت و در این عصر و زمان مسلم الثبوت استا ز جهات نفس بآن نزاکت قلم همیشه زور آزمائی ورزش کشتی گیری کرده از شیوه محفوظ بودی و از صحبت ارباب استعداد

⁴⁰⁴ D. Barnett, "Islamic Art in Persia," *The Legacy of Persia*, Oxford, 1953.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to the Department of Archaeology for the loan of References No. 2 and 3, and to Pir Hissam-ud-Din Rashidi for the loan of Reference No. 1, without which it would not have been possible to present this paper.

کناره جسته بآن طبقه الفت داشتی و در این عهد فی الجمله از آن پر زه در آئی باز آمده ما متوجه کار کمتر میشود او نیز بطریق صادقی بیگ بد مزاج تنک حوصله سپرد اختلاط است. الحق استغنائی در طبیعتش هست در کدمت حضرت اعلیٰ ظل المہی مورد عواطف گزید و رعایهتای کلی یافت اما از اطوار نا ہنجار صاحب اعتبار و نشد و ہمیشہ مفلس و پریشان حال است۔

["Maulana 'Ali Asghar of Kashan was an incomparable master and an accomplished painter; as an artist and colourist he was unique and unsurpassed by his contemporaries in drawings of streets and trees. He also took service with Sultan Ibrahim Mirza, and in the time of Isma'il Mirza was on the staff of the Library. His son, Aqa Riza, became the marvel of the age in the art of painting and unequalled in these days. In spite of the delicacy of his touch, he was so uncultured that he constantly engaged in athletic practices and wrestling and became infatuated with such habits. He avoided the society of men of talents, and gave himself up to the association of such low persons. At the present time he has repented for such idle



Picture No. 4.—Portrait of the Painter Riza-i 'Abbasi by Mu'in.

frivolity a little, but he pays very little attention to his art, and like Sadiq Beg he has become ill-tempered, peevish and unsocial. In the service of His Majesty, the Shadow of God, he has been the recipient of favours and considerations, but on account of his evil ways he has not taken warning and consequently he is always poor and in distress."]

To me it appears that his poverty and degradation in the eyes of Shah 'Abbas was the cause of his leaving the court of Iran and seeking his fortunes elsewhere in India. This had happened before 1014 A.H., which is the date of Akbar the Great, for he arrived with his son during the lifetime of Akbar. It is stated in the *Karnameh Buzurgan-i Iran*:

بالآخر بار سفر بسته به هندوستان رفت و بخدمت "جلال الدین اکبر پیوست و پس از سالی چند که اکبر وفات یافت "جهانگیر پادشاه" ۱۰۱۴-۱۰۳۷) ویرا مشمول عنایت و التفات فرمود و او ب پسرش "ابوالحسن" که در نقاش تربیت عظیم کرد در کدمت این پادشاه نوازش بسیار یافتند... و ہم در هندوستان این پدر و پسر وفات یافتند.

["At last he proceeded on a travel to India and got himself attached to the court of Jalal-ud-Din Akbar. And after some years when Akbar had died, Jahangir Padshah (1014-1037) turned a benevolent eye on him. And he and his son Abul Hasan who was a well-trained artist were well rewarded in the service of this king ... And the father and the son died in India and were buried there."]

From the above two accounts it will have become clear that it was Aqa Riza who came to India and not Riza-i 'Abbasi. Further, Riza-i 'Abbasi became associated with the court of Shah 'Abbas after which he called himself by the name of 'Abbasi. Aqa Riza did not do so.

Portrait of Riza-i 'Abbasi

Dr. M.A. Chaghtai, in his learned article referred to above, says: "There exist three portraits of Riza-i 'Abbasi the painter by his pupil Mu'in Musawwar, made on different occasions, and at the request of different

persons, as we learn from the inscriptions which they bear; they are all dated between 1084 and 1087 A.H."

I reproduce here one of those portraits. See Picture No. 4. It has been taken from the article of Dr. Behrami referred to above. My reading of the inscription slightly varies from that of Dr. Chaghtai's. This is how I read it:

شبيهه مرحمت و مغفرت پناهی مرحومی جنت مکانی استاد رضا مصوری عباسی
رحمة الله و الغفران بتاريخ سنه ۱۰۴۰ تقال شده بود و بتاريخ پنجم شهر صفر - - - - سنه
۱۰۸۷ بیادگار جهت مرقع با تمام رسید مبارک باد شقه معین مصور غفر الله زنوبه.

The version of Dr. Chaghtai runs follows:

شبيهه مرحمت و مغفرت بناهی مرحوم جنت مکان استاد رضا مصور عباسی علیه
الرحمة و الغفران بتاريخ ۱۰۴۴-۱۰۸۷ بیار کار بجهت مرقع و تمام رسید مبارک باد
مشقه معین مصور غفر الله زنوبه.

Variations have been marked by lines. It is apparent that Mu'in started this picture in the lifetime of Riza-i 'Abbasi, but completed it at a much later date. Mu'in himself lived long after Riza, and in a picture of his preserved in the Tehran Museum, we find that he completed it in the year 1097 A.H. His works are also available which are dated 1110 A.H.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE QUR'ANIC COSMOLOGY

Syed Sibte Nabi Naqvi

"Lo ! in the creation of the heavens and the earth and in the difference of night and day are tokens for the men of understanding, such as remember Allah, standing, sitting, and reclining, and consider the creation of the heavens and the earth (and say): Our Lord ! Thou created not this in vain" (Qur'an, iii. 190-91).

The creation of the expanding universe and the origin of life and intelligence on the earth pose many fundamental problems which remain unsolved, in spite of all the modern advances in science and technology. The cosmological theories of the steady state or evolution after explosion as explanations of the origin of our expanding universe, and the theories of evolution or of spontaneous creation of man and other biological species on the earth, have been the cause of much controversy. The Biblical theory of creation of the universe and man in October 4004 B.C. on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, etc., and of the Lord taking rest on Sunday have led Western scientists to much derision of religion in general terms. Reaction against Christianity is generalised into reaction against all the religions. Consequently, when a Muslim finds this derision of religion in general terms by some of the greatest authorities in science and philosophy in the West, he is misled to believe that their reaction applies to Islam and the Holy Qur'an also. An effort has been made in the present study to bring together the Qur'anic verses about the creation of the heavens and the earth, and about the emergence of life and man on the earth to prove and explain that the Qur'anic cosmology is in positive relationship with the discoveries of modern science. Our scientific inferences deepen our understanding of the Qur'anic concept of the universe and man.

I want to make it clear that our aim is not to justify the Qur'anic verses on the ever-changing concepts of science by far-fetched reasoning, but only to compare and contrast the two views, the Qur'anic and the scientific, so that their mutual connection may become clear.

The materialist who believes in the cosmological theory of the steady state strongly holds that the four-dimensional material world has existed all along and will ever continue to exist. According to him, it is the basic

property of space that as it expands matter is created spontaneously and new stars and galaxies come into being, while the older ones fade out of the continuum on reaching the velocity of light. Amidst all this aimless spontaneous activity, life appeared on the earth, and perhaps on other planets also which have a suitable combination of climatic and material factors, just by an accident, and has itself followed the course of evolution which has culminated in the emergence on the earth of the homosapien species. But in any case it is an aimless series of accidents which results in the struggle of which we are a witness. There is no purpose or aim behind all this: from dust thou art and to dust will be thy return.

The theists amongst the Western scientists and cosmologists assume this expanding universe to have started its aimless course by the sudden explosion of "Yelm," the mother atom, some six thousand million years ago. They have shown by careful sifting of all the astrophysical, astrochemical and geophysical evidence that all the material atoms, now present in the universe, were created within a few minutes of the original big explosion. The temperature at that stage was millions of degrees and light was then the dominant phenomenon. The pressure of light dominated over the gravitational force and the whole mass began to expand at the rate at which we see it expanding to-day. After a few thousand years, the expanding matter cooled to an extent that darkness began to be replaced by light. There were yet no individual bright stars to light up this mass. Some material particles must have, no doubt, been formed and started forming, but the whole mass was no more than a smoke-like something.

At this stage, in the expanding mass under its own inertia, the force of gravitation began to show itself and one continuous smoky mass split itself into numerous turbulent parts, which now form the receding galaxies. On further cooling by radiation, the masses constituting the receding galaxies split into further parts rotating about a centre in each mass and these parts constitute the stars and planetary systems of the universe.

These evolutionary cosmologists, by postulating that the material world started at a particular moment representable by the command "Be" and by showing the dominant stages of "Light" and "Darkness" indirectly and just by implication, lend support to the Biblical story, but immediately after that they are nonplussed, because the Biblical theory demands this start to be in 4004 B.C., and the completion of different stages in six terrestrial days —

Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday — which, to say the least, seems absurd. Here they begin to harp on the separate spheres of religion and science.

The Qur'an says that this material universe has been created in six days for a purpose, according to the requirements of wisdom and knowledge. The cosmic day is not a fixed duration in terms of terrestrial counting. It may be of thousands of years on the terrestrial counting. It may be longer still or much shorter. This is clear from the Qur'an itself. "We created not the heavens and the earth and all that is between the two in play. If We had wished to find a pastime, We would have surely found it in what is with Us, if at all We were to do such a thing" (xxi. 16-17); "And He it is who created the heavens and the earth in truth and when He says 'Be,' it is" (vi. 73); "Nast thou not seen that Allah hath created the heavens and the earth in truth? If He pleases, He can do away with you and bring (forth) a new creation" (xiv. 19).⁴⁰⁵

It is thus clear that according to the Qur'an the material world was created at a particular moment for a purpose, in truth, i.e. in accordance with the requirements of wisdom. The general statement that the heavens and the earth were created in six cosmic days is also repeated a large number of times in different contexts. "Surely your Lord is Allah who created the heavens and the earth in six days; then He settled Himself on the Throne" (viii. 54). Again, "And He it is who created the heavens and the earth in six days and His Throne was upon water, that He might prove which of you is best in conduct" (xi. 7); "He who created the heavens and the earth and all that is in between them in six days, then He settled himself on the 'Throne' " (xxv. 59). Practically the same thing is repeated in xxxii. 4 and several other places.

The Holy Qur'an also describes the way in which the creation of the heavens and the earth started and the stages through which the creation passed, "Do not the disbelievers see that the heavens and the earth were a closed-up (mass), then He opened them out? And We made from water every living thing. Will they not then believe?" (xxi. 30). There could perhaps be no better description of the evolutionary cosmology which was certainly

⁴⁰⁵ The same thing has been repeatedly emphasised in several verses, for example in xvi. 3 ; xxix. 44; xxx. 8; xxxix. 5, etc.

not known to or believed in by any astronomer, cosmologist or biologist at the time when the Holy Book was revealed.

Then the process of opening out of the closed-up mass is described in the following words: "All praise be to Allah who created the heavens and the earth and brought into being darkness and light" (vi. 1). It is further explained, "Then He turned to heaven⁴⁰⁶ while it was something like smoke and said unto the earth: 'Come both of you willingly or unwillingly.' They said: 'We do come willingly in obedience' " (xli. 11). The Holy Qur'an thus tells us that a closed-up mass opened out at the command "Be." Then were created Darkness and Light. It was after this stage, when the whole mass was like a smoke, that He began to differentiate between the heaven and the earth, but the two were to grow together. This is a point which is very clear from the above description in the Holy Scripture. The nucleus of the earth began forming at the very start when the foundations of the material universe were being laid. The earth may be revolving round the sun like so many other planets, but it does not appear to be a progeny of this star or some passing-by stranger, as has been suggested by practically all the leading cosmologists and philosophers up to the middle of the twentieth century. The origin of the planets in the systems appears somehow to have started by the fixation of the plasmic matter in which, besides gravitation, a number of other natural forces had a considerable part to play.

The stages of evolution of the cosmos are beautifully described in xli. 9-12: "Say, 'Do you really disbelieve in Him who created the earth in two days?'. . . He placed therein firm mountains above its (surface) and blessed it with abundance and provided therein foods in proper measure in four days, alike for all seekers. Then He turned to the heaven⁴⁰⁷ while it was (something like) smoke and said unto it and unto the earth: 'Come both of you willingly or unwillingly.' They said: 'We do come willingly in obedience.' Then He completed them into seven heavens in two days and He assigned to each heaven its duty and command. And He adorned the lowest heavens with lights and provided it with guards. That is the decree of the Mighty, the All-Knowing."

⁴⁰⁶ Mark, again, the use of singular.

⁴⁰⁷ Mark the use of singular here.

It is thus clear from this Qur'anic description of creation that the evolution of the heavens and the earth has taken place in six periods which have been here termed as "Day." These are really cosmic periods of varying duration and are certainly not periods of twenty-four hours according to terrestrial counting. The six periods in three stages of two *periods* each are as follows:

Stage I, with two cosmic periods (days). (a) First period. Unfolding of the closed-up mass by sudden explosion, formation of material atoms at high temperature, coming into existence of darkness surrounding the lighted mass, its cooling and spread of darkness into the mass itself, congregation starting, a state of thing like smoke, gravitation coming into prominence and splitting up of the whole mass into bigger lumps, then further splitting up of each lump into smaller masses; the stars and planets.

(b) Second period. Stars and other astronomical bodies, big and small, including the earth began separating themselves out, temperature of each mass rising to incandescence.

Stage II, with two other cosmic periods. (c) Third period. The small mass constituting the earth cools and forms what is described as dry ringing clay with its topographic features in igneous rocks.

(d) Fourth period. As the earth cooled further, the first showers of water charged with basic organic molecules fell on carbides and other active compounds of the ringing clay. It was eroded and life-cells began to form and evolve in black mud and water. In this fourth cosmic period lower life spreads over the whole surface of the earth, and it is blessed with lower forms of life and assimilable organic and inorganic substances (foods) in abundance and proper measure for all seekers alike.

It is interesting to note that in this fourth period, when life was appearing and developing and living species were evolving from water, the Qur'an states: "Do not the disbelievers see that the heavens and the earth were a closed-up (mass), then We opened out? And We made from water every living thing. Will they not then believe?" (xxi. 30). It was evidently in this stage when life was developing and evolving in water that the "Throne" of Authority is said to have been on water: "And His Throne was upon water, that He might prove which of you is best in conduct" (xi. 7). It was in

the stage earlier than the appearance of life on earth that the lowest heaven and earth were commanded to work and evolve together. In other words, the higher capacities of the continuum and the lower qualities of aggregates of the spinning gravitational and electrical entities (the fundamental particles) constituting the material atoms and their chains — molecules and cells — were commanded by the Creator to work together harmoniously for the fulfilment of the purpose for which the closed-up mass was opened.

When life appeared, more heavens began to evolve, and when life and intelligence spread all over the earth, it was then that the seven heavens were perfected and the Lord established Himself on the Throne. This took place in the third and the last stage, again in two periods or cosmic days. The Qur'an says: "So He completed them into seven heavens in two days and He assigned to each heaven its duty and command. And We adorned the lowest heaven with (lights) and provided with guards. That is the decree of the Mighty, the All-Knowing" (xli. 12).

Stage III, of two cosmic days. (e) Fifth period. The first of these last two days is the period in which the various species of living animals with different degrees of intelligence were spreading over the earth, and the lowest of the heavens, the four-dimensional continuum was being adorned with lights of different stars.

(f) Sixth period. This last period saw the birth on earth of man endowed with consciousness and thus capable of participating in the creative activity and sovereignty of the Creator, limited by the lowest heaven in space-time complex, and by the other six heavens in rank one above the other. This is described in the Qur'an: "He it is who created for you all that is in the earth; then He turned towards the heavens and perfected them as seven heavens, and He knows all things" (ii. 29); "Allah it is who raised up the heavens without any visible supports, then He settled Himself on the Throne. And He pressed the sun and the moon into service ; each pursues its course until an appointed term. He regulates it all. He clearly explains the signs that you may have a firm belief in the meeting with your Lord" (xiii. 2).

Now the stage was set for the vicegerent to appear on the scene, but the preparation had started long before. The beginning of the story in the Holy Qur'an is as follows: "He it is who created for you all that is in the earth, then He turned towards the heavens, and He perfected them as seven heavens,

and He knows all things. And when thy Lord said unto the angels, 'I am about to place a vicegerent in the earth,' they said: 'Wilt Thou place therein such as will cause disorder in it, and shed blood? And we glorify Thee with Thy praises and extol Thy Holiness.' He answered: 'I know what you know not' " (ii. 29-30).

Let us see how He Himself describes the event of appearance of life and man on the earth. The Qur'an distinguishes between two stages in the appearance of man on earth: (1) creation, and then (2) fashioning him in the homosapien shape. "And We created you, then told the angels: 'Fall ye prostrate before Adam.' And they fell prostrate, all save Iblis" (vii. 11); "And, surely, We created man from dry ringing clay, from black mud wrought into shape. And the Jinn We had created before from the essential fire. And (remember) when thy Lord said unto the angels: 'I am about to create man from dry ringing clay, from black mud altered.' So when I have fashioned him (in perfection) and breathed into him My spirit, do ye fall down, prostrating unto him. So the angels fell prostrate, all of them together save Iblis. He refused to be among the prostrate" (xv. 26-31); "Thereof [viz. from the earth] We created you and thereunto We return you, and thence shall We bring you forth a second time" (xx. 55); "We made from water every living thing" (xxi. 30); "Verily We created man from a product of wet earth" or "Verily We created man from an extract of clay" (xxxiii. 12); "And Allah has created every animal from water. Of them are some that go upon their bellies, and of then are some that go upon two feet, and among them are some that go upon four. Allah creates what He pleases. Surely Allah has the power to do all that He pleases" (xxiv. 45); "And He it is who has created man from water and has made for him kindred by descent and kindred by marriage, and the Lord is All-Powerful" (xxv. 54); "And one of His signs (is this) that He created you from dust, then, behold, you are men who move about" (xxx. 20); "Who has made perfect everything He has created. And He began the creation of man from clay. Then He made his seed from an extract of despised fluid. Then He fashioned him and breathed into him His spirit. And He has given you ears, and eyes, and hearts, but little thank do you give" (xxxii. 7-9); "So ask them whether it is they who are harder to create, or (others) whom We have created ?Them We have created of cohesive clay" (xxxvii. 11); "He created man from dry ringing clay (which was) like baked potteries and the Jinn He created from the flame of fire" (1v. 14-15); "He it is

who originates and reproduces" (Ixxxv. 13); "Who creates and perfects and who designs and guides" (lxxxvii. 2-3); "Surely We have created man in the best make" (xcv. 4).

It is thus clear from these verses of the Holy Qur'an that all kinds of life, including that of man, started from the dry ringing clay; it developed in black mud and then in water. It was at a much later stage that males and females were developed and the species were evolved, and man was fashioned. So far there seems to be no real difference between what is put forth by the Qur'an and the theory of evolution of the modern biologists, but after this a very big difference arises. The theory of evolution entrusts the mutation of species to the mercy of the fundamental laws of struggle for existence, survival of the fittest and adaptation to the environment, while the Qur'an makes it a blessing of God, a reward for good conduct in each phase.

Adam and Eve, the first homosapiens, from whom men and women have spread over the earth, were both produced from a single soul (vi. 99). From a mere animal, be it a female ape or a female of any other animal, were now born two off springs endowed with the spirit of God — the cognition, the determination, the reflection of a perfect ego, the intelligence far beyond the best of the animals, capable of thinking and knowing and deciding and giving expression to feelings and ideas in words and symbols. In spite of the searches during the last century and a quarter the biologists have not been able to find the missing link between man and ape. I think that it shall never be found because the change was not gradual. Suddenly in the womb of an older species a new species took shape and a pair of the homosapiens was born.

According to the verses quoted so far, all this drama appears to have been enacted on the earth itself. The earth cools down and a crust of dry ringing clay of igneous rocks is formed. The first showers surcharged with molecules of suitable compounds and full of reagents capable of strong reaction fall on this dry ringing clay, erode it and life begins to develop in black mud altered and then in water. New species are born until a stage is reached when a female singly gives birth, to the first homosapien and its mate, Adam and Eve. If so, what about the garden from where Iblis along with Adam and Even was expelled?

A careful study of all the verses of the Qur'an, where the story of the fall of Adam is described,⁴⁰⁸ reveals that the garden in which Adam and Eve lived and where Satan was able to beguile them was not what we usually call Paradise, but some garden on this earth. The usual characteristics of Paradise are that people inhabiting it are not prone to evil and death while Adam committed a sin in order to ward off mortality.

Further, it is quite clear from the story of creation that after the opening of the closed-up mass the plasmic matter passed through two periods before the lowest heaven and the earth and other lights or stars could be distinguished. The earth continued to develop its topographic features and chains of food material and living organisms formed in mud and water. The evolution of species by mutation continued to take place as a reward from the Lord for good conduct in each phase.

So long as life with the highest degrees of freedom in the material world was developing in water, the Throne of Authority (*'Arsh*) or seat of communion between the All-Knowing, All-Powerful Lord having infinite degrees of freedom and the material universe, was on water. When higher species with greater intelligence began to spread over the earth, heavens higher in rank were perfected and when man with full cognition and other mental and spiritual attributes came on the scene the seven heavens were perfected and the Throne of Authority was established above the seventh heaven. This would mean that cognition and other spiritual and intellectual attributes of man are nothing but the exhibition of higher degrees of freedom endowed to man by the Lord when He breathed into him His own spirit. The Throne, as mentioned in the Holy Qur'an, is the seat of communion and command between the Creator, having infinite degrees of freedom, and man and the material world with limited degrees of freedom. It is the highest stage from which the commands for the material universe consisting of the seven heavens and the earth descend. It is thus the connecting link between the Lord of infinite degrees of freedom, possessing complete knowledge and power on the one hand, and the continua of limited degrees of freedoms, represented by the seven heavens and the earth, and all that is in between them, on the other. Inanimate material world possesses at least four dimensions or degrees of freedom, viz. of space and time; electromagnetism

⁴⁰⁸ ii. 29-39; vii. 10-27 ; xv. 22-43 ; xx. 115-125 ; xxxviii. 72-84.

represents higher degrees of freedom than that associated with simple matter itself. Life and soul represent still higher degrees of freedom. At the beginning when the closed-up mass opened out, all the activity was confined to the congregation of the fundamental particles and entities in simpler forms and the degrees of freedom of the newly-forming material world were confined to only a few — four, five, six — dimensions. Where was all this activity taking place? Nothing could be outside the pre-existing infinite dimensional Being. All this activity really meant a cognitional realization of the Perfect Ego. In other words, a very limited dimensional activity had started developing in the infinite dimensional continuum. To begin with, the degrees of freedom of the closed-up mass were limited to only a few. As the activity became organized in congregations and chains of greater complexities, viz. as life began to develop, the degrees of freedom of the active mass began to increase. It is evident that the heavens of the Qur'an are only the limits of degrees of freedom developed in the living beings attainable in the lower continua. It is also evident from the verses of the Holy Qur'an that the degrees of freedom of the evil spirits are not higher than the degrees of freedom of the first heaven beyond which they try to probe and seek knowledge, but in spite of their best efforts they will never be able to reach beyond.

It is also evident from the events of the Ascension of Muhammad (peace be on him) that the angel Gabriel had to stop at *Sidrah*, which prescribes to him his degrees of freedom, which are certainly beyond the degrees of freedom prescribed for the seven heavens, which are in turn described to be in rank one above the other without any supports, but which are much less than the degrees of freedom needed to comprehend and have knowledge of the *Arsh* or the Throne.

The angels were commanded to prostrate and bow down before Adam only after the Lord had breathed His own spirit into him and given him knowledge more than that of the angels. This can only mean that the stage of man was reached only after the Lord in His infinite mercy had endowed him with higher degrees of freedom and knowledge. Iblis failed to realize this superiority of man, made from ringing clay, etc. He became arrogant and refused to bow down before the humble man, because he had himself been formed from the fundamental particles of some other kind which have been termed as the "essential of fire" in the Holy Qur'an. Iqbal wonders:

اسے روز اول انکار کی جرات ہوئی کیونکر

مجھے معلوم کیا وہ رازداں تیرا ہے یا میرا

[How did he dare to refuse on the day of creation?

What do I know whether he is your confidant or mine?]

I am definite that the refusal by Iblis was not due to any secret understanding with the Lord. It was due to his pride which was due to his own limited degrees of freedom and thus of a limited capacity of knowledge. The vicegerent had already been created on the earth. His conduct, like the conduct of all other earlier species, had, no doubt, to be tested, but there could be many ways of testing this. If Iblis had not created the trouble, the play of intelligence would have taken some other form in the cool shades of the garden without nakedness and shame.

Reverting to the experience of the Holy Prophet (peace be on him) on the night of Ascension (معراج) we find that the journey of the Prophet, even after the angel Gabriel was left behind, continued till he reached the Throne. The distance between the Lord and the Prophet is stated to be as short as between two bows, which I, like many others, understand to be the distance when two arches touch tangentially, rather than when they stand end to end. This would mean near coincidence with the Lord on the Throne.

This is the highest degree of freedom which man, born of ringing clay, an extract of black mud and water, could reach. This would, in other words, mean maximum possible knowledge that a perfect man could acquire. Prophet Muhammad (peace be on him) did acquire this perfect knowledge with the highest degrees of freedom residable in the continua formed by the matter endowed with life and soul. This knowledge can evidently not be expressed in the symbolism of the lower continua called "language." The Qur'an beautifully describes this. "And We revealed to Our slave what We revealed" (liii. 10).

Coming back to the discussion of the origin of the material universe and the appearance of man, the first and real effect of eating of the forbidden tree was the realisation of nakedness and shame (xx. 121) unlike other

animals who have no such realisation even up to this day. The other two temptations which Iblis had offered to Adam were: *(i)* to become immortal, and *(ii)* to become like angels.

So far as the first temptation is concerned it could have significance only to the mortals crawling on the earth. It had no meaning if Adam was born in the garden where there would be no death every one of us tastes. There are only three stages in the life of man as mentioned by the Holy Qur'an: *(i)* birth on this earth, *(ii)* death on this earth, and *(iii)* resurrection and assembling for the final judgment about the conduct on the earth. Adam was apparently no exception to this scheme.

The second temptation is also a real one for a waking ego, surrounded by a perpetual struggle, himself participating in it. The temptation of the newly-emerging vicegerent, not having experience of his own potentialities, to attain a higher plane of activity — that of angels — must have certainly been great, though really of lower degrees of freedom than his own. It is thus quite evident where and what this garden was where Adam and Eve emerged from a single soul by mutation of the species from a mother singly.

We have thus seen that according to the Holy Qur'an the material universe started by the opening out of a closed-up mass. It passed through three stages of evolution of two smaller periods each. Then life began to develop and evolve on the earth and it was a necessary step for the evolution of the universe itself. In the last stage or the sixth period the Lord breathed His own spirit into man who was created earlier from ringing clay, from black mud altered and in water. With the appearance of man on the scene the seven heavens were perfected and the Lord settled Himself on the Throne.

The story will remain incomplete if we do not refer to the end of the universe. "Remember the day when We shall roll up the heavens like the rolling up of a written scroll by a scribe. As We began the first creation, so shall We repeat it. A promise binding upon Us. We shall certainly repeat it" (xxi.105). So the opening up of the closed-up mass was the beginning and the rolling up like a written scroll will be the end. What a beautiful description of a pulsating four-dimensional relativistic universe! It is expanding at present and will begin to contract at a certain stage. Only the disciplined souls which have mastered the capabilities of higher degrees of freedom will be able to transcend the lower continua to enjoy perpetual happiness in the heaven,

while the undisciplined soul, he wards of Iblis, will remain confined in the perpetual fire of the Hell consisting of the pulsating lower continua.

MUGHAL ARCHITECTURE IN INDIA

Hafiz Abbadullah Faruqi

AMONG the many striking characteristics of the Mughals was their interest in things artistic. They made great use of their imperial influence in encouraging art and architecture in India. Before them, the architectural style of India had already passed through many stages. This is a brief survey of its development.

During the early Turkish period (Slave Kings and the Khaljis, 1190-1320) only Hindu workmen were employed, who followed Hindu architectural methods. Consequently we find no true arches with keystones in this period, even the domes are few. Archways are very high. Extensive flat surfaces are found, usually of red sand-stone richly adorned with shallow carving of writing scroll-work and foliage. There are few geometrical patterns. True arches with key-stones were, however, gradually introduced and Hindu methods and features tended to disappear from the art and architecture of India. Flat roofs gave way to domes and geometrical designs replaced the portrayal of foliage. These characteristics are to be seen in Quwwat al-Islam mosque, Alai Darwazah, Jammat Khana mosque at Nizam-ud-Din. During later Turkish period (Tughlaq, 1320-1414) we find that masonry is usually rough, and often faced with stucco plaster. Walls are very thick, often with sloping sides. There is little ornamentation or colour. Roofs and doors have square pillars. Mosques are often low and square, with a multiplicity of shallow plastered domes. These characteristic features of Mughal art are manifest in Tughlaqabad, Adilabad and the tomb of Ghiath-ud-Din, Begumpur and Kirkhi Mosque, Hauz-i Khas with the tomb of Feroz Shah.

In the reign of the Sayyids and the Lodhis (1414-1526) there is a marked aesthetic and structural progress. Domes are supported on octagonal necks and surmounted by lotus, finials; sometimes they are surrounded by a cluster of cupolas. Marble tiles and coloured stone are used to enhance the effect. Sloping sides and square pillars continue in this period. Mosques have round towers, with sloping sides but without minarets. The tomb of Mubarak Shah in the village of Mubarakpur and of Sikandar Shah Lodhi in Lodhi Garden along with "Bara Gumbad" and adjoining mosques present the best examples of architectural monuments of this period.

Mughal Period (1526 c.-1750). The magnificent taste of the Mughal Emperors is manifest from the various buildings they erected in almost all parts of India. The buildings of this period are larger and more splendid, though lighter and more graceful in composition. Wide use is made of white and coloured marble, mosaic, lattice-work, and intricate carvings and inlays, and, above all, of buff and red sand-stone. The mosques have minarets. Tombs are square. Domes are first semi-circular, then increasingly bulbous or onion-shaped and are often mounted on a high drum. Rows of small cupolas are found over gateways and frontages. The chief examples of Mughal architecture are the Tomb of Humayun, Red Fort and the Moti Masjid and palaces within Jamia Masjid, Tomb of Safdar Jang, Wazir Khan's Mosque of Lahore, Shalimar Gardens, Chauburji Garden, etc.

The Tile Mosaics. While the Mughals were busy constructing stone and marble buildings on a grand scale in the principalities of their Empire, a new architectural style was becoming manifest in the Punjab. This new phase took the form of brick-masonry profusely decorated with brilliantly coloured tiles. The factors responsible for this development are the difficulties in getting stone from Central India and the irresistible Persian influence, which at this particular time was unusually strong.⁴⁰⁹ The Lahore tile-work belongs mostly to the seventeenth century and especially to Shah Jahan's reign. The finest example of this phase of Mughal architecture is Wazir Khan's mosque (1634) --embellished with gorgeously coloured tiles of geometrical and flower designs, executed in lustrous glaze and exhibiting great uniformity. Its facade and minarets are decorated with faience-mosaics arranged in rectangular and square sunk panels. Enclosed within simple geometrical or scrolled borders, the tiled panels display foliated and floral patterns. There are other buildings in Lahore such as the Gateway (Chauburji) of the garden of Zebun Nisa (1646), the two gates of Shalimar Gardens (1637) etc. The Lahore Fort outshines these buildings. A wall is decorated with panels of tile mosaics. What makes this work different from the rest is the fact that, instead of the

⁴⁰⁹ The art of mosaic inlaid work started in the Safawid period (sixteenth century). After the overthrow of the Safawid dynasty Nadir Shah and other Iranian Kings patronised this art. During the Qajar period, the art of mosaics started to decline as the influence of European art began to be felt among the younger artists. It was during the reign of the late Raza Shah that efforts were made to restore this ancient art.

usual geometrical or foliated designs, a great number of panels exhibit figures of living beings.

This picture gallery extends from the Elephant Gate to the eastern tower of Jahangir's quadrangle.

Thus throughout the whole work there is firmness of lines and perfect understanding of colour. The geometrical and floral parts are exceptionally done; horses, camels and elephants are treated with a vigour. According to S. M. Latif, "the chief characteristics of the early Mughal period is the ornamentation consisting of tessellated or mosaic pattern, in various coloured stones or in glazed tile. The finest specimen of this is to be found in the Mausoleum of Jahangir at Shandarah, Lahore."⁴¹⁰ He further maintains that the late Mughal period (by which term he means the period of Shah Jahan and his successors) is known for distinctive features of painting and the process of decorating the tiles with a glittering plaster in lively and vivid colours. Thus, according to him, "the embellishment of this period consists of colouring employed especially in stucco-medallion and arabesque traceries."⁴¹¹ In addition to this the overlapping arches, the high Persian domes, the tall minarets and the vaulted roofs are the chief peculiarities of the Mughal architecture of all periods.

There is a conflict of opinion with regard to the originality of the style of painting and architecture under the Mughals. Furguson is of the opinion that the Mughal style of architecture is essentially local (i.e. Indian) in character, while Marshall and Havell vigorously maintain that the Mughal style of art and architecture is a blend of the local and foreign style.⁴¹² The plausibility of the latter view is evident, as it is established beyond any shadow of doubt that art and culture of foreign countries did influence the art of India, with the result that there was a good deal of fusion of cultures under the Mughals. Thus, the architects followed the taste of the Mughal Emperors, who had imbibed Persian culture. But at the same time they never ignored the local art of painting and decoration; the Mughal style of art and architecture never conforms to a single type. It is right, therefore, to conclude that the style of

⁴¹⁰ S. M. Latif, *History of Lahore*, p. 63.

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.*,

⁴¹² Furguson, *History of Indian Architecture*, Bombay, 1924, p. 23.

the Mughal art and architecture is neither foreign nor purely Indian; it is a blend of the two.

Babar, who had seen the natural beauty of the valley of Farghanah (where he was born) — a place abounding in natural scenery, hills and green meadows — looked upon the barren plains of the Punjab with the feelings of disgust and dismay. In his Memoirs he expresses his disgust at the ugly sight of the Indian towns and the repugnant look of the people. As he had seen the sumptuous buildings of Samarqand and Bukhara, he did not feel satisfied with the buildings at Delhi and Agra on account of their irregular and unsymmetrical structures, though he had nothing but praise for the dexterity of Indian stone-masons and painters. Being dissatisfied with the Indian style of architecture, he invited some of the architects from Constantinople, but none accepted his invitation.⁴¹³ Consequently he was obliged to carry out his designs with the help of the Indian architects and stone-masons. Under the guidance of Babar, the Persian style of architecture became dominant and was followed by almost all the architects. The two styles could easily be distinguished: the Persians erected their splendid buildings with bricks, decorated with "terra cotta" and glaze, while the Indian masons were accustomed to chiselled marble and stone. The profound love of the Mughals for walled gardens found expression in the construction of many such extensive gardens. They also placed some buildings in the centre of a park — a style peculiarly Mughal. Three mosques were built by the order of Babar at Agra, Samlibar and Panipat. But they are not the specimens of pure Persian style.

Humayun, his successor, had little time to pay attention to artistic fancy on account of his own anxieties and miseries. According to Mukherjee, "his troubled reign left him little opportunity to indulge his artistic taste. Only one mosque of his time still stands at Fatchabad in the Punjab."⁴¹⁴ Unlike the buildings of Babar, it is decorated in the pure Persian style with enamelled tiles.

The Suri Kings loved art and architecture and have left some of the finest specimens of medieval architecture which represents the Afghan style of buildings. The Old Fort near Delhi and Sher Shah's own tomb at Sasram

⁴¹³ K.M. Munshi and R. R. Diwakar, *Indian Inheritance*, Vol. II, Bombay, 1959, pp. 61-62.

⁴¹⁴ Mukherjee, *History of India*, Vol. II, p. 312.

are his most remarkable buildings. The mosque built by Sher Shah in the Old Fort reflects the Persian influence and shows a refined taste. Sher Shah was able to introduce a more refined and dignified style than what prevailed before. According to Mukherjee, "His noble mausoleum at Sasram in one of the best designed and most beautiful buildings in India. It stands in the middle of an artificial lake, grey and brooding, and suggests eternal repose."⁴¹⁵ Thus in the huge buildings built by Sher Shah we may discern a harmonious combination of Hindu and Muslim architecture which gives at the same time the impression of a Hindu temple and a Muslim tomb. Akbar further united both the Hindu and Muslim styles and harmonised them in such an exquisite form that it presents a magnificent pattern of the buildings. There is no doubt that in the early days of Akbar, the dominant influence of the Persian style on Mughal art and architecture is easily discernible. Most of the buildings of Akbar's time were built with red sand-stone, a very hard material, but Akbar worked wonders with it. One of his earliest buildings is the tomb of Humayun at Delhi, which bears not only evident traces of Persian influence, but also of the Indian art tradition. The dominant Persian style of this tomb is perhaps due to the fact that it was constructed at the instance of Haji Begum, who had been in Persia and had imbibed Persian culture. Moreover, Mirza Ghiath, a Persian architect, planned the structure of the tomb. It is on account of these reasons that the tomb is more Persian than Indian in design. Its Indian features are evident from the free use of marble and the absence of coloured tiles, so frequently used by the Persian builders. The later buildings of Akbar show greater influence of Hindu art. His palace at Fatehpur Sikri and the tomb at Sikandarah are chief specimens of the blended style of architecture. The tomb of Humayun is surrounded by a beautiful garden, "with its paved pathways, flower trees, avenues of cyprus trees, ornamental water courses, tanks and fountains considered by them an essential complement to mausoleum building in its centre."⁴¹⁶ The construction of dome and its design is similar to that of the buildings of Samarqand and Bukhara. The use of the double dome was made for the first time in India. Similarly, recessed archway was introduced by Ghiath, the Persian architect, but he could not follow the Indian method of inlaying in place of the coloured tiles of the Persians. Besides the tomb of Humayun,

⁴¹⁵ Ibid., p. 314.

⁴¹⁶ Percy Brown, *History of Indian Painting*, Bombay, 1924, p. 55.

Akbar built one fortress at Lahore and another at Agra. The Agra Fort is situated on the bank of the river Jamuna and is a massive structure of red sand-stone. It is justly celebrated for its excellent workmanship, carving of stone, marble and inlaid mosaic. It is without exception one of the most important monuments of Agra.

Its vigorous and exuberant style of decorative architecture as well as delicate inlay work and the low reliefs in white marble are extremely beautiful. The fort as it stands to-day is the combined effort of successive sovereigns. Its design was made by Akbar. It was added to by Jahangir and Shah Jahan, while the white-marble edifices in particular belong to Shah Jahan's period. Of the four gateways of the Fort, the Delhi Gate is the most imposing, with a massive tower on either side, ornamented with inlaid marble work of excellent pattern. The Fort of Lahore is surrounded by a high brick-wall of considerable strength with musketry loopholes and was built by Akbar on the site of an old citadel. The entrance to the fort is by an outer gate on the west. On the left in a space between the outer walls and the palace front are exceedingly curious and interesting decorations in a kind of enamel, representing processions and combats of men and animals depicted on the front wall of the palace. In the days of Shah Jahan, a number of beautiful buildings of white marble were added to the fort, such as Diwan-i 'Am, Diwan-i Khas, Shish Mahal, Muthamman Burj and Moti Masjid. In the fort at Agra we find figures of elephants, lions and peacocks, which go to prove the predominance of Hindu influence in the art of building in the last days of Akbar.

Akbar's Tomb at Sikandarab. Being pyramidal in form and unique in style, it has no parallel among Persian or other Saracenic monuments.⁴¹⁷ Architects agree that the design was evolved from a Buddhist Vihara and in its arabesque tracery, Hindu carving and Buddhist form both were employed. The building is a witness to the composite faith of the ruler, who sleeps within. The mausoleum stands in a spacious garden of rare beauty.

Entrance to the tomb is from the south by an arched porch decorated with marble mosaic. The hall, rather the ante-chamber, was once decorated with flowers raised in gold, silver and enamel, which were scraped off by the Jats during 1761-1774, but were partially restored at a great cost by Lord

⁴¹⁷ Saeed Ahmad, *Fatehpur Sikri Guide*, p. 3.

Curzon, before the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales in 1905, just to convey an idea of the original.

The second, third and fourth storeys above the ground floor have the same design and the same kind of ornamental arches and domes of white marble. Thirty-nine steps in the flight lead up to the second storey. Minarets of red stone and marble are erected on all the four sides. There is a flight of fifteen steps leading to the third storey and one of fourteen to the fourth.

Perhaps the topmost storey is most interesting. It was built by the Emperor Jahangir and is entirely of marble. The fretted marble trellised walls, tessellated marble pavements and the cenotaph hewn out of a solid block of white marble make the cloistered enclosure of surpassing beauty and interest.

There are thirty-six Persian rhymes carved on the arches of small compartments, nine on each side. The whole go to make a poem which tells us about Akbar's greatness.

There is an inscription at the head of the cenotaph, "Allah-o Akbar" (God is great), and at the foot, "Jalla Jalalahu" (Magnificent is His Glory) and round about the cenotaph, the ninety-nine names of the Creator are carved in a remarkably fine Arabic tracery. Over the main gate some Persian inscriptions in the Tughra character are

written which, when translated, mean: "O ! what a pleasant air it is, better than that of the garden of heaven. O! what a better foundation it is, better than that of the heaven. There are thousands of slaves for him in the heaven. There are thousands of gardens for him and the earth is a stationary heaven. The pen of the mason of death wrote on his shrine. It is the heaven for you, rest for ever," and so on. Some rhymes are carved on the arches of the four walls of the portal of the main gate, a few of which are given below: "By the order of God, who is high and glorious, his kingdom is unchangeable, he [Akbar] became king in the world by the grace of God ; the shadow of God was upon him. Time changes in every moment, never remains in the one way with anybody. When he ascended the throne, he controlled the whole world; he was generous, merciful and fortunate. He controlled the world and left; his soul was like the sun and the moon; may it be enlightened by the illumination of the light of the Almighty power," and so on.

The mausoleum was designed by Akbar himself and its construction began in 1603. Akbar died in 1605. In the third year of his reign, Jahangir made a pilgrimage on foot to his father's tomb and was so much dissatisfied with the place that he caused the greater part of it to be demolished. It was reconstructed at a cost of fifteen lakhs of rupees. The tomb was completed in 1613. The topmost storey and the gate of the tomb are two praiseworthy specimens of the buildings of Jahangir's reign.

In gratitude for the divine favour accorded to him, Akbar decided to make his capital at Sikri where his prayers had met with ready response. The red sand-stone city of Fatehpur Sikri is situated within a few miles of Agra. It was at Sikri that the famous saint, Shaikh Salim Chishti, dwelt in a cave. In those days Sikri consisted of a few huts of stone-cutters working in a neighbouring place. The chief architectural project of Akbar was the construction of a royal palace and a Jami'ah Masjid. As red sand-stone was available in plenty in these hills, the artisans used it in the construction of buildings with the highest architectural skill. In the Jami'ah Masjid inlaid marble and plaster relief in colour were freely used instead of carving. To this mosque the tomb of Salim Chishti was added later on. It is no doubt a gem of craftsmanship. Like other buildings in this locality, it was made of red sand-stone. But later on a veneer of thin white marble was given over it. This tomb is a specimen of early Mughal architecture. The portico is considered without rival in India as a specimen of white-marble carving. Its pillars are a reproduction of Dravidian columns. The mausoleum is a square building of pure white marble. The platform on which the tomb stands and the floor inside are inlaid with marble mosaic. The screen which encloses the verandahs is beautifully perforated in ornamental designs. The pillars supporting the beams of the porch in front are singularly made of S-shaped marble. An inscription on the doorway of the shrine gives the date of death of the saint as 1571. The date of the erection of the tomb is not known but it was probably erected by Akbar a few years after the death of Shaikh Salim. On the tomb rhymes in Persian are carved, which when translated mean: "The helper of religion, the leader of the way, Shaikh Salim Chishti; in spiritual power and proximity, he is like Junaid and Tafur. Do not remain two. Self is non. entity and is eternal with the Truth (God)," and so on.

The Buland Darwazah is another splendid structure which is in keeping with the spirit of Mughal architecture. It was erected by Akbar in 1601 in

commemoration of his victory over Khandesh and Ahmadnagar in Southern India. The gateway is surmounted by innumerable domes, both large and small, after the fashion characteristic of Mughal architecture. The gate is the largest, loftiest and most stately of all gates in the whole of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. It is one of the greatest in the world. Here marble and sandstone have been used in effective combination in its decoration. The inlaid marble-work in the arches and the Hindu style of architecture in the gallery above the entrance are extremely beautiful.

The construction of the new fort was completed in 1574. It is remarkable to note that the buildings of Fatehpur Sikri built by Akbar even to this day bear signs of Hindu architecture. The carvings of lotus, parrots, etc., are indications of the Hindu style. This carries the conception of Akbar's cosmopolitan taste in matters of religion. The arches of the northern and southern gates of Naubat Khanah (Musician Gallery) are, however, built in the Muslim style, while those on the east and the west in the Hindu style. The architecture of the Diwan-i Khas is pre-eminently Hindu.

The Astrologer's Seat. It is a beautiful pavilion with fine artistic pillars in proximity to the Diwan-i Khas. The style is usual to Jain architecture of the eleventh century. But the bed-room of the Emperor Akbar was originally embellished with artistic frescoes in the Persian style and beautiful inscriptions. The whole chamber was highly ornamented with paintings, principally of flowers, of which traces are still visible. A huge figure, probably of an angel with an infant in his arms, is cleverly painted on the northern side of the eastern doorway and refers to the birth of prince Salim.

Another important building is Panch Mahal. It is built in the style of a Buddhist Vihara and the architecture is essentially Hindu. The palace of Jodha Bai is remarkable for its skilful carvings. The Hindu influence is noticeable both in architecture and ornamental carvings. Other important structures are Diwan-i Khas where religious discussions were held. Thus it is more true to say that the architectural career of the Mughals started with Akbar, as it was in his reign that the buildings began to be erected after a new and modern style.

In the days of Jahangir there was a lull in the building activities of Mughals, as he was interested more in constructing gardens and miniature paintings than in buildings. Under him the art of gardening reached its,

climax. But the building activity did not altogether cease. The two most important buildings of his reign are the tomb of Akbar at Sikandarrah and the tomb of I'timad-ud-Daulah. The latter was built by Nur Jahan over the grave of her father (Mirza Ghiath). It was built in white marble and is one of the earliest buildings to be decorated with pietra-dura or inlaying of semi-precious stones of different colours. According to Mukherjee, this feature was not altogether a novelty, for it is found in the Gol Mandal temple of Udaipur, which was an earlier structure. The Tomb of Ptimad-ud-Daulah at Agra possesses rare beauty and grace and marks the transition from the sandstone edifices of Akbar's time to the white-marble structure of Shah Jahan. This exquisite mausoleum has a perfect system of mosaic and inlay work. It presents the final example in the sub-continent of inlay work in a style derived from Persian mosaic. The building is entirely built in white marble and inlay work with coloured stone similar to that exhibited in the Taj. It is the first building of the Mughals in which only white marble was used and the decoration in the form of pietra-dura or inlay work was made for the first time.

In the time of Jahangir, the Nishat Bagh in Kashmir was built by Asaf Khan. Jahangir constructed the Shalimar Gardens of Kashmir. The tomb of Khan Khanan was constructed at Delhi in the Persian style during the reign of Jahangir. The tomb of Ptimad-ud-Daulah at Agra was built in pure white marble inlaid with precious stones. Its system of mosaic and inlay work is a perfect specimen of the style derived from Persian mosaics.

The reign of Shah Jahan (1628-1658) marks a turning point in the growth of art and architecture. Before him red sand-stone was used in the construction of buildings but he made use of pure white marble for the purpose. He not only discarded the use of sand-stone, but also pulled down and demolished a large number of sand-stone buildings in the forts of Agra, Lahore and other places and replaced them by white-marble edifices.

He found sufficient quantity of white marble in Rajputana for his projects, but where it was not available, he used to plaster the surface with white stucco, to make it look like marble. Along with the change of material there also occurred a change in the style of the buildings. In place of the rectangular structure, curved lines and a flowing rhythm of a different style are noticeable. Besides the use of colours, the setting of the precious stones made the buildings ornamental and look more beautiful. There was change

also in the shape of the arch, which now was foliated and cusped in its outline. Thus Shah Jahan was the most magnificent builder among the Mughals and with him began the golden age of architecture. In his time the arts of the jeweller and the painter were successfully blended into a unity.

At Agra Shah Jahan built the following buildings of exquisite beauty with white marble: the Moti Masjid, the Hall of Diwan-i Khas and the Muthamman Burj. These represent the best style of Mughal architecture.

At Lahore, he built Diwan-i 'Am, Muthamman Burj, Shish Mahal, the Naulakha and the Khwabgah. In these structures we find the complete assimilation of the principle of balance and rhythm.

At Delhi, he built Diwan-i 'Am and Diwan-i Khas in the Red Fort. These buildings are extremely charming and magnificent. The following is the inscription on the hall connected with Diwan-i Khas at Delhi:

اگر فردوس بر روئے زمین است

ہمیں است و ہمیں است ہمیں است

["If there is paradise on earth, it is this, it is this, it is this."]

Shah Jahan also built several mosques at Delhi and Agra, but the masterpiece of Mughal architecture is the Taj Mahal. Its structural portion was done by the Muslims and the decoration was completed by Hindu craftsmen.

The Rang Mahal or Shah Jahani Mahal consists of a purely sandstone edifice. As a matter of fact, Rang Mahal is a part of the Jahangiri Mahal built by Akbar, and Shah Jahan made necessary alterations and additions (the brick-work, coating with plaster, etc.) in order to adopt it to his particular taste and requirements. The entire building is excellent to look at, the rooms behind the arches are lavishly gilt and coloured.

The Khas Mahal is a charming block of buildings of very fine white marble elaborately carved and richly ornamented. It consists of three white-marble pavilions and stands just in front of the Anguri Bagh on an elevated platform by the side of Jamuna. The pillars and arches are elaborately carved.

The entire hall and walls are beautifully adorned but the golden plating on the ceiling has disappeared.

The Shish Mahal was so called because of the innumerable small fragments of looking glass in the entire walls and ceilings, set into gorgeously gilt and coloured Moorish stucco reliefs. It was a Turkish bath attached to the Khas Mahal for the use of ladies. Originally the stucco reliefs were painted in golden and silvery colour ; the chambers were paved with marble, floors carved and inlaid with beautiful designs of fishes. The Muthamman (octagonal) tower is a marble work inlaid with elaborate designs in jasper, agate, jade, lapis lazuli, blood-stone, etc. Very fine artistic scenes of marble surround the Burj and the tower above is delicately inlaid with patterns of jasmine flowers and the top is beautifully adorned with a fine cupola.

The Diwan-i Khas, the hall of private audience built in 1637, is an exquisite production of art. Its beautiful marble-work inlaid with precious stones displays artistic decoration of the Persian style which places it among the best architectural productions of the age.

The Diwan-i 'Am is an extensive hall built entirely of red sandstone with white polished stucco over the arches, pillars and ceilings which make them look like marble. A few feet above the ground towards the back of the hall is the imperial balcony which is the most beautiful piece of work in the whole of this building. Its walls are of white marble beautifully inlaid with mosaic flowers in semi-precious stones. The balcony is protected by a carved railing and triple arches of white marble.

The Moti Masjid (Pearl Mosque) is a splendid lofty building of white marble. It is one of the purest and most elegant buildings of its class to be found anywhere. The beautiful sculptured panels and marble lattice-work screens are extremely charming. The whole structure, except the Persian inscription on the arches, gives the impression of unbroken whiteness, in and out, above and below.

The priority of place must of necessity be given to the famous Taj Mahal, "the dream in marble," which for its exquisite symmetry, grace and marvellous richness and beauty of its materials is unequalled by any structure in the world. This peerless monument represents the most highly elaborate stage of ornamentation, the stage at which the architect ends and the jeweller begins. This celebrated monument is really the final achievement and

epitome of Mughal art and the pietra-dura adorning the mausoleum is the finest in the world. In colour and design, its interior may rank foremost in the world for purely decorative workmanship, while the perfect symmetry of its exterior and the serial grace of its domes and minarets impress the beholders in a manner never to be forgotten.

The notable features of the Persian architectural style, the beautiful floral designs and painting, the prominent features of the Egyptian mosque, the remarkable purity, the exuberant style, the beautiful design, the characteristic features of the romantic and palatial buildings of Spain, the brilliant colouring, the excellent polish and finish, the wonderful ornamentation and decoration and the charming mosaics, are all combined in this world-renowned monument. To the west of the Taj stands the magnificent building of the mosque. Its minarets are triple-storeyed, of red sand-stone, pierced with stone windows. The domes are of white marble and the pinnacles gilt. The pulpit and the recesses in the western wall are also of marble. The ceilings and walls are adorned with beautiful floral designs.

With Shah Jahan's death art declined, for his successor, Aurangzeb, could not extend patronage to the art of building due to his preoccupation with military campaigns as a result of the rising tide of Hindu aggression. The only notable building which is regarded as the latest specimen of the Mughal style of architecture is the Shahi Mosque at Lahore which was built in imitation of the mosque of al-Walid at Mecca.

According to S. M. Latif, "The materials of this mosque were originally collected by Dara Shukoh for the construction of a spacious mausoleum over the remains of Mian Mir, his spiritual guide. But before he could accomplish his desire, he met his death at the hands of his younger brother, Aurangzeb, who on ascending the throne confiscated the material and used it in building the mosque bearing his name. The outer face of the mosque has the following inscription in large letters.

مسجد ابو ظفر محی الدین محمد عالمگیر بادشاہ غازی ۱۰۸۴ھ با ہتمام کمترین

خانہ زادان فدائی خان کو کہ اتمام یافت۔

["The mosque of the victorious and valiant King Mohy-ud-Din Muhammad Alamgir constructed and completed under the

superintendence of the humblest servant of the royal household, Fida'i Khan Koka in 1084 A.H. " ^{418]}

Although the mosque represents the declining age of art and architecture, it is wrong to suggest that it absolutely lacks the artistic features of the earlier buildings. The facades of the mosque are excellent and perfect. While its domes of white marble, crowned with pinnacles, have surpassed the domes of all other constructions in beauty, splendour and perfection. Thus the domes and minarets of this mosque are a remarkable piece of architecture and there is nothing to compare with it in the entire range of Mughal architecture.

⁴¹⁸ S.M. Latif, op. cit.

BOOK REVIEW

TADHKIRAH-I TALIB AMULI, by Lieutenant-Colonel Khwajah Abdur Rashid. Karachi, 1965. Pages 138.

This book is a biographical sketch of Talib Amuli, the Poet Laureate of the Court of Emperor Jahangir, along with a selection of his verses. Very little is known about Amuli: his *divan* also is not yet published. Khwajah Sahib took great pains in collecting the necessary material about him.

This compilation is, no doubt, a piece of historical research. Although small and mainly of the nature of an outline, it may serve as an initial guide book to the students of literature and history, who want to do work on the composition and trends of the Mughal Court in the seventeenth century.

Lieut.-Colonel Rashid has shown a keen sense of historical criticism, especially in the determination of Talib Amuli's date of birth, of his true age at the time of his elevation to the status of a Poet Laureate and of the date of his death. The author also took special pains to establish the causes of the Poet's migration to India and record important episodes of his life. The work on the whole is a good effort.

There are, however, two important omissions. The sketch remains incomplete in that it fails to expound and examine the poetic trends of the time of Talib Amuli. Secondly, it does not give a general introduction to or a brief account of the literary achievements of the Poet. Talib Amuli, historically speaking, holds an important place in the Indo-Persian poetic and literary development. The Indian poets had begun to develop their own traditions and patterns of Persian poetry. A thorough research in the period of Talib Amuli is, therefore, very essential for the rediscovery of the historical past and its influence on future development. By giving a selective representation of Talib's verses from one of the earliest manuscripts, Lieut.-Col. Rashid has given a good incentive in this direction.