APPENDIX I

TRANSLATION OF THE PERSIAN AND ARABIC MOTTOES AT THE HEAD OF THE CHAPTERS

O Thou 1 who hast no place in any place,
   Wonder-struck I am that Thou art at every place.
Faith and no-Faith are both engaged in Thy search
Both crying aloud, "He is the one, He is the all-Alone" 1 Introdc.

He attained the height of eminence by his perfection;
He dispelled the darkness (of the world) by his grace,
   Excellent were all his qualities;
Pray for blessings on him and his posterity 1 1 1

Mohammed is the lord of the two worlds and of mankind and the
   Spirits.
And of the two nations, the Arabs and the 'Ajam (non-Arabs). 41

Thou hast come before all the Teachers of the world,
Though thou hast appeared last of all,
Last of the Prophets thy Nearness has become known to me,
Thou comest last, as thou comest from a distance 51

May God ever convey my benedictions and greeting
To the Prophet of Arabia, of Medina,—of Mecca;
The sun of excellence and of splendour, and of sublimest eminence,
The light of full moon, of elegance, and of the sky of generosity;
The noblest of creation in person and in adoration and in watch
   fulness;
The most excellent of mankind in munificence and generosity 56

He is like the flower in delicacy and like the full moon in splendour.
Like the ocean in liberality, and like Time in resolution. 66

He called towards God, and those who took hold of him
Took hold of a rope that never breaks. 83

But how can the desire of the eulogist come up to
What is in him of nobility of disposition and nature? 92

479
He surpassed all the Prophets in constitution and disposition,
Nor any did approach him either in knowledge or nobleness.
Avoid what the Christians assert about their Prophet;
(But) declare whatever else thou wishest in his praise, and contend
for it.

Indeed the Prophet is a light from which guidance is sought,
And a drawn sword out of God's swords

Is it from the remembrance of the neighbours at Zi-Salam
That thou hast mixed tears flowing from the eyes with blood?

When the help of God and victory come and thou seest the
people entering into the religion of God in troops,
Celebrate the praise of thy Lord, and ask pardon of Him; for
He is the Forgiver.

Hold fast, all ye, to the Rock of God
And be not disunited.

Come to Me, do not seek except Me;
I am the Beneficent; seek Me thou wilt find Me
Dost thou remember any night in which thou hast called to Me
secretly,
And I did not hear thee? Then seek Me thou wilt find Me.
When the afflicted one says "dost not Thou seek me?"
I look towards him; seek Me, thou wilt find Me
When My servant disobedys Me, thou wilt find Me
Quick in chastising; seek Me, thou wilt find Me

Say, unto whom belongeth whatsoever is in heaven and earth?
Say unto God; He hath prescribed unto Himself mercy.
(For translation of the other passage, see p. 173.)

The disputes of the seventy-two sects put them all aside,
As they did not see the Truth they took to the path of fiction

He is the Beginning and the End,
The Manifest and the Hidden,
And the knower of all things. (Koran.)
APPENDIX II

p. 166

Ibid.

p. 274

لا علواة إلا بغضور العلم

إفرار باللسان و تصدوس بذلك

من كان له نسما تقد منه كبدنا ود نبض كن بندا

ولنجزر و حاسبوها جوزة الله وقمة محمدالنبي رسول الله على

نفسهم وملتهم و ارضهم و أموالهم و قلبيهم و شاهدهم و عدوهم و

وعشهم و استقلتهم ولا يقدر ما كانوا علمه ولا يخبر حق من حقوقهم و

عشرتهم لايفشيفن عسف من أسقفيته ولا راهب من رهابية ولا مأه من

رواهته على ما جمعت إبددهم من قلبه او كثرة وليس عليهم رحق ولادم

حايلية ولا يشعرون ولا يشعرون ولا يأب أرضهم جيش

لا نهدم لهم بعدة ولا كنية ولا يدعون من ضرب النوا بهدن ولا من

اخراج الصبية في يوم عدهم

ما وسمعى أحد ولا سمى ولا

وسمعى لقب عدد الموتى النبي التق

p. 457

الورع

p. 481

2 H
I was wishing evil of certain European countries if I expressed a hope that Christianity should have a less dominant influence upon them."

It is a matter of regret that European scholars, generally speaking, should persist in comparing the lowest form of İslâm with the highest form of Christianity. All religions have different phases, they vary according to the climatic and economic conditions of the country, the environments and education of the people, their national characteristics and a multitude of other causes. To compare modern idealistic Christianity with a debased form of İslâm is an insult to common sense and intelligence. In this work I have endeavoured to show how İslâm furthered the intellectual movement of the world, how it brought to life a dying world, how it promoted culture and civilisation. It was not the İslâm which is professed to-day by the ignorant bigot, the intriguing self-seeker, but it was nevertheless İslâm—İslâm in its truest, highest and noblest sense. I have tried to show the cause of the blight that has fallen on Moslem nations. It is more than probable that my views will not satisfy the critic of İslâm who has started with a preconceived bias, or who judges of the Faith by its latter-day professors. All the same I venture to assert that my statements are founded on historical facts.

One assertion of M. Renan requires a categorical refutation. He has alleged in his lecture "as a very remarkable thing that among the philosophers and learned men called Arabic, there was but one alone, Alkindi, who was of Arabic origin: all the others were Persians, Transoxians, Spaniards, natives of Bokhara, of Samarcand, of Cordova, of Seville. Not only were those men not Arabs by blood, but they were in nowise Arabs in mind." The memory of this great French scholar, whose acquaintance I had the privilege of making, deserves every respect. But surely this sweeping observation is very wide of the truth. A glance at the Wafat ul-Ayân (Ibn Khallikân's great Biographical Dictionary), the Târikh ul-Hukama and other works of the like nature will show how utterly unfounded the assertion is. From the genealogy of the eminent men whose lives are contained in these books, it will be seen that a vast number of the great scholars, doctors and savants, although born in places outside Arabia, were Arabs by descent.

Probably M. Renan would not have admitted that Ali (the Caliph) was a philosopher, but his descendants Ja'far as-Sâdik and Ah ar-Rizâ were unquestionably entitled to be included in that designation. And Ja'far as-Sâdik was a scientist besides Jâbur ibn Hâyyan (Geber), the father of modern chemistry, worked in fact with the materials gathered by Ja'far. It is admitted that Al Kindi, "the Philosopher of the Arabs," was descended from the royal family of Kinda and was an Arab of the Arabs. But it is not known that Yahya ibn Ali Mansûr (see ante, p. 374) was a pure Arab. Nor is it known that Ali ibn Yunus (ante, p. 377) belonged to the tribe of as-Sadaf—"a great branch," says Ibn Khallikân, "of the tribe of Himyar which settled in Egypt." Al-Jâhiz, Abû Osmân Amr al-Kinâni al-Laâsî, the celebrated Mutazilite
APPENDIX III

philosopher, who died at Basra in A.H. 255 (868-9 A.C.), was a pure Arab, a member of the tribe of Kinâna. Avenpace (ante, p. 428) was a Tujibite by descent. "Tujibi pronounced also Tajibi," says Ibn Khalikhân, "means descended from Tujib the mother of 'Adî and Sa'd, the sons of Ashras ibn us-Sakân. She herself was the daughter of Saubân bin Sulaim ibn Mazis, and her sons were surnamed after her."

The Avenzoars (ante, p. 386) belonged to the Arabian tribe of Iyâz ibn Nizâr, and hence bore the title of al-Iyâz.

The great grammarians al-Khalîl ibn Ahmed was a member of the tribe of Azd. The Spanish historian and philosopher Ibn Bash-kûwâl was a descendant of one of the Medînite Ansâr who had settled in Spain. Mas'ûdî (ante, p. 390) was a direct descendant of one of the Prophet’s immediate companions and disciples, Ibn Masûd, hence the title; whilst Ibn al-Athîr was a member of the celebrated tribe of Shaibân.

The political economist and juristconsult, al-Mâwardî, a native of Basra, was a pure Arab.

The soldier, statesman, philosopher and poet, Osâma was a member of the tribe of Kinâna.

Sharif al-Murtaza, the author of the Gharar wa’d Durar, one of the greatest scholars of his time, was descended from Imâm Ali ar-Rizâ.

Ibn Tufail (ante, pp. 386, 429) was a member of the tribe of Kais, and hence the title of al-Kâisi.

Ibn Khalîfûn was descended from an Yemenite family which had settled in Spain. They came from Hazramaut and were therefore called al-Hazramî.

I have given only a few names picked out at random, but the curious reader will find numberless instances in the books I have mentioned.

To say that these men were not Arabs and had no Arab blood in them is surely a bold assertion. I might with equal effrontery assert that, because Longfellow, Channing, Emerson, Draper were born in America, they were not Anglo-Saxons.

Ibn Khalikhân calls al-Fârâbî "the greatest philosopher of the Moslems," and speaks of him in the following terms:

ابو نصر محمد بن محمد طرخان من اوزاع الغارضي الغریب
الحكم المشهور صاحب الصادب رفیع في المنطق والموسيقي وغزره
من العلم وهو أكبر فلاسفة المسلمين لم يكن وببغ من بلغ رتبته
في مثَّى ورائنا الوزير إبراهيم بن محمد المقدم ذكره بكتبه نخرج
 всّمته أبو إبراهيم المسمار في نسبه

1 Two of his most important works are the Ahkâm us-Sallâmîyyah and as-Sidât ul-Mudân, both spoken of highly by Von Hammer.

2 See also Wüstenfeld's Geschichte der Arabischen Aerzte, Târikh ul-Islâm of Zahabi, and Casiri's Bibliotheca Arabica.
"Abū Nasr Mohammed bin Mohammed bin Turkhân bin Auslagh al-Fārābī at-Turki (the Turk), a celebrated philosopher, author of many works in logic, music, and other sciences. He was the greatest of philosophers among the Moslems, and no one among them attained a rank equal to his in the sciences. And the chief (of philosophers) Abū Ali Ibn Sina, whom I have mentioned before, derived benefit from his writings" ... (p 382)

Abu'l Kāsim Kinderski was a famous poet and Avisennistic philosopher of Persia in the eighteenth century.

Hayy ibn Yakzān was translated into English and published in London so long ago as 1686. (p. 429)

Sanāʿī has given expression to his admiration for Ibn Sina and his devotion to philosophy in the following lines:

نَخْوَاهُمْ لَا حِجَرٌ نَعْمَتُ نَهُ ثُرُدُنِيَا نَهُ دَرْجَتُ
هنِي َغُنْمِيْ بِهِرُسَعِتُ جِهُ دِرُسَرَا جِهُ دِرْجَرَا
۲۰٠ َبَيْبُ صِرِنْتُ يُ رَمَنُ يُ دِيْ وَرُحُمُتِ
توْنُ كُرْمِي درْشَكُ آَيَدُ رُوُانُ بِعُلَيْ سِيدَا

"I do not seek for any reward in this world or the next."
"Every moment I pray, whether in prosperity or in adversity"
"O my Lord, bestow on Sanāʿī the proficiency in philosophy and sciences"
"Such as would make even the soul of Bū Ali Sina jealous."

The position of Sanāʿī in the world of İslām can be gathered from the following lines of Jalāl ud-dīn Rūmī, revered nowadays by educated Muslims throughout Asia and Egypt.

عَطَارُ رُوحُ وَسَنَائِيَ دَوَ حَشْمُ أَر
ما أَزْرُي سَنَائِي وَعَطَارُ آمَدِم

"'Attār was its soul [of the philosophy of mysticism], Sanāʿī was its eyes; I only walked in the footsteps of 'Attār and Sanāʿī." (p 457)

The reactionary character of the influence exercised by Abu'l Hasan Ali al-Ashārī and Ahmed al-Ghazzālī can hardly be overestimated. It has been happily summed up in a few words by the learned editor of al-Beirūm's al-Asār ul-Bākīeh—"but for al-Ashārī and al-Ghazzālī the Arabs might have been a nation of Galileos, Keplers and Newtons." By their denunciations of science and philosophy, by their exhortations
that besides theology and law no other knowledge was worth acquiring, they did more to stop the progress of the Moslem world than most other Moslem scholiasts. And up to this day their example is held forth as a reason for ignorance and stagnation.

Al-Asha'ri was born at Basra in 883-4 A.C. (270 A.H.), and died at Bagdad; but the year of his death is not certain; it occurred probably some time between 941 and 952 A.C. (300 and 340 A.H.). He was originally a Mu'tazili and publicly taught the rationalistic doctrines. A clever, ambitious man he saw no opportunity of power or influence among the Rationalists; an alliance with the party of retrogression meant fame and tangible reward. He, accordingly, made a public renunciation of his former creed in man's free will and "of his opinion that the Koran was created." This happened on a Friday at the Cathedral mosque of Basra. Whilst seated on his chair lecturing to his pupils, he suddenly sprang up, and cried aloud to the assembled multitude:—"They who know me, know who I am, as for those who do not know me, I shall tell them. I am Ali ibn Isma'il al-Asha'ri, and I used to hold that the Koran was created, that the eyes (of men) shall not see God, and that we ourselves are the authors of our evil deeds, now I have returned to the truth, I renounce these opinions and I take the engagement to refute the Mu'tazilites and expose their infamy and turpitude." And with the recantation of each doctrine that he formerly professed, he tore off from his person some garment saying, "I repudiate this belief as I repudiate this dress." First went the turban, then the mantle and so on. The effect of this theatrical display was immense among the impressionable inhabitants of Basra, and the fame of al-Asha'ri spread so rapidly among the people that he soon became their recognised leader. Ibn Khallikân calls him "a great upholder of the orthodox doctrines".

Upon the death of the last Fatimide Caliph al-'Azid li-din Illâh, Salâdîn, who was Commander-in-chief and Prime Minister, proclaimed the Abbaside Mustazî and thus restored Egypt to the spiritual sovereignty of Bagdad. Asha'rism henceforth became dominant in that country.

The theological students, who were chiefly the followers of Ibn Hanbal, under the weaker Abbaside Califhs became a source of great trouble in Bagdad. They constituted themselves into a body of irresponsible censors; they used forcibly to enter houses, break musical instruments, and commit similar acts of vandalism.
APPENDIX III—contd.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

P. 17 The word Ikra might be rendered also as “recite.”

P. 106. The incident to which reference is made in the footnote at p 106 has been immortalised by the Persian Poet Sa’di. The poem opens with the following lines, which are difficult to render properly into another language:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{کرم گن بجای من ای فراغم} \\
&\text{کروملای من نور زایی کرم}
\end{align*}
\]

P. 264. The following lines evince the estimation in which Meshed is held by the Shiah:

\[
\begin{align*}
&Mash-had afzal tari rur Zamîn ast. \\
&Ke ãn-jâ nur-i Rabb ul-âalamîn ast
\end{align*}
\]

“Meshhad is the most excellent spot on the face of the earth, for there is to be found the light of the Lord of the Creation (God).”

P. 279. Moslem toleration.—“In the first century of Arab rule,” says Sir Thomas Arnold in his Preaching of Islam, “the various Christian churches enjoyed a toleration and a freedom of religious life, such as had been unknown for generations under the Byzantine Government.” And he adds, “In the course of the long struggles with the Byzantine Empire, the Caliphs had had occasion to distrust the loyalty of their Christian subjects, and the treachery of Nikophoros was not improbably one of the reasons for Hârûn’s order that the Christians should wear a distinctive dress and give up the good posts they held.”

Abû Yusuf’s appeal to Hârûn ar-Rashid on behalf of the non-Moslem subjects is noteworthy.

“ It is incumbent on the Commander of the Faithful (May God grant thee His aid!) that thou deal gently with those that have a covenant with thy Prophet and thy cousin Mohammed (the peace and blessing of God be upon him), and that thou take care that they be not wronged or ill-treated and that no burden be laid upon them beyond their strength
APPENDIX III

and that no part of their belongings be taken from them beyond what they are in duty bound to pay, for it is related of the Apostle of God (the peace and blessing of God be upon him !) that he said whosoever wrongs a Zimmī or imposes a burden upon him beyond his strength I shall be his accuser on the Day of Judgment"; (Arnold)

P. 279. The Zimmīs.—The following was the charter granted by the Caliph Omar at the capitulation of Jerusalem surrendered in 638 A.H. "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. This is the security which Omar the Servant of God, the Commander of the Faithful, grants to the people of Aelia. He grants to all, whether sick or sound, security for their lives, their possessions, their churches and their crosses, and for all that concerns their religion. Their churches shall not be changed into dwelling places nor destroyed, neither shall they nor their appurtenances be in any way diminished, nor the crosses of the inhabitants, nor aught of their possessions, nor shall any constraint be put upon them in the matter of their faith, nor shall anyone of them be harmed"; Balāzuri, p. 132; Kitāb ul-Khādīj, p. 54; Al-Makin, Historia Saracena, p. 11.

Prophet's declaration:—"Whoever wrongs a Zimmī and lays on him a burden beyond his strength I shall be his accuser."

"Whoever torments the Zimmīs torments me."

Omar's injunction to Osman:—"I commend to your care the Zimmīs of the apostle of God; see that the agreement with them is kept, and they be defended against their enemies, and that no burden is laid on them beyond their strength," Abū Yusuf, p. 71.

In similar terms is Ali's injunction to Mohammed Ibn Abū Bakr, Governor of Egypt in 36 A.H. Tabari, in loco. See also D'Ohsson, p. 44.

P. 285. In the times of the later Abbaside Caliphs three more Divāns or departments came into existence, viz., the Divān-ul-Kazī (the Ministry of Justice), the Divān-ul-'Arz (the Paymaster General’s office), and the Divān-ul-Tughra, where the imperial seals were kept and the documents checked.

P. 288. In my former edition of the book I had said as follows:

"The importance which Islām attaches to the duties of sovereigns towards their subjects, and the manner in which it promotes the freedom and equality of the people and protects them against the oppression of their rulers is shown in a remarkable work by the celebrated publicist Imam Fakhruddin Rāzī (i.e. of Rhages) on "the Reciprocal Rights of Soverigns and Subjects," edited and enlarged afterwards by Mohammed bin Ali bin Taba Taba, commonly known as Ibn Tiktaka."

This statement represents the view commonly entertained by the Moulıvs of India. In his work on the history of Arabic literature (Weimar and Berlin, 1898-1902), Brockelmann apparently entertained
the same opinion. And he was not singular among the scholars of Europe on this point. Noel Devergers and apparently de Sacy and several others were in agreement with him. Hartwig Derenbourg, however, strongly challenged this view; and Brockelmann in his later work (the Nachträge, Vol. II. p. 708) altered his opinion. What has influenced me, however, to cut out the attribution of the authorship of the Tārikh ud-duwal to Imam Fakhr ud-dîn Râzi is the fact that in his enumeration of the works of this great scholar Ibn Khalikân does not include the Tārikh-ud-duwal. His omission is by no means conclusive, for he often leaves out important works, as in the case of Ibn Ab'il Hadîd, to whose great commentary on the Nahj-ul-Balâghat he does not make the slightest reference. It has, however, been a determining factor in my omission of the passage in the new edition.

I am indebted to Mr. C. A. Storey of the India Office for the following passage from Brockelmann's works bearing on this point:

C. Brockelmann in his Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur (Weimar and Berlin, 1898-1902), Vol. I. p. 506, has the following entry under Fahrraddin Abû 'Abdallah M. b. 'Omar b. al-Hosain b. al Hâṭib ar-Râzi:


In the Nachträge (Vol. II. p. 705) he has the following entry:

"506, 6, 2 zu streichen, = al Fâhri von b. aṭ Tiqṭaqâ."

The entry relating to Ibn al Tiqtaqâ (Vol. II. p 161) is as follows:

"M. b. 'Ali b. Ţabâṭabâ b aṭ Tiqṭaqâ, geb um 660/1261, schrieb 701/1301 während eines Aufenthaltes in Mûsul für den dortigen Statthalter Fahrraddin 'Isâ b. Ibrâhîm:


A footnote to this page says:

"2 Damit identisch ist der ta'riinth ad duwal, Bd. I. p. 506 mit Wiederholung eines alten Irrtums dem Fahrraddin ar Râzi zugeschrieben."

P. 288. Justice.—In the Kitâb-ul-Mizân ul-Hikma ("The Balance of Wisdom"), written in the 12th century, occurs the following definition of justice:—"Justice is the stay of all virtues and the support of all excellences In order to place justice on the pinnacle of perfection, the Supreme Creator (al-Bâri Ta'âla) made himself known to the
APPENDIX III

choicest of His Servants under the name of the Just; and it was by the light of justice that the world became complete and perfected and was brought to perfect order—to which there is allusion in the words of him on whom there be blessings: "By Justice were the Heavens and the Earth established."

P. 340. Although some Western scholars have doubted the accuracy of the story that Nizām-ul-Mulk, Omar Khayyām and Hasan bin Sabbāh were fellow students, the latest biographer of "The Old Man of the Mountain" re-affirms that all three were at one time pupils of Imām Mūsik ud-dīn (Muwaffak ud-dīn) (?). This new life of Hasan Sabbāh is by the pen of a learned Moulvi of Lucknow (Moulvi Abdul Halim surnamed Sharar), and gives in a short compass an exhaustive and well-balanced summary of Hasan Sabbāh's life and objects, and of the pernicious character of his propaganda.

P. 340 Hasan Sabbāh.—Moulvi Abdul Halim points out how Hasan Sabbāh’s followers worked with hashish in carrying out their pernicious propaganda; how they drugged the minds of their proselytes for the furtherance of their designs against the existing order. He also describes the hydra-headed character of the occult doctrine professed by these enemies of society; how on the destruction of the Karāmīs the Isma’iilas sprang into existence.

P. 359 Bābis.—The Bābis, who have now split up into several sections, are to be found chiefly in foreign countries. They are said to abound in the United States; many of them are settled in Beyrout and not a few in Bombay and Calcutta. The greatest authority in England on Bābism, Professor E. G. Browne, says that the Bābi cult has nothing in common with Sūfism. One fundamental difference between the two cults lies in their mentality, whilst Sūfism shows great charity towards differing systems, Bābism is intensely exclusive, not to say fanatical.

P. 400. Safawi.—A new theory appears to have been recently started attributing the derivation of the term "Safawi," the designation of the dynasty founded by Shah Isma’il in Persia, to the word Safi which forms part of the name of Safi-ud-din, the ancestor of Shah Isma’il, and not to "Sufi," the title borne by Safi ud-din. To this theory I venture to enter a respectful protest. For several centuries after the foundation of the Persian Empire the Shahs of Persia were styled by European travellers, merchants, and chroniclers "The Grand Sophi," in contradistinction to "The Grand Mogul" and "The Grand Turk." The reason is obvious. Among oriental writers the word "safawi" has always been recognised as derived from Sūfi, just as the other designation of this dynasty, "Musawi," is derived from Imam Mūsā al-Kāzim. The Rizawi Syeds trace their descent from Imam Ali, son of the Imam Mūsā.

P. 402. The sack of Bagdad.—In the following couplet Sa’di has
expressed his horror at the terrible scenes he witnessed at the sack of Bagdad:

"It is meet that Heaven should rain tears of blood on earth
At the destruction that has befallen
The Empire of Musta’sim, Commander of the Faithful.
O Mohammed! If in the Day of Judgment you will raise your
head above the earth
Raise your head and see the tribulation of the people now."
The effect of the picture drawn by the poet is lost in the translation.

P. 406. Predestination.—The following tradition reported by
'Ubayy ibn Ka'b throws considerable light on the view held by the
Prophet on the subject of predestination:—"the most prosperous man
is he who becomes prosperous by his own exertions; and the most
wretched man is he who becomes wretched by his own actions."

The great Caliph Omar is reported to have inflicted double punish-
m ent on a man who was caught in the act of committing an evil deed
and had said in exculpation that he was led to do it by the decree
of God.

Ameer-ul-Mommin Ali (The Caliph), in answer to one of his men who
had fought at Siffin, and had enquired whether it was the decree of God
that had led them to Syria, is reported to have said as follows:

"Perhaps you consider predestination to be necessary and the
particular decree to be irreversible; if it were so, then would reward
and punishment be vain, and the promise and threat would be of
no account; and surely blame would not have come from God for the
sinner nor praise for the righteous, nor would the righteous be more
worthy of the reward of his good deeds than the wicked, nor the wicked
be more deserving of the punishment of his sin than the righteous.
Such a remark (savours) of the brethren of devils and the worshippers
of idols and of the enemies of the Merciful and of those who bear witness
to falsehood and of those who are blind to the right in their concerns—
such as the falsitists and the Magians of this church. God hath ordained
the giving of choice (to men) and forbidden the putting (of them) in
fear, and He hath not laid duties upon men by force, nor sent His
Prophets in sport. This is the notion of unbelievers, and woe unto the
unbelievers in hell!" Then asked the old man: "What is this pre-
destination and particular decree which drove us?" He answered:
"The command of God therein and His purpose." Then he repeated
(the verse): "The Lord hath ordained (predestined) that ye worship
none but Him, and kindness to your parents."
APPENDIX III

The second apostolical Imam’s letter to the people of Basra also contains the following passage which is worthy of note: “Whoever makes his Lord responsible for his sin is a transgressor; God does not make people obey Him against their will, nor force them to sin against their will.”

P. 414. The word Mu‘tazila.—In the Ghyas-ul-Lughat and the Farhang (Lucknow) the word معتزيل is spelt with a fatha on the third syllable, which would make it in its English garb Mu‘tazila. The Farhang is the work of three of the most learned Moslem scholars of India, and is the best and most comprehensive lexicon of its kind, a real encyclopaedia. In its compilation the authors have used every existing lexicon, among them the Ka ht-ul-Lughät, the Surah the Táj-ul-'Urus and a number of others, so that it cannot be said they have decided lightly. In Richardson’s Dictionary the word is spelt similarly.

In the Lisán-ul-'Arab the word is printed with a Kesra under the third syllable, which would make it read Mu‘tazila. And Western Orientalists have almost entirely adopted this view.

The difference, which to an outsider unacquainted with the Arabic language may sound like a distinction without a difference, arises from the question, did Wâsil bin 'Ata leave the majlis of his own accord, or was he asked on account of his disagreement with the Imam to withdraw? Ibn Khallikân says he was “expelled.” In the first case the active participle would be the right form, and the word would be mu‘tazila; in the latter case it would be mu‘tazala. The Indian Moullis hold the opinion that he was asked to leave; in which they are supported by Ibn Khallikân. And yet de Slane, the translator of the Wafidet al-Ayān transliterates the word as Mu‘tazilé.

In all my previous works I have followed the Ghyás and the Farhang, but in view of the unanimity among Western Orientalists and in order to avoid confusing the reader I have decided in this Edition to range myself with them. This does not, however, alter my adherence to the scholars of my country.

P. 419. Mu‘tazila doctrines—“The Mu‘tazilas are agreed that the world has a Creator, Eternal, Almighty, Omniscient, Living. He is neither a body nor an accident nor a substance; He is self-sufficient. One, incomprehensible by sense, Just, All-wise, doth no wrong, nor purposeth any; He lays duties on human beings by way of indicating retribution to them. He renders man capable of action, removes hindrance out of the way, and retribution is absolutely necessary; further, they agree upon the necessity of the sending of a Prophet when a sending is desirable, and that the Prophet must bring a new law or revive one of which no trace is left, or provide some new life to humanity; and they are agreed that the last of the Prophets is Mohammedi, and that faith is a declaration and knowledge and action. And they agree that man’s action is not created in him, they agree in having friendly feelings towards the Companions of the Prophet, but they disagree about Osmán after the events that he brought about; most
of them, however, have friendly feelings towards him and offer explanations for his conduct. And most of them are agreed about standing aloof from Mu'âwiyyâh and 'Amr ibn al-Âs and they are agreed upon the necessity of enjoining good acts and the forbidding of evil."

P. 472. Ameer Khusru, although he has been accorded a place amongst the Awha (the Sûfi saints), was certainly not a professed Sûfi. Most of the Moslem poets of India bear more than a tinge of mysticism, and have given expression to it in their poetry. I have already mentioned Dâbir (ante, p. 460). The three brothers, Anis, Mûnis, and Uns (noms de plume derived from one and the same root), were contemporaries of Dâbir and their thoughts run in the same channel. Altâf Husain Khan Hâli and Asad ullah Khan Ghâlib, like the unfortunate Bahâdur Shah, the last titular King of Delhi, who was deported by the British to Rangoon after the Mutiny, were "intuitionists." In one of his finest poems Ghâlib speaks of Bahâdur Shah in these terms:

Shah-in-roushan dil Bahâdur Shah kehai
Râz-î-hasti uspêh sar-ta-sar khula.

The King Bahadur Shah of the illumined heart,
He has had opened to him fully the mysteries of existence.

P. 472. Sennusi.—The Sennusiyah order, if it can be so called, was founded by Mohammed bin Ali as-Sennusi al-Idrisi. He was a descendant of the Prophet through Idris, who had escaped into the Maghrib (West Africa) from the massacre in Medina by Yazid's troops. He was born in a place called Mustaghanem in Algeria in 1787. He appears to have been a man of a particularly virile character. He travelled much in the Islamic countries which were easy of access, and noted the deterioration in morals which resulted to the Arabs and other Moslems of North Africa from contact with the peoples of the Mediterranean littoral. He also observed how the Moslems had fallen away from the old teachings, and how lethargic and fatalistic they had become. He uplifted them by directing their energies to such industries as conduced to material prosperity and their minds to the duties imposed by their religion.

Sidi Mohammed bin Ali, before his death in 1859, had founded numbers of zuruj or lodges in the Hijaz and Yemen, in the Libyan Oases, in Cyrenaica and Algeria. And those lodges, in mid-Africa at least, exercised considerable moral influence. In Morocco his disciples, who are usually called Brothers ("Ikhwan"), made little or no progress in consequence of the old established Moula Tyyib order. Sidi Mohammed was succeeded by his son Mohammed al-Mahdi as the head of the fraternity.

P. 473. I am quoting from memory—

Kajkol ko taj khusrawâni sahmjhai
Aur dunyâ dani ko fâni samjhai
Darâi Hâkumat wahi jawâi ðawr
Jo Kisaî 'umar ko kahâni samjhai.
APPENDIX III

Apostasy.—The punishment for apostasy provided by the ecclesiastical laws of Islâm has recently caused some amount of perturbation among politicians and others in England. "Apostasy" has always from the earliest times been regarded as a capital offence in all the religious and civil systems of the world, as it formed a breach of loyalty to established order. The Romans condemned the early Christians to death because they had set themselves up against the government and the State-religion. The Christians, when they obtained supremacy, followed the Roman example. The Romish Church burnt apostates, heretics, men, women and even children, without mercy all over the globe. The Reformed Churches were not lacking in ardour in the cause of orthodoxy and maintenance of conformity. Apostates were subject to the penalty of death up to very recent times in England. At the present time a person renouncing Christianity is not put to death, but is subject to social and civil ostracism. The Prophet of Islâm never condemned freedom of conscience, but treason to the Commonwealth was punished with death. It was frequently the case that the Meccans made a profession of the faith in order to get into the city of Medina, and after obtaining all the information connected with the security of the little Moslem State returned to Mecca and threw off Islâm. When captured they were condemned to execution. Treason is still in our own days, throughout the world, punishable with death, and no objection can be taken to these executions. The Moslem ecclesiastical law that an apostate must undergo the penalty of death is based on this rule. But women are not punishable with death, they are only imprisoned; nor is any child subject to that penalty. This is the difference between Islâm and Christianity in the matter of humanity and freedom of conscience. If I am not mistaken, the penalty of death for "apostasy" was abolished in Turkey in the reign of Sultan Selim II. towards the end of the eighteenth century.
APPENDIX IV

For the Genealogical Tables of the Saracenic Caliphs and Sovereigns see my *Short History of the Saracens*. I give here the names of the Ommeyyade Caliphs of Damascus and Spain, of the Abbaside Caliphs of Bagdad and the Fâtumide Caliphs of Cairo, with the dates of their accession to make the text intelligible.

**THE RÂSHIDÎN CALIPHS.**

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**THE OMMEYYADE SOVEREIGNS OF DAMASCUS.**

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<td>Ibrâhim</td>
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**THE ABBASIDE CALIPHS OF BAGDAD.**

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### APPENDIX IV

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### THE FĀTIMIDE CALIPHS OF EGYPT

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9. Al-Musta'li b'Illah - - - - - 487 = 1094
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11. Al-Hâfiz li-dîn-İllâh - - - - - 523 = 1130
12. Az-Zâfir bi-amr-İllâh - - - - - 544 = 1149
13. Al-Fâiz bi-amr-İllâh - - - - - 549 = 1154
14. Al-‘Âzid-li-dîn-İllâh - - - - - 555 = 1160

THE OMMEYYADE CALIPHS OF CORDOVA.

138-422, 756-1031 A.C.

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