

CHAPTER IV

ISLAMIC HISTORIOGRAPHY IN NORTH INDIA

As mentioned earlier, Muslim historiography owes its inception in India to the Persian speaking peoples who had inherited the taste for history from the Arabs. These peoples recorded the history of Muslim conquests in India and produced works on traditional lines, dealing mainly with wars and campaigns of their rulers. They hardly made any effort to analyse the causes and effects of events and throw light on the cultural achievements of the Muslims. It was with the advent of the British in India and the introduction of modern education therein that the Indian Muslims got acquainted, among other things, with the modern concept of history which had developed in the West and according to which history was no longer a mere record of past events but was an effort to find out "how the present has come out of the past". This brought about a profound change in the outlook of Muslim historiographers, and they began to produce historical works along modern scientific lines. Among those who adopted western methodology in the treatment of historical subjects Sir Sayyid ranks the first. In his "Essays on the Life of Muhammad" better known as "Khutbat-i-Ahmadiyah" published in 1870, the growing westernism of his mind in handling historical subjects can best be seen.¹ This illustrious work served as the starting point of modern

¹ See Habibullah, A.B.M.; Historical Writing in Urdu : A Survey of Tendencies, in Philips, C.H.; Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, London, 1962, p.483. It was perhaps with the study of the Urdu translation of Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire that he first got acquainted with western methodology in handling historical subjects. With an awareness of this methodology, he rejected the frozen attitude of Muslim historians who were merely parrot-like imitators in the true chronicle type of history. See Ali, Shaikh B.; History : Its theory and method, 1978, p.439.

historiography of Islam in India and more particularly in North India. He was followed by others like Maulavī Cherāgh ‘Alī, Shibli, Sayyid Sulaymān Nadvī etc. and a large number works on Islamic history were produced between 1870 and 1947. For convenience of study the Islamic historiographers of this period may be divided into three groups : (1) Historians of the ‘Alīgarh school, (2) Historians of the Azamgarh school and (3) General historians. In the following pages an attempt is made to give detailed biographical accounts of the historians of each group and evaluate their contribution to Islamic historiography under separate headings.

(1) Historians of the ‘Alīgarh School:

The ‘Alīgarh School of Islamic historiography was represented by its founder, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān, Maulavī Cherāgh ‘Alī and others.

A political and religious leader, a social worker, an educationist and an exeget, Sir Sayyid had also a good taste for history. He turned to history fairly early in his intellectual career,² and compiled a Persian booklet entitled "Jam-i-Jam" (1839).³ It was also in his early academic career that he evinced a keen and practical interest in purely Islamic historiography by writing the treatise "Jilā’ al-Qulūb bi Dhikr al-Mahbūb" (1842).⁴ In 1870 he showed even greater interest in it by producing "Khutbat-i-Ahmadiyyah" on which his fame as an Islamic historiographer rests.

²Ahmad, Aziz; Islamic Modernisation in India and Pakistan (1857-1964) 1970, p.39.

³This booklet contains brief accounts of forty three kings and rulers from Timur to Bahādur Shāh Zafar.

⁴The treatise deals with the birth, death and miracles of the Prophet (S.A.W.). Its material is mostly derived from Surūr al-Mahzūn by Waliullāh of Delhi and Madārij al-Nubūway by ‘Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith of Delhi, See Nizami, K.A., Sir Sayyid aur ‘Alīgarh Tahrik, ‘Alīgarh, 1982, p.241.

Sir Sayyid was born in Delhi on the 17th of October 1817⁵ in an old noble family, which had long been attached to the Mughal Darbār. He was descended from Husayn (R.A.), the grandson of the Prophet, Muḥammad (S.A.W.), in the 36th generation.⁶ Sir Sayyid had no formal schooling. Rather he was given, according to the fashion of the age, a purely traditional education prevalent in his time. He studied Arabic, Persian, Mathematics, Logic and Urdū. He also learnt something about medicine from his family doctor, Ḥakīm Ghulām Ḥaydar Khān. His early education he owed to his mother, 'Aziz al-Nisā' Begam, a lady of keen intelligence, devotion and piety, who exerted a tremendous influence on his life. In 1838 when his father, Sayyid Muḥammad Muttaqi, expired, he joined the East India Company and was appointed Shiristehdar of the Criminal Department in the Sadr Amīn's Office in Delhi. In the following year he was promoted to the office of Naib Munshī or deputy reader in the office of the Commissioner at Agra whence he was transferred in 1841 to Mainpuri as a Munsif. In 1842 he was posted to Fatḥpūr Sikrī and the same year when he came to Delhi to spend a few days holiday, he got the distinction of receiving the title "Jawād al-Daulah 'Arif Jang" from the Emperor, Bahādur Shāh Zafar. At Fatḥpur Sikrī, he remained for four years and during this period he published Jilā' al-Qutūb bi Dhikr al-Mahbūb (a small booklet dealing with the birth, death, miracles and other events of the life of the Prophet, Muḥammad (S.A.W.), Tuhfa-i-Hasan and Tashīl fi Jarr al-Thaqīl.

⁵See Hālī, A.H.; Ḥayāt-i-Jāwēd, Delhi, 1979, p.29.

⁶Muḥammad, Shāh; Sir Syed Ahmad Khan : A Political Biography, Meerut, 1969, p.42.

In the year 1846, he was transferred from Fatehpūr Sikrī to Delhi where he remained for eight years. During the whole of the period he left Delhi on only two occasions (in 1850 and 1853) to officiate as Sadr Amin in Ruhtak. While in Delhi he decided to apply himself to the study of those important books which he had gone through in his childhood and contents of which had almost sunk into oblivion. He therefore began a thorough study of works on Jurisprudence (Fiqh). He also studied several parts of the Maqāmāt (the Assemblies) by al-Harirī and some qasīdas (odds) of the Sab' al-Muallqāt under Muḥammad Faīd al-Ḥasan and the authentic collections of the Ḥadīth like Mishkāṭ, Jāmi' al-Tirmizī and Ṣaḥīḥ al-Muslim and the Qurān under Maulānā Makḥṣūs ullaḥ, a nephew of 'Abd al-ʿAzīz.⁷

During his stay in Delhi Sir Sayyid produced Fawā'id al-Afkār Fi Amāl al-Farjar (1846), 'Athār al-Sanādīd (the first archaeological history ever produced in India), Qaul-i-Matīn dar Ibtāl-i-Harkat-i-Zamīn (1848), Kalimat al-Ḥaqq (1849), Rāḥ-i-Sunnat dar Radd-i-Bid'at (1850), Namīqa dar Bayān-i-Mas'ala-i-Taṣawwur-i-Shaykh (1852), Silsilat al-Mutūk (1852) and 'Aghāz-i-Kimiyā-i-Sa'ādāt.

On the 13th of January 1855, he was transferred from Delhi to Bijnaur on the post of permanent Sadr-Amin. He remained there for over two years. It was here that he wrote the History of the District of Bijnaur (Dil' Bijnaur kī Tarīkh)⁸ and revised the 'Ain-i-Akbārī of Abū al-Faḍl.

⁷ See Hayāt-i-Jāwēd, p.62.

⁸ It could not see the light of day, its manuscript being destroyed during the upheaval in 1857.

While he was still at Bijnaur, the upheaval broke out in Delhi on the 10th of May 1857. It took two days for the news to reach Bijnaur where at that time, about twenty Europeans and Eurasians were living with their wives and children.⁹ He did all in his power to protect the lives of these families.

In April 1858, Sir Sayyid was posted to the office of Šadr al-Sudūr and was transferred from Bijnaur to Murādābād.¹⁰ In the following year, he set up a Persian madrasah (school) in Murādābād where there had previously been no school.¹¹ Besides, he published "The History of the Bijnaur Revolt (Tārīkh-i-Sarkāshī-i-Bijnaur), wrote Asbāb i-Baghāwat-i-Hind (The causes of the Indian Revolt), The Loyal Mohammadans of India, Tahqīq-i-Lafz-i-Naṣārā (An Inquiry into the Word Naṣārā), Tabyīn al-Kalam and revised the Tārīkh-i-Firūzshāhī (the History of Firūzshāh).

On the 12th of May 1862, he was transferred to Ghazipur where he established the Scientific Society in 1863 in order to have learned and historical works produced in India and Europe translated from English into Urdu and thus enable the people of India particularly the Muslims to develop a sense of respect for Western literature and scholarship.¹² In addition to this, he also founded a school in Ghazipur in 1864. In this school instruction was given in five languages - English, Urdu, Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit.

⁹ Hayāt-i-Jāved (English version), p.46.

¹⁰ Ibid p.56.

¹¹ Ibid p.58.

¹² Ibid p.85.

In April 1864, he was transferred to 'Aligarh. He moved to 'Aligarh along with the whole staff of the Scientific Society whose function was likely to be paralysed in his absence. Within the space of a few years, there were published many useful Urdu translations of English works which included Elphinstone's History of India, Rollin's History of Ancient Egypt, a History of Ancient Greece, Scottburn's work on agriculture, works on political science, Sir John Malcom's History of Persia, the Reverend Asquith's History of China (translated into Persian) etc.¹³ In 1866, the Society started a weekly paper, "The 'Aligarh Institute Gazette" intended to put the views of Indians before the Government and to introduce them to the English system of administration.¹⁴ In 'Aligarh, he also formed the British Indian Association thereby communicating the feelings and wishes of the Indians to the members of the British Parliament.

On the 15th of April 1867, he was promoted to the office of Judge of the Small Cause Court and was posted to Banāras. In Banāras he was employed until June 1872, but since he left (Banāras) for Britain on the 1st of April 1869, his first stay there lasted only one year and seven months.¹⁵

Sir Sayyid sailed to England on the 10th April 1869 along with his two sons, Sayyid Hāmid and Sayyid Mahmūd.¹⁶ The chief objective of his visit was to study the educational system at Universities of

¹³ Ibid p.88

¹⁴ Syed Ahmad Khān p.52

¹⁵ See Hayāt-i-Jāved (English version), p.94

¹⁶ See Syed Ahmad Khan, p.52 and Graham, G.F.I. The Life and Work of Syed Ahmad Khan, Delhi, 1974, p.97.

Cambridge and Oxford and collect important material from the British Museum and India Office Library for writing a reply to Sir William Muir's "Life of Mahomet", which was likely to give a misleading impression of Islam and its Prophet (S.A.W.) on the one hand and make English knowing young Muslims to entertain doubts about their own religion on the other.¹⁷

On his return to India in October 1870, he resumed his former post in Banāras.

With a view to awakening the Indian Muslims from their slumber and putting them back on the road to progress he started the Journal "Tahzīb al-Akhlāq" whose first number appeared on the 24th of December 1870. The journal tried to do for India what Steela and Addison had done for Britain at the beginning of the 18th Century with their London magazines, the Tatler and Spectator.¹⁸

In 1875, he founded a school in Aligarh and retired from Government service at the end of July 1876 so as to devote himself wholly to it. This school was affiliated to the Calcutta University for the Matriculation Examination and its first batch of four students, Mahbūb 'Ālam, Har Nāth Singh, 'Ishrat Husayn and 'Abd al-Majīd appeared in 1877, and all of them were declared passed, Mahbūb 'Ālam standing first among them.¹⁹ Since the first batch of students was to enter the first year class in 1877 and a full fledged college became an urgent necessity, Sir Sayyid thought of raising the school

¹⁷ See Hayāt-i-Jāved (English version), p.119.

¹⁸ See Hayāt-i-Jāved (English version), p.123.

¹⁹ See Syed Ahmad Khan, p.79.

to the status of a college whose foundation stone was laid by Lord Lytton on the 8th January 1877.²⁰ The college was known as the M.A.O. College. It was turned into University in 1922. And the long conceived dream of its founder was thus materialised.

In spite of his preoccupation with his educational activities, he spared time to write the Commentary on the Qur'ān (Tafsīr al-Qur'ān) which was published between 1876 and 1891 in several volumes. Apart from this, he founded the Muhammadan Civil Service Fund Association (1883), The Muhammadan Association of Ālīgarh (1883), The Muslim Educational Conference (1886) and The Patriotic Association (1888).

Sir Sayyid received the honor of Knight Commander of the Star of India (K.C.S.I.) for his social and official services. He was also awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws by the University of Edinburgh in recognition of his valuable services to letters and learning. He expired on 27th March 1898.²¹

His major works on Islamic history include "Essays on the Life of Muhammad (Khutbat-i-Ahmadiyah) and "Azwaj-i-Mutahharat".

The Essays whose full title was a "A Series of Essays on the Life of Muhammad and Subjects Subsidiary Thereto", and which were written by Sir Sayyid in Urdu during his sejour in England and translated into English by a friend of his were published by Trubner and Co., London, in 1870.²² Its revised and enlarged Urdu

²⁰Ibid pp.79, 80.

²¹See Hayati-i-Javed, pp.282-3 and Nizami, K.A., Jadid Hindustan ke Memar, Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Delhi; 1971, p.163.

²²See The Life and Work of Syed Ahmad Khan, p.106.

edition entitled "Khutbat-i-Ahmadiya" was published long after Sir Sayyid's coming back to India from England.²³ The main objective of writing these Essays was to rebut the baseless charges made by Sir William Muir against certain points of Islamic teachings and introduce the Christians to the true fundamental principles of Islam.

"A series of Essays on the Life of Muhammad and subjects subsidiary thereto" better known as khutbat-i-Ahmadiyah consist of twelve essays.

The first essay is a detailed survey of historical geography of Arabia. The author discusses, among other things, the locality of Fāran and the settlement of Ismā'il (A.S.), the son of Ibrāhīm (A.S.). There is divergence of opinion as to the appellation and locality of Fāran. According to some Christian writers, the vast and widespread tract of land extending from the northern boundary of Bir Shiba as far as Mount Sinai, is known by the name of Fāran.²⁴ Some think that Qadis where Ibrāhīm digged a well, which he called bir shiba, is the same as Fāran.²⁵ Others opine that Fāran is the name of that wilderness which lies on the western slope of Mount Sinai.²⁶

On the contrary, oriental geographers like Yāqūt al-Hamawī mention three places as regards the appellation of Fāran. First,

²³ See Hayāt-i-Jāved (English version), p.119.

²⁴ See Khan, Syed Ahmad; A Series of Essays on the Life of Muhammad, Delhi, 1981, p.76.

²⁵ Ibid

²⁶ Ibid

that wilderness wherein the city of Makka now stands, and the mountains in its vicinity; secondly those mountains and a village which are situated in Eastern Egypt; and thirdly, a district in the province of Samarqand.²⁷

Sir Sayyid examines these views and tries to prove that the wide tract of land extending from the northern frontiers of al-Yaman to the southern borders of Syria, which now bears the name of al-Hijāz, is identical with Fārān. According to him, it was here (more precisely near the Kāba) that the descendants of Ismā'īl (A.S.) settled and a considerable portion of this area was peopled by the progeny of his twelve sons.²⁸

The second essay is devoted to the manners and customs of the Pre-Islamic Arabians. The chief objective of writing this essay was to acquaint the people with the social condition of Pre-Islamic Arabia on the one hand and enable them to get a correct idea of the reforms effected by the Prophet (S.A.W.) in manners and customs of the Arabs on the other hand.

²⁷Ibid p.74. Some authors are of opinion that all the Hijāz mountains bear this name, and that they are the mountains mentioned in that passage of the Old Testament wherein the advent of our Prophet is foretold. Abū Naṣr b-Makula states that Abū Bakr Naṣr b-Qāsim b-Qudāa was called a Fārānī, that is, a native of Fārān, in reference to the mountains of Fārān, which are identical of Hijāz.

Abū 'Abdullāh, in his work on the physical characters of Egypt, mentions that Fārān and Tur are two villages of Eastern Egypt. Ibid p.75.

²⁸For further details see ibid pp.61, 62, 72, 75, 76, 81.

In the third essay the learned author discusses the religions of Pre-Islamic Arabs. He writes that in Pre-Islamic Arabia there existed four distinct religions, viz. Idolatry, Atheism, Deism²⁹ and Revealed Religion. The revealed religion is further divided into four classes: Sabeanism, the religion of Ibrāhīm and other prophets like Hūd, Ṣālih, and Shu'aib who flourished in Arabia, Judaism and Christinity.

Then he examines the Islamic principles and explains that Islam which is opposed to idolatry, atheism, the worship of the stars is nothing more nor less than a perfect combination of the revealed principles, doctrines, and dogmas of the Sabean religion, completed and brought to their entire perfection; of the religion of Ibrāhīm and other Arabian prophets, completed and perfected; of Judaism in their complete and perfect form, and of the principle of the unity of God, and those of morality originally inculcated and promulgated of Jesus Christ.³¹

²⁹Deism in Arabia was of two kinds. One of them consisted in the belief of an unknown invisible power to whom they were indebted for their existence; but, in all other respects, their opinions were the same as those of the atheists. The other class of deists believed in God, the resurrection, salvation, immortality of the soul, and its reward or punishment according to the actions of men; but they did not believe in prophets and revelations. p.5.

³⁰This religion was introduced by the Samaritans, who considered Seth and Enoch as their prophets. They had a scripture of their own, which they called the Book of Seth. The personage whom the Muslims called Idris and Elijah is identical with Enoch. They had seven times for prayer, which they performed in the same way as the Muslims do. They also used to pray over the dead. Like Muslims, they observed fast for one lunar month. The corruption, however, which had insensibly crept into their religion was the adoration of stars. They had seven temples dedicated to the seven planets, and wherein their worship was conducted. The temple in Harran was the place where they all congregated for performing the Hajj. For further details see p.6.

³¹Ibid pp.14, 15.

The fourth essay is divided into four sections. The first section is on the advantages derived by human society in general from Islam. The author endeavours to prove that Islam is beneficial to human society in general. In corroboration of his statement he cites the opinions of Christian authors like Gibbon, John Davenport, Thomas Carlyle etc. regarding Islamic teachings.

In the second section the author refutes the opinion that Islam has been injurious to human society in general and hostile to Christianity in particular. He asserts on the authority of Higgins, Davenport and the Old Testament that polygamy, divorce and slavery were in practice among ancient nations and it was Islam which mitigated their evils by making various valuable reforms. He also denies the baseless allegation that the sword is the inevitable penalty for the denial of Islam. He remarks that this allegation is entirely contrary to the fundamental principles of the Islamic faith, wherein it is inculcated in the unambiguous language - "Let there be no forcing in matter of religion, the right way has been made clearly distinguishable from the wrong one (Qurān: 10:98), and also "If the Lord had pleased, all who are on earth would have believed together; And will thou force men to be believers? (Qurān: 2:257).

The third section enumerates the benefits and advantages which both Judaism and Christianity derived from Islam.

Section IV is a brief study of the advantages derived from Islam by Christianity in particular. Throwing light on the books of Islam upon Christianity the author remarks thus: "The greatest of all boons conferred by Islam upon Christianity is the spirit of

resistance which it breathed into the Christians against the exorbitant power of the Popes, under which they had so long groaned. The Pope was looked upon as the infallible vicar of Christ. He could open the gates of Hell, Purgatory and Heaven. He arrogated to himself the power of purging away, by means of indulgences, the sins of whomsoever he pleased. He was invested with full power to make what was unlawful, lawful. In fact, in the authority he possessed, and the jurisdiction he exercised, he was in no way inferior to Christ himself. The Koran pointed out the evils flowing therefrom, reprimanded the Christians for their slavish servility, and exhorted them to throw off so ignominious a yoke, and to seek out the truth for themselves (3:57).³²

The fifth essay is on the Mohammadan theological literature. The sixth essay treats of the Mohammadan traditions whereas the seventh one is related to the Holy Qur'ān. The able author discusses, inter alia, the manner in which the Qur'ān was revealed to Muḥammad (S.A.W.), arrangement of chapters and verses, various readings of the Qur'ān and its compilation in the Caliphate of Abū Bakr (R.A.), distribution of its copies in the Caliphate of 'Uthmān (R.A.) etc. He also rebuts in supplement the remarks of Higgins, Gibbon and William Muir respecting the holy Qur'ān.

The eighth essay is devoted to the history of Makkah while the ninth is on the pedigree of Muhammad (S.A.W.).

³²See the Fourth Essay, pp.39, 40.

The tenth essay deals with the prophecies respecting Muḥammad (S.A.W.) as contained in both the Old and the New Testament.

The eleventh essay is a study of the Shaqq al-Sadr (the splitting open of the chest of Muḥammad, S.A.W.) and the Miraj (his ascension to the heavens). The author believes that the circumstances of the Shaqq al-Sadr and the Miraj are true but differs as to their real nature. He takes the traditions representing the Shaqq al-Sadr to have taken place at any time, except simultaneously with the nocturnal journey, as untrustworthy. He maintains that the real meaning of the Shaqq al-Sadr is to enlarge the heart to receive truth, wisdom and revelation. The statement of the author sounds unjustifiable as the majority of Muslim scholars take the term "Shaqq al-Sadr" in its literal sense.³³

Similarly he thinks that the Miraj was performed by the Prophet (S.A.W.) in vision. This opinion of the author is also open to question. According to a widely held view, the Miraj was undertaken by the Prophet (S.A.W.) corporeally while he was awake as is evident from the term "ʿAbd" (servant) occurring in the first verse of the Chapter "Banī Isrāʾīl" of the Qurān. Hence it was by no means a dream. Had it been a dream or had it been taken as such, it would never have evoked denial on the part of the idolaters of Makkah because in vision, not to speak of the messenger of God even

³³For details see Maudūdī, Abū al-ʿĀla; Sīrat-i-Sarwar-i-Ālam Vol.2, Delhi, 1984, pp.97, 651, Nadvi, S. Sulaymān; Sīrat al-Nabī, Vol.3, Azamgarh, 1976, pp.406, 411 and Nadvi, A.H.ʿAlī; Nabī-i-Rahmat Vol.1, Lucknow, 1981, p.104.

a common pious man may observe things of such kind, though not exact ones.³⁴

The twelfth essay summarises the history of the first twelve years of the Prophet's life.

These essays were hailed not only by Muslims but also by Christian writers such as Hooper, Arnold and Graham. Making remarks on these Essays, Grahmm writes: "They show an extraordinary depth of learning, great toleration of the other religions, great veneration for the essential principles of true Christianity, and should be attentively studied by all interested in religion."³⁵

Besides, he also wrote treatises in Urdu. One of them is "Azwāj-i-Mutahharāt". This he began to write in reply to the pamphlet entitled "Ummahāt-al-Mūminīn" by a Christian writer, but unfortunately, he could not finish it and passed away in 1898. After his death it was published incomplete in the college magazine.³⁶ Though unfinished, the treatise "Azwāj-i-Mutahharāt" assumes great importance by virtue of the scholarly treatment of the subject by its author.

It is divided into two sections. The first section contains a complete list of the Prophet Muḥammad's wives including his maid-servant, Māriā Qibṭiyah. As for the narratives which are related to Rayḥānah, a supposed maid of the Prophet (S.A.W.) and to other women either thought to be betrothed to him or to be divorced by him,

³⁴For details see al-Bukhārī, Delhi, Vol.1, p.548, Vol.2, p.684 (footnotes), Maudūdī; Tafhim al-Qurān, Vol.2, Delhi, 1975, p.589 and Nadvi, S.S.; Sirat al-Nabī, Vol.3, 1976, pp.427-33.

³⁵The Life and Work of Syed Ahmad Khan, p.106.

³⁶See Hayāt-i-Jāved (English version), p.231.

the able writer does not consider them true.

The writer refutes some baseless charges levelled by Christian orientalist against polygamy and divorce in Islam. He asserts that polygamy whose origin is wrongly ascribed to the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.), was in practice among other nations including the Jews, the Christians and the Arabs themselves even before Islam. In corroboration of his assertion he refers to the Old and New Testaments.³⁷ which put no restriction on this practice, as well as the traditions (Ahādīth) recorded in "Ibn-Mājah", "Abū Dāūd", Vol.1, and "al-Tirmizī" which tell that Qais-b-al-Harth and Ghilān-al-Thaqāfi had eight and ten wives respectively when they came to the Prophet (S.A.W.) to embrace Islam.³⁸

As regards Jesus who remained unmarried, the learned writer thinks that one of the main reasons therefor was that the Jews did not consider him the legitimate son of Maryam (Mary). Hence, no Jewish woman liked to be married to him, and on the other hand, Jesus himself does not seem to try to marry a non-Jewish woman because such a union was not permitted among the Jews. There was, according to the writer, yet another reason which lay in the fact that Jesus who had to spend the early period of his life in exile, did not survive long and could gain only seventy followers during

³⁷ See The Old Testament, Deuteronomy 21:15 and The New Testament, Timothy 1, 3:2, 12. Also see Chamber's Encyclopaedia, Vol.8, Philadelphia, 1908, p.298 and Ridā, Muhammad; Muhammad Rasūl Allāh, Beirut, 1975, p.363, in which Dāūd and Sulaymān (A.S.) are reported to have had a number of wives.

³⁸ See Khān, Sayyid Ahmad; Azwāj-i-Mutahharāt in (Sir Sayyid Ke) Akhīrī Madāmin ed. by Muhammad Imām uddīn, Lahore, 1898, pp.144, 148. Also see Ridā, Muhammad; Muhammad Rasūl Allāh, p.365.

the whole period of his life.³⁹ Besides, it also seems possible that he might have not got a converted and devoted woman to take her to his wife. But the writer does not point out to this possibility.

It is held by some biographers and commentators that once the Prophet (S.A.W.) divorced his wives. The writer, a man of wide and deep learning, rebuts this view, taking it as historically baseless. He maintains that the verse of the Quran which reads : "O, ye, Prophet, when you divorce woman" (65:1) is actually related to the believers and not to the Prophet (S.A.W.) as was mistakenly thought. Making this point still more clear, he argues that the word "al-Nabi" (the Prophet) is singular while the verb "Tallaqtum" (when) you divorce) is plural, and this is the only occasion in the Qurān, where the term "al-Nabi" (singular) is followed by a plural verb. He goes on to say that some words seem to be "understood" in this verse. He reads it thus : "Yā 'Ayyuhannabi (Qullil Muminin) idhā Tallaqtum-al-Nisā' O, ye, Prophet (say to the believers) when you divorce women (wives)" He further adds on the authority of "al-Bukhari" that this verse was revealed when Umar (R.A.) came to the Prophet (S.A.W.) so as to discuss with the latter the case of his son, Abdullah (R.A.), who had divorced his wife during her menstrual period. Umar (R.A.) held discussion with the Prophet (S.A.W.) on his son's affair but the people mistakenly thought that the Prophet (S.A.W.) had divorced his wives including Hafṣah, the daughter of Umar (R.A.), that is why the latter was so anxious.⁴⁰

³⁹ See Azwāj-i-Mutahharāt, p.145.

⁴⁰ Ibid, pp.150, 151-2.

Another cause of this misunderstanding was, as the writer points out, the revelation of the passage of the Qurān which reads, "If he (the Prophet, S.A.W.) divorce you, his Lord will give him in your place better wives than yourselves (66:5)." Making comment on this passage the distinguished writer explains on the authority of "al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr and "Lubab al-Tāwīl" that the chief object underlying the revelation of this verse was to warn the wives of the Prophet (S.A.W.) so as to make them yet more disciplined, obedient and loyal to him (S.A.W.), and to express His omnipotence.⁴¹

As for the passage of "Takhyīr" (33:28, 29) in which the wives of the Prophet (S.A.W.) were given choice either to desire the worldly life or to seek God, His messenger and the Last Abode, the celebrated writer holds that it was revealed before that passage in which the Prophet (S.A.W.) was strictly prohibited to divorce his wives.⁴²

Commenting on the clause of the Qurān which permitted the Prophet (S.A.W.) to marry that woman who offered herself without claiming bridal money and following which he married Maimūna (R.A.) in 7 A.H., the learned writer notes that had this privilege been granted to general Muslims, it would have caused disorder, providing the husband a pretext to deprive his wife of her right (bridal money which is incumbent on him).⁴³

⁴¹Ibid, pp. 151-2.

⁴²Ibid, pp. 152-3.

⁴³Ibid, pp. 147-8.

It is also alleged that the Prophet (S.A.W.) assumed to himself another privilege which he denied to his followers, i.e. he forbade them to contract more than four marriages at a time and at the same time but he exempted himself from this and left behind nine wives. In reply to this allegation the writer maintains that its main reason was that the Muslims were forbidden to marry the Prophet's wives on the one hand, and on the other, the Prophet (S.A.W.) was also prohibited to divorce any of his wives.⁴⁴

Here, the writer's answer does not come up to the mark. Its actual cause seems to have lay in the fact that the Prophet (S.A.W.) was, as Maudūdī observes on the authority of the Qurān (33:50),⁴⁵ exempted from the restriction as to the number of wives and was granted especial privilege to make more than four unions. That is why he contracted marriages even after the revelation came restricting the marriage to the limit of four. He married Zainab (R.A.) in 5 A.H., and she was his fifth contemporaneous wife, Juwairiyah (R.A.) also in 5 A.H., Safiyah (R.A.) in 6 A.H., 'Umm Habibah (R.A.) in 7 A.H. and Maimūma (R.A.) also in 7 A.H.⁴⁶

The well-read writer also discusses the reason why the marriage with the wives of the Prophet (S.A.W.) was strictly forbidden. He says that if not forbidden, it might have led to disturbances in Islam; and these women would have related hundreds of the sayings of the Prophet (S.A.W.) in such a way as to serve the purpose of

⁴⁴Ibid, pp.148-9, 150.

⁴⁵See Tafhīm al-Qurān, Vol.4, Delhi, 1973, pp.112-3-4-5.

⁴⁶The author himself admits this fact but in some other context. See Azwāj-i-Mutahharāt, p.153.

their next husbands, causing chaos and disorder. And that is why he was not permitted to divorce any of his wives even when the number of marriages was restricted to four.⁴⁷ The fact that the Prophet (S.A.W.) was not entitled to divorce his wives is attested by another verse which runs thus: It shall be unlawful for you (Muhammad -S.A.W.) to change your present wives for other women. As for the verse of Takhyir, in which the wives of the Prophet (S.A.W.) were given choice either to desire the wordly life or to seek God, His messenger and the Last Abode, it was, as mentioned earlier, revealed before that clause in which the Prophet (S.A.W.) was strictly forbidden to divorce.

The second section gives brief accounts of the Prophet's seven wives who include Khadijah, Saudah, Hafṣah, Umm Habibah, Umm Salma, Zainab (Umm-al-Masākin) and Zainab bint Jahsh (May God be pleased with them).

One of the remarkable features of this section is a detailed discussion of the marriage of the Prophet (S.A.W.) with Zainab bint Jahsh, the divorced wife of Zaid-b-al-Harith, a freed slave and adopted son of the Prophet (S.A.W.). It is a well known fact that Zainab (R.A.) was given in marriage to Zaid (R.A.) at the behest of the Prophet (S.A.W.), and by this marriage he actually wanted to abolish the distinction between the master and the slave and set a

⁴⁷Ibid, p.148-9. From his statement it appears that like Sayyid Amir Ali, he thinks that all the marriages of the Prophet (S.A.W.) were contracted before the revelation came restricting polygamy. But this is not true. He made several unions even after the revelation as the writer himself admits on page 153. Its main reason was that he was exempted from the law restricting polygamy to four. See Maudūdi, Tafhim al-Qurān, Vol.4, pp.112-3-4-5.

living example of equality. But, unfortunately, the marital relations between them did not last long because of the contemptuous treatment by Zainab of her husband, which resulted in divorce. After the divorce the Prophet (S.A.W.) married her (following a revelation 33:1, 2) to abolish the practice according to which marriage with the wife of the adopted son was unlawful in Arabia. But, regrettably, against this marriage of the Prophet (S.A.W.) a number of baseless charges are made, one being that once upon a time the Prophet (S.A.W.) saw her in loose and scanty dress, and the beauties of her figure kindled the flame of love in his breast. Sir Sayyid rejects this as false and writes that one of the major reasons for this marriage was that since Zainab (R.A.) was the divorced wife of Zaid (R.A.), a freed slave, the Prophet (S.A.W.) feared that she might not be held in such esteem and honour as she deserved in case of her being married to some other person. Therefore he resolved to take her to his wife.⁴⁸

A tradition relates that this marriage was held in heaven in the presence of Gabriel and nikah was conducted by God Himself. This interpretation is based on the term "Zawwajnā ka hā" (we joined her to you in marriage), which occurs in a verse of the Qurān (33:37). The illustrious writer takes this as misinterpreted and tends to suggest that it is not the first time that God ascribes an act to Him but at a number of times He attributes to Him the actions and deeds of the people, which means that though these acts were done by the people themselves, there was divine hand behind them.⁴⁹

⁴⁸For details see Azwāj-i-Mutahharāt, pp.162-3-4-5.

⁴⁹Ibid, p.166.

In short, the marriage of the Prophet (S.A.W.) with Zainab (R.A.) was, as Sir Sayyid has tried to prove, held on earth. This fact is testified to by the great feast made by the Prophet (S.A.W.) in the mosque.

To be noted here is a point mooted by the opponents of Islam that Zainab (R.A.) was the wife of the Prophet's adopted son, and in Arabia such a union was unlawful. Sir Sayyid makes this point clear by arguing that an adopted son can never be treated as a person's own son nor can the adoptive father be considered the real father and the same rule is applicable to the adopted son's wife as well.⁵⁰ It was, therefore, the pressing demand of the time to abolish this practice which was in vogue in Arabia before Islam.⁵¹

Also to be noted in this connection is another point. It is often said that if the marriage with the divorced wife of the adopted son is lawful, then why that with the wives of the Prophet (S.A.W.), the adoptive mothers of the faithful is unlawful. Were they their own mothers? In reply to this query the writer observes that it was not because that the wives of the Prophet (S.A.W.) were declared by God the "Mothers of the Faithful" so marriage with them was rendered unlawful but it was due to the fact that God first declared them unlawful for the Muslims, then He called them their mothers.⁵²

Though unfinished, the scholarly treatise covers almost all the important issues, discussing the distortions and misinterpretations

⁵⁰He bases his contention on the verses of the Qurān, Refer to 33: 4, 5, 37, 40.

⁵¹Also see Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh p.362.

⁵²See Azwāj-i-Mutahharāt pp.165-6.

by Christian scholars, correcting at the same time errors committed by Muslim biographers and commentators in understanding some particular verses of the Qurān and thus presenting to us a true and clear picture of the Prophet's matrimonial life. The critical and analytical approach of the writer who employs modern scientific methodology in handling the subject is highly appreciable, because this adds to the value, readability and usefulness of the treatise. In this context, the historical value of the essay "Ibtāl-i-Ghulāmī" (1893) and the Tahzīb al-Akhlāq" whose issues contained articles on certain aspects of Islamic history can also not be overlooked.

Sir Sayyid contributed to Islamic historiography not only by writing essays, treatises and articles but also by publishing John Davenport's "An Apology for Muhammad and the Qurān" at his own expense and having Arnold's "Preaching of Islam" and Godfrey Heggins' translated into Urdu under the titles "Dāwat-i-Islām" and "Himāyat-i-Islām" respectively.

A survey of Sir Sayyid's works on Islamic history shows that with an awareness of western methodology, he rejected the frozen attitude of his predecessors who were merely parrot-like imitators in the true chronicle type of history. He felt so much impressed with European methodology that he applied it, while writing his Essays on the Life of Muhammad (Khutbāt-i-Ahmadiyah) which marks a landmark in modern Islamic historiography in India.

Maulavi Cherāgh 'Alī was another eminent historian of this

school. He was born around 1844-45.⁵³ When he was about twelve, his father, Muhammad Bakhsh, died in 1856.⁵⁴ After the death of his father, his mother settled permanently at Meerut. It was here that Cheragh 'Alī had his early education. He had to discontinue his study on account of the responsibilities which had devolved on his shoulders in the wake of his father's death. In order to earn a livelihood for his family consisting of his mother and three brothers, he had to get a job in the district of Bastī, U.P., drawing twenty rupees per month. Later, in 1872 or 1873, he was appointed temporarily in the Judicial Commissionery, Lucknow.⁵⁵ After some time, he was confirmed and transferred from Lucknow to Sitapur. While in Sitapur, he knew of Sir Sayyid's visit to Lucknow. To avail himself of this opportunity he came to Lucknow where he had the privilege of meeting Sir Sayyid for the first time. In his very first meeting he impressed Sir Sayyid so much that the latter summoned him to 'Aligarh in 1876 and entrusted him with the task of translating some books, which he accomplished well. A year later, on the recommendation of Sir Sayyid, Cheragh 'Alī was appointed Assistant Revenue Secretary in Haydarābād. It was not long ~~that~~ he was promoted to the office of Revenue Secretary. Then, he succeeded Muhsin al-Mulk as Finance Secretary and held this office till his death on the 15th of June, 1895.⁵⁶

⁵³His actual date of birth is not known. It is an approximate date based on the statements of Maulavi 'Abd al-Haqq that at the time of his father's death in 1856, Cheragh 'Alī was about twelve years old and that he died at age of fifty in 1895. See below.

⁵⁴See 'Abd al-Haqq; Chand Hamās, 'Aligarh, 1971, p.38.

⁵⁵Ibid p.39.

⁵⁶Ibid pp.64-66. Cheragh 'Alī breathed his last in Bombay and was buried there.

Cherāgh 'Alī had no formal schooling. None the less he had a good knowledge of Arabic, Hebrew, Persian, Urdu and English and a working knowledge of Greek, Latin and French. He was also possessed of a good taste for history - more particularly for Islamic history in which he eventually specialized himself. An avid reader, he started his academic career perhaps by undertaking a reply to "Tarīkh-i-Muhammadi" by an apostate priest named 'Imād al-Dīn. His reply in Urdu was later published under the title "Talīqat" (comments)⁵⁷. Particularly interested in Islamic history, he contributed a good deal to it through his "A Critical Exposition of the Popular Jihad", "Mohammad the True Prophet", "Māria Qibtīyah", "Ghulāmī", Ta'addud-i-Izdiwāj" etc.⁵⁸

As for his "Mohammad the True Prophet" it is not available in full. It was printed at Education Society's Press, Byculla, Bombay.⁵⁹

"A Critical Exposition of the Popular Jihad" was originally published in 1884.⁶⁰ It was reprinted in Pakistan during seventies and in India in 1984.

The chief objective in publishing this work was, in the words of the author, to remove the general and erroneous impression from the minds of European and Christian writers regarding Islam, that

⁵⁷ See Jāisi, Kabīr Ahmad; Maulavī Cherāgh 'Alī, in Fikr-o-Nazar (Nāmwarān-i-Ālīgarh), Vol.1, Ālīgarh, 1985, p.205.

⁵⁸ Ibid pp.206-7. The last three are in Urdu.

⁵⁹ See 'Alī, Cherāgh; A Critical Exposition of the Popular Jihad, Delhi, 1984, p. xxxiii.

⁶⁰ It was translated into Urdu by Maulavī Ghulām al-Hasnāyn of Pānīpat in 1912. The Urdu version entitled "Tahqīq al-Jihād" was first published in 1913.

Mohammad (S.A.W.) waged wars of conquest, extirpation, as well as of poselytizing against the Koreish, other tribes, the Jews, and Christians, that he held the Koran in one hand and the scimitar in the other, and compelled people to believe in his mission." In this study the able author has sought to prove on sufficient grounds that "neither the wars of the Prophet (S.A.W.) were of offensive nature, nor did he in any way use force or compulsion in the matter of belief.

This celebrated work consists of a lengthy introduction, twelve sections, three appendices and an index.

In the introduction the learned author discusses in brief the propogation of Islam at Makkah, the wrongs suffered by the early Muslims at the hands of the Qurayshites, Muslims migration to Ethiopia and Madīnah, rapid stride of Islam at Madīnah, hostilities of the Quraysh and the Jews, wars waged by the Qurayshites against the Muslims and their reasons, wars with the Jews, the Truce held at al-Hudaybiyah and its effects, the expedition to Tabūk to check the advancing enemy, the surrender of Makkah, the conversion of tribes and deputations without any compulsion, number of the wars of the Prophet (S.A.W.), finality of the social reforms of the Prophet (S.A.W.), striking effects of his reforms, suitability of the Qurān to all classes of humanity etc.

Section I is a study of the persecutions suffered by the Prophet (S.A.W.) and his followers at Makkah and Madīnah. The author gives accounts of persecutions in the light of the Quranic verses pertaining thereto and historical evidences.

Section II deals with the battles of Badr and Uhud, the treaty of al-Hudaybiyah, violation of the treaty by the Quraysh etc.

In Section III the author speaks of the defensive character of the wars fought by Muhammad (S.A.W.). He justifies the Muslims in resorting to arms against the unbelievers and proves on reasonable grounds that all the wars of the Prophet (S.A.W.) with the Quraysh were of defensive character because to assume the offensive is forbidden in Islam. In support of his statement he cites the verses from the Qur'an, some of which are as follows:

- (i) "And fight for the cause of Allāh against those who fight against you, but commit not the injustice of attacking them first. Verily, Allah loves not the unjust."
- (ii) "And do battle against them until there be no more (fitnah) persecution, and the worship be that of Allāh. But if they desist, then let there be no hostility, save against wrong doers."
- (iii) "Say to the infidels : If they desist (from persecuting, obstructing and attacking the Muslims), what is now past shall be forgiven them; but if they return to it (commit again the hostilities), they have already before them the doom of the ancients."
- (iv) "..... and attack those who join gods with Allāh one and all, as they attack you one and all."
- (v) "But if, after alliance made, they violate their covenant and revile your religion, then do battle with the ringleaders of infidelity - verily there is no faith in them. Haply they will desist."

- (vi) "Will you not do battle with a people (the Makkans) who have broken their covenant and aimed to expel your Apostle and attacked you first? Will you dread them? Allāh truly is more worthy of your fear if you are believers."

Section IV gives a brief accounts of the treacheries of the Jews. The author writes that it was the treacheries and breach ~~of~~ the treaty on the part of the Jews that led the Prophet (S.A.W.) to rise against them. He further observes that it was the Banū Qainuqā' who first broke the treaty by which they were guaranteed free exercise of their religion and the possession of their rights and property and in which it was stipulated that either party, if attacked, should come to the assistance of the other, and fought against the Muslims. They were followed by the Banū Nadīr who also made a conspiracy to kill the Prophet (S.A.W.). The Banū Qurāẓah also defected from their allegiance to the Prophet (S.A.W.) and entered into negotiations with enemy when Madīnah was besieged by the Quraysh at the battle of the Ditch. Hence the actions against these tribes were in self-defence. So was the case with the expeditions against the Jews of Khaybar and the Banū Ghatfāri.

Section V is related to the expedition sent by the Prophet (S.A.W.) to Tabūk to check the advancing army of the Christians. He also dwells on the true character of the wars fought by the Prophet (S.A.W.) and concludes thus :

" I hope I have shown, on good and reasonable grounds, and from the surest and most authentic sources, that the wars were not of an offensive and aggressive character, but, on the contrary, they were

wars of defence and protection. The early Moslems were wronged, because they believed in the faith of Mohammad (S.A.W.); they were deprived of their civil and religious rights, were driven forth from their homes and their properties, and after all were attacked first, by the Koreish and their confederates, the Jews and other Arabian tribes. They fought neither for revenge, nor to impose the faith of Mohammad (S.A.W.) by force of arms, nor for the plunder of the Caravans which passed in proximity to their city. The permission to fight was only given to the believers because they were fought against or were attacked first, and had been wronged and driven from their homes without just cause. They therefore took up arms against those who first compelled them to fly from their homes, and then attacked them. This was in full accordance, therefore, with the law of nations and the sacred law of nature. The people of Madina had only pledged themselves to protect Mohammad (S.A.W.) from his enemies. They could not, and would not, have gone forth or allowed Mohammad (S.A.W.) and his ansars (helpers) to go forth to plunder the Caravan of the Koreish⁶¹ passing by Madina."⁶²

In Section VI, the author discusses the allegation that Islam is a religion of intolerance. He rejects this accusation as baseless and maintains on the authority of the Qur'ān that the Prophet (S.A.W.) and his followers took up arms in defence of their lives as well as their moral and religious duties. Justifying the Prophet in his

⁶¹It is alleged that while in Madīnah, the Muslims went forth to plunder the Caravan of the Quraysh headed by Abū Sufyan. But this is not true.

⁶²A critical exposition of the Popular Jihad, p.41.

decision to resort to arms, he argues that "had he (the Prophet) neglected to defend himself after his settlement at Madina against the continued attacks of the Koreish and their allies, he with his followers would, in all probability, have been exterminated." According to him the sole object of waging wars on the part of the Prophet (S.A.W.) was to put an end to civil feuds and persecutions (fitnah).

In Section VII, the able author tends to show that the opening portion of the ninth chapter of the Qurān relates to those Qurayshites who had violated the treaty and not to those who had observed it. He maintains that almost all European writers labour under the delusion that the said portion was revealed at the end of the ninth year of the Hijra calendar, but the fact is that it was published in the eighth year before the commencement of the sacred months, probably in the month of Shabān, while Muḥammad (S.A.W.) marched in Ramaḍān against Makkah, not with the intention of making war, for it was to take place after the lapse of Dhu al-Qaḍ, Dhu al-Hajj and al-Muḥarram, but of taking Makkah by compromise and preconcerted understanding between himself and Abū Sufyān. He goes on to say that since Abū Sufyān compromised before the commencement of the sacred months and the people of Makkah submitted without bloodshed, the injunctions in question were never carried out.

Section VIII is an examination of the nine alleged interceptions of the Quraysh caravans by the Muslims of Madīnah. The author dismisses them as false on the reasonable ground that "it was impossible for Muḥammad (S.A.W.) and his adherents, situated as they

were, to make any hostile demonstrations or undertake a pillaging enterprise."

In Section IX the author takes up the alleged assassinations of Asmā' bint Marwān, Abu Afak, Kab b-Ashraf, Sufyān b-Khalid, Abū Rafi and Usair b-Zarim as well as the attempted assassination of Abū Sufyān. He examines the authenticity of the traditions pertaining to these and rejects them as untrustworthy. To illustrate further he also quotes Stanley Lane Poole who remarks thus :

"The execution of the half-dozen marked Jews is generally called assassination, because a Muslim was sent secretly to kill each of the criminals. The reason is almost too obvious to need explanation. There were no police or law-courts, or even courts-martial, at Madina; some one of the followers of Mohammad (S.A.W.) must therefore be the executor of the sentence of death, and it was better it should be done quietly, as the executing of a man openly before his clan would have caused a brawl and more bloodshed and retaliation, till the whole city had become mixed up in the quarrel. If secret assassination is the word for such deeds, secret assassination was a necessary part of the internal government of Madina. The men must be killed, and best in that way. In saying this I assume that Mohammad (S.A.W.) was cognisant of the deed, and that it was not merely a case of private vengeance; but in several instances the evidence that traces these executions to Mohammad's order is either entirely wanting or is too doubtful to claim our credence."⁶³

⁶³ Lane, Edward William; Selections from the Kuran, London, 1879, Introduction, p.x iv. Quoted in A Critical Exposition of the Popular Jihad, pp.61-2.

Section X treats of the alleged cruelties in executing prisoners of war and others. The author asserts that the Qurān enjoins the prisoners of war to be either freely liberated or ransomed, but neither executed nor enslaved and that the ancient practice of killing and enslaving them was abolished by it. It appears that the author has no correct idea about the true nature of this issue. It was slavery by purchase that was abolished and not slavery by war which was permitted as the last measure when no other alternative is left, under the following strict restrictions :

- (i) The slaves acquired by war should not be put to death, or burnt alive nor should they be mutilated or tortured or starved to death.
- (ii) They should be treated kindly and their women should not be disgraced.
- (iii) They should be fed and clothed exactly as their masters.
- (iv) They should be addressed by the affectionate name of my young men or my young maid instead of being called "slaves" or "maidservants".
- (v) They should be regarded as the members of the family of their masters and brethren of the Muslims.
- (vi) Their masters should not exact more work than was just and proper.
- (vii) They should be allowed to purchase their enfranchisement by the wages of their service.
- (viii) Those slaves who were desirous of buying liberty should be granted sums for it from the Public Treasury in case

they had no means of earning.⁶⁴

Before Islam there was no rule as to the liberation and exchange of captives. It was the Prophet (S.A.W.) who shared the honour of introducing both these institutions. He is reported to have released a male as well as a female prisoner on two different occasions in exchange for Muslim captives.⁶⁵ He is also reported to have granted free liberation to captives on several occasions. For example, he set free eighty prisoners of Makkah during the Truce at al-Hudaybiyah and six thousand captives of the tribe of Hawāzin captured in the battle of Hunayn without ransom.⁶⁶ Besides, for the emancipation of slaves he laid down two systems -- (i) 'Itq (to set them at liberty voluntarily without exacting ransom, (ii) Mukātabah (to allow slaves by means of a written document to purchase their monumission by the wages of their service.⁶⁷ In order to encourage his followers to free slaves without ransom he repeatedly declared that "nothing pleased Allāh more than the emancipation of slaves". He also ruled that "for certain sins of omission the penalty should be the liberation of slaves, and to free a slave should be the expiation for ignorantly slaying a believer". On the other hand, he declared that a master should be bound to enfranchise a slave who was desirous of buying his liberty by offering the amount mutually agreed upon. He devoted a part of the poor-tax (Zakat) to the ransom of those slaves who had no means of gain.

⁶⁴For further details see Maudūdī: Tafhīm al-Qurān, Vol.V, Delhi, 1973, pp.12-3-4, Al-Jihād fi'l Islām, Delhi, 1984, pp.249, 250, 258, 259, 260, Qutb, Muhammad; Islām Aur Jadid Dhihā Ke Shubhāt, 1981, pp.63-65, 67-69, 71-2 and Al-Bukhārī, Vol.1, (Kitāb al-Itq), Delhi, pp.346-7.

⁶⁵See Al-Jihād fi'l Islām, pp.253-4.

⁶⁶Ibid p.252 and Tafhīm al-Qurān, Vol.5, p.17.

⁶⁷See the Qurān 24:33, 47:4, Islām Aur Jadid Dhihā Ke Shubhāt, pp.69, 70, 72, 73 and Al-Jihād fi'l Islām, pp.257-8.

Now there arises a question whether the permission of slavery by war is still valid. To the best of my knowledge, there is no clause in the Qurān or the sayings of the Prophet (S.A.W.) containing anything expressive of abolition of the custom. But, instead, during the farewell pilgrimage in February/March 632 A.D., Muḥammad (S.A.W.) is found quoted as saying, "And (as for) your slaves, see that you feed them with such food as you eat yourselves, and clothe them with the like clothing as you wear yourselves; and if they commit a fault which you are inclined not to forgive, sell them; for they are the servants of the Lord, and are not to be tormented."⁶⁸ Even on his death bed he enjoined to take every care of the slaves and fear Allāh with regard to them.⁶⁹

From these injunctions it is abundantly clear that the custom was not put an end to by the Prophet (S.A.W.). If he had intended so, he would have abrogated it in absolute terms just as he unequivocally forbade usury and blood vengeance. It appears that perceiving the complication of unilateral abolition, he permitted the practice to exist, though not in its previous baneful form. Now, if the permission of slavery is taken as null and void, what alternative will then be adopted when the Muslim soldiers are taken prisoners in an aggression directed against them by their enemies like the Israelites and are meted out severe torture by their captors? Will the other Muslims will remain silent spectators on the fate of their fellow-religionists?

⁶⁸ See Ibn Saḍ; *Al-Tabaqāt*, Mukhtaṣar Ibn Hishām, Beirūt, 1977, p.297 and *Khudā Bakhsh*; *The Renaissance of Islam*, Delhi, 1979, p.168.

⁶⁹ See Abū Dāūd, Vol.2, *Kitāb al-Adab*, Bābu al-Ḥaqq al-Mulūk and Ibn Mājah, *Abwāb al-Waṣāya*.

So, the simple answer to ^{the} above question is that it depends upon the attitude or decision of the enemies of Islam. If they agree to exchange the captives, the Islamic State should wholeheartedly welcome their decision, rather it should take the initiative in this behalf. But if they show reluctance to do so and decide to reduce the Muslim prisoners to slavery, the Muslims are also entitled to enslave the captives of their enemies under the earlier mentioned conditions. It must also be added that no Muslim is allowed to burn alive any captive of his enemy nor is he entitled to disgrace a woman of his even if his enemy disgraces his woman because burning a human being alive and committing adultery are strictly forbidden in Islam.

In Section XI the author critically discusses the miscellaneous allegations on the part of European writers such as the executions of Umm Kirfa and a singing girl, the mutilation of the Urni robbers, the torture of Kinānah, the expulsion of the Banū Nadīr, the charitable spirit of the Prophet (S.A.W.) towards his enemies etc.

The last section concentrates on the critical exposition of the Jihād. The learned author traces the origin of the term "Jihād" and maintains that it literally means to do one's utmost, to make effort, to strive, to exert, to employ one's-self diligently, studiously sedulously, earnestly, zealously, or with energy, to take pains or extraordinary pains, to labour, to toil, and does not signify as European writers and others generally construe, fighting or warfare.⁷⁰ He refutes the charge that the Prophet's mission was to wage wars,

⁷⁰ See A Critical Exposition of the Popular Jihad pp.133, 155.

or to make converts at the point of the sword, or to exact tribute or exterminate those who did not believe in his religion, and seeks to prove on the authority of the Qur'ān that fighting or waging war was permitted only for defensive purposes and not for offensive ones.

Among other historians of this school was Abū al-Faḍl 'Abbāsī Chirayyākōtī. He died in 1928. From his pen we have "Al-Islām" and "Tarīkh-i-Islām".⁷¹

The historians of the said school employed western methods of research in their writings, insisting even more than European authors on sifting the varied and multitudenous source material, testing the authenticity of narratives and analysing the causes and effects of events, happenings and occurrences. They adopted rationalistic, defensive and apologetic approach and in their apologies they went as far as to believe that certain injunctions of the Qur'ān were historically relevant only to the Prophet's day and age, now standing invalid. Their works were chiefly aimed at refutation of the charges made by European and Christian writers against Islam, presenting the true picture of the Prophet's life and his teachings so as to remove misunderstanding prevalent among the Christians on the one hand and dispel the doubts entertained by the western educated Muslims about them on the other, reinterpretation of Islam with the circumstances of their age in view, showing that Islam was not against science and nature and proving that Islamic teachings were meant not for any particular age, region, or nation but for all classes of humanity irrespective of caste, creed, colour, race and region.

⁷¹See Sir Sayyid Aur 'Aligarh Tahrik, p.279.

(2) Historians of the Azamgarh School:

The Azamgarh school of Islamic historiography was founded by Allāma Shibli who was more adept in Islamic sciences than Sir Sayyid and who tried to present Islam in its true perspective. This school produced a galaxy of historians, the most prominent among whom were Sayyid Sulaymān Nadvi, Abd al-Salām Nadvi, Maulavi Abū Zafar Nadvi, Hājī Muīn al-Dīn Ahmad Nadvi, Maulānā Saīd Anṣārī Nadvi, Shāh Muīn al-Dīn Ahmad Nadvi and Maulavi Riyāsāt Ali Nadvi.

Shibli whose original name was Muḥammad Shibli named after a great saint, Shaykh Shibli al-Baghdādī, was born in a converted Rājput family called Rawat at Bindawal, a village in Azamgarh, U.P., in May 1857.⁷² His teacher, Maulānā Muḥammad Farūq who played a vital role in shaping his character and personality gave him the title "Numānī", noticing in him a staunch follower of Imām Abū Hanīfah Numān b-Thābit. His father's name was Shaykh Habib Ullah. He received his early education in Arabic and Persian in his own village from Ḥakīm Abdullah (died 1890) and Maulavi Shukrullah (died 1897). He was then put under the guidance of Maulavi Faīd Ullah, the then head master of Madrasa-i-Arābiyah, Azamgarh. He also studied with Maulānā Ali Abbas Chirayyakōti and Maulānā Hidāyat Ullah Khān. One of the most prominent scholars and teachers of his time was Maulānā Muḥammad Farūq who was a teacher in Madrasa-i-Chashma-i-Rahmat, Ghāzipur, U.P. Shibli was entered in this Madrasah (school), where he got a golden chance to study logic, philosophy, prosody and other classical sciences under the inspiring and affectionate guidance of Maulānā Muḥammad Farūq who sowed in him the seeds of learning and

⁷²Nadvi, S. Sulaymān; Hayāt-i-Shibli, 1923, p.68.

true scholarship. In view of his keen interest in, and complete devotion to, his study, Maulānā Fārūq proudly said, "I am a lion (of learning) and you are my cub."⁷³

Though Shiblī had acquired the knowledge of almost all the prevalent sciences under Maulānā Fārūq, yet he who remained an avid reader throughout his life, moved for further studies to Rāmpur in 1874 and Lahore in 1875 where he studied jurisprudence with Maulānā Irshād Husayn and some other works relating to Arabic literature such as *Diwān-al-Hamāsah* and *Jamhara-al-Ārab* under Maulānā Faīd-al-Hasan (died in 1887) respectively. Maulānā Ahmad Āli of Sahāranpur (died 1880) was also one of his teachers who taught him *Ḥadīth* in 1876. After completing his education which started in 1863 and ended in 1876, he performed the Hajj with his father in 1876. With his performing all the rites of the Hajj at Makkah, he payed a visit to Madinah; and there he could spare ample time to visit its rich libraries where a large number of books on tradition (*Ḥadīth*) were available.

On his coming back home, he betook himself to teaching, which lasted for two years and at the same time he took an active part in politics and religious discussions, which was regarded as the need of the times. In 1877 when the war broke out between Turkey and Russia, he collected funds for the Turkish government. At the instance of his father he appeared at the Law examination in 1879 in which he could not succeed. It was in the following year that he passed it and started his practice at Azamgarh in 1881, with no

⁷³ *Ḥayāt-i-Shiblī*, 1970, p.76.

considerable success in the profession which did not come to suit his nature and temperament. He therefore gave it up and, accompanied by his father, moved to Aligarh in 1881, where he had the privilege of meeting Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, a revolutionist of his time, to whom he recited an ode in Arabic which he had composed in his praise and honour. Sir Sayyid felt much impressed to hear the ode not because it was composed in his praise but because it was the best example of Shibli's dexterous and facile pen. Thereafter Shibli returned home and restarted his practice at Basti, a district in U.P. in 1882. One and a half years later, there was created in the Aligarh College a post for an assistant professor in Arabic and Persian. Shibli applied for the post to which he was appointed on the recommendation of Muhammad Sami Ullah, a close friend of Sir Sayyid. With his appointment as an assistant professor in the college, he developed a close intimacy with Sir Sayyid who, deeply impressed with his vast and profound knowledge of Arabic literature and Islamic history, sought his help in studying the classical books of high order on jurisprudence, tradition, philosophy, biography and Islamic history. Shibli whom Sir Sayyid allowed the liberal use of his personal library found here a good chance to keep himself abreast of modern thoughts and researches as well as of modern and scientific methods of education. It was here that he established some sort of an academic rapport with Prof Arnold with whom he learnt some English and French. In return, he taught Arabic to Prof Arnold who improved his knowledge of Arabic so much as he could easily consult the classical works of Arabic on Islamic history while writing his celebrated "The Preaching of Islam".

Realising the importance of foreign languages and more particularly that of English, Shibli tried to awaken other Muslim scholars of his time to learning them so as to get themselves acquainted with modern thoughts and ideologies on the one hand and with false and baseless charges levelled by European scholars against Islam on the other. With this in view, he founded, at Azamgarh in 1883, an English school called "The National School" and started another one in his own village, which did not exist long. Besides, he also made rigorous effort to introduce English into Daral-Ulūm, Lucknow, in which he was ultimately crowned with success.

In Aligarh which at that time served as the Centre of Studies, Shibli came to know about the latest publications of Arabic which appeared in Egypt and Syria as well as had an opportunity to receive newspapers and magazines such as al-Hilāl, al-Manār, al-Mu'ayyid, al-Liwa' etc. The literateurs and renowned scholars of Arabic of Egypt and Syria who acknowledged his erudition and profundity, sent their books to him for review. His reviews and articles were published in "al-Hilāl" and other standard magazines.

Another centre where Shibli had additional opportunities to acquaint himself with European works was Hyderābād, which he first visited in 1891. There he met Sayyid 'Alī Belgrāmī who was a great scholar of Arabic, English, German and Greek. 'Alī Belgrāmī gifted him several books published in Europe.

In 1892, he undertook a journey to Constantinople to collect necessary material for his "al-Fārūq" (Umar the great). Thence he moved to Beirut, Jerusalem and Cairo where he visited al-Azhar,

one of the most famous universities of the world.

After the death of Sir Sayyid in 1898, he resigned from the 'Aligarh College and applied himself wholly to reading and writing.

He was appointed in 1905 Trustee of Dār-al-ʿUlūm, Lucknow, where he made, as mentioned above, special efforts to make proper arrangements for English being introduced as a compulsory subject. In addition, classes for modern Arabic, Sanskrit, and Hindi were also started. One of his remarkable academic contributions was the foundation by him of Dār-al-Muṣannifīn at Azamgarh in 1914, for which he donated his own bungalow and garden. Among its chief aims was to impart special training to those students keenly interested in reading and writing. After rendering such great services he died at Azamgarh on the 18th of November, 1914.⁷⁴

An avid reader, Shibtī started his career as an author by writing an article entitled "Iskāt al-Muʿtadī ʿala Inṣāt al-Muqtadī" in Arabic in 1298 A.H./1880.⁷⁵ A historian by temperament, he turned to Islamic historiography in 1883 when, impressed by G.W. Leitner's *Sinīn-i-Islam* (1876), stimulated and annoyed by the challenge of western orientalism and encouraged by Sir Sayyid, he decided to compile a complete and monumental history of Islam in its true perspective, though he could not embark upon it probably due to non-availability of ample and sufficient material needed for such

⁷⁴ Hayāt-i-Shiblī, 1943, p.723.

⁷⁵ See Hayāt-i-Shiblī, 1943, pp.105, 137 and Makātīb-i-Shiblī, Vol.2, p.235, cited in Shaykh Muhammad Ikram; Shibli-nāmah, Bombay, (Date not mentioned), p.32.

a vast subject. Then he curtailed his project and confined himself only to recording the history of the Abbasids. By 1884 he however put into black and white the accounts of the Abbasids down to the time of al-Muṭasim (833-842 A.D.). But this too he failed to accomplish perhaps for the same reason. He then gave up the idea and applied himself to reducing the accounts of one most prominent hero of each dynasty to writing, to which he gave the title "The Royal Series of the Heroes of Islam", in Carlylese terminology. From the Abbasid dynasty he chose al-Mamūn, from the Orthodox Caliphate, 'Umar (R.A.) and from the early Islamic period, the Prophet Muḥammad (S.A.W.), the founder of the Islamic State.

In his historical writings he took full advantage of western methods of historiography with which he had got acquainted through works like Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*", Palmer's *Life of Ḥarūn al-Rashīd*" etc. and also employed his own methodology rationalistic analysis of the sources, reaffirming the value of *Ḥadīth* as an essential source of Islamic history at the same time. In other words, he adopted a methodology which was a synthesis of traditional Islamic disciplines of chronicles and modernism.

Among his major works on Islamic history are al-Mamūn, al-Fāruq and *Sīrat al-Nabī* (in two volumes).

Al-Mamūn was originally published in 1887.⁷⁶ It has the distinction of being the first work of 'The Royal Series of the Heroes of Islam'. In it the celebrated author has given detailed accounts of the Abbasid Caliph, al-Mamūn (813-833), son of Ḥarūn al-

⁷⁶ See *Ḥayāt-i-Shiblī*, 1943, p.172.

Rashid (786-809). He has tried to record the most authentic historical facts in an eloquent and interesting style. On going through this book one may justify the remark made by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan in the foreword which is as follows:

"Our scholar has penned (the events) in a most eloquent and interesting style with authenticity in view. The events which are beautiful are shown as such and those which are ugly have been shown so."⁷⁷

It is divided into two parts. In the first part, the able author before dealing with the birth of al-Mamun, his upbringing and his education, traces some historical facts that led to the fall of the Umayyads and to the rise of the Abbasids to power.

The learned author thereafter throws light on the birth of al-Mamun, the civil war between him and his brother, al-Amin, the siege of Baghdad, the murder of al-Amin, the reign of al-Mamun, his conquest of Sicily, invasion engineered by him against the Eastern Romans, his death along with the deaths of Imam 'Ali-al-Rida, Tahir and Dhu-al-Riya-Satayn.

While describing the life of 'Ali-al-Rida, he seeks to prove that al-Mamun had great affection for and sympathy with the descendants of the prophet (S.A.). As a proof of his claim, he says that all the rebellions that broke out during his reign were under the command of the descendants of the Prophet (S.A.). But, inspite of this, al-Mamun never took any action against them, and always

⁷⁷ Shibli; Al-Mamun (Foreword), Azamgarh, 1957, pp.3-4.

forgave them. He further writes that when al-Mamūn thought of designating 'Alī-al-Riḍā' as heir-apparent, he gathered all the Abbasids and the descendants of the Prophet (S.A.) through his daughter Fātimah (R.A.) in 817 A.D. and after testing them, he came to the conclusion that there was none better to shoulder the responsibilities of the Caliphate than 'Alī al-Riḍā'. Hence he (al-Mamūn) took the oath of allegiance for him (al-Riḍā) and the black dress was replaced by the green which was the specific dress of the descendants of the Prophet (S.A.). The author, a man of critical acumen, refutes the accusation by the Shias that 'Alī al-Riḍā' was poisoned at the behest of al-Mamūn. He says that it is a matter of regret that Shias' historical books which might have helped us form a correct idea about it and take a proper decision by comparing the narratives of both the communities, i.e. Shias and Sunnis, are not available to us. He further writes on the authority of Ibn Athīr and Ibn Wāḍih al-Abbāsī that it is a mere accusation.⁷⁸

Regarding the death of Ṭāhir, the author remarks that all the historians except Ibn Khallikān are silent on it. Admitting that he was poisoned at the behest of al-Mamūn he suggests that it was inevitable for him (al-Mamūn), and any other ruler would also have done the same. Similarly he justifies him for the murder of Dhu-al-Riyāsatayn by arguing that it was the only remedy left for him.

Here the argument of the author does not sound justifiable. According to Islamic Law, a person is liable to a punishment leading to his death only when he commits heinous crimes such as murder,

⁷⁸Ibid p.81-2.

plundering, raping, adultery etc.⁷⁹ A rebel is also liable, as I think, to death penalty in case he rises against the Islamic State established on true Islamic teachings or against the State which is making serious efforts to enforce Islamic Law (Sharī'ah). As for Tahir and Dhu-al-Riyāsatain, they did not oppose Islamic precepts but they revolted against the monarchy of al-Mamūn, and it is a common knowledge that Islam has no provision for monarchy. Hence they were not liable to a punishment leading to death. They might be taken prisoners instead of having been killed.

As for the second part of this book which is more important, it deals with the system of administration, government's source of income, court of justice on the one hand and the personal habits and character of al-Mamūn alongwith his social and private life on the other.

In the beginning the learned author records the history of Baghdād and tries to trace its origin. He writes that near Baghdād there was a garden where Nushirwān the Just (531-578) would sit and decide the cases of his subjects. That is why it was called Bagh-i-dād (later Baghdād) which means 'the garden of justice'.⁸⁰ This opinion held by the author is open to question. Prof 'Abd-al-Sattār of Allāhābād (1885-1972) rejects this view and observes that historical evidences provide no proof of it. He thinks the word 'Baghdād' to be derived from 'Bagh' (god or idol) and 'dād' (given)

⁷⁹Also see Maudūdī; Tafhīm al-Qurān, Vol.1, Delhi, 1973, pp.599, 600.

⁸⁰See Al-Mamūn, p.126.

which together mean 'given by God'. He traces its origin to even before the time of Zoroaster and asserts that reference to the word 'Bagh' is found in the Avesta and cuneiform inscriptions of the Achaemenian period. In favour of his contention he also cites the Shāhnāmāh of Firdausī (d. 1020) and the works of Arabic scholars and historians such as 'Abd-al-Āziz b-Rawwād (d. 757/58), al-Aṣma'ī (d. 831/32), Ibn-Qutaybah (d. 889/90), Abū 'Abdullah Muḥammad-b-Āḥmad al-Khwarizmi, al-Jawālīqī (d. 1144/45), Yqūt al-Ḥamavī (d. 1228/29) etc. His argument may be summarised as follows :

- 1) The existence of the word 'Baghdād' dates from even before the time of Zoroaster.⁸¹
- 2) In his Shāhnāmāh Firdausī has mentioned it while versifying the accounts of Kaikhusrau, Farīdūn, Ardshīr Bābakān etc. who preceded Nushīrwān the Just.⁸²
- 3) In the accounts of Nushīrwān we find no mention of Baghdād in the Shāhnāmāh. Neither Firdausī nor Persian historians assert that Nushīrwān would dispense justice in any garden about twenty five miles away from his capital, Ctesiphon.⁸³
- 4) We find no reference to Nushīrwān's garden of Justice at a place far from Ctesiphon, even in Pahlawi and Syriac sources.⁸⁴
- 5) It was Ḥamdullah Qazvīnī who wrote in his 'Nuzhat-al-Qulūb' written in 1339/40 (740 A.H.) that it (Baghdād) was founded by Nushīrwān.⁸⁵

⁸¹ See Siddiqī, 'Abd al-Sattār; Maqālāt-i-Siddiqī, Vol.1, Lucknow, 1983, p.132.

⁸² Ibid pp.126-6.

⁸³ Ibid pp.127, 129, 130, 131.

⁸⁴ Ibid p.129.

⁸⁵ Ibid p.127.

- 6) According to 'Abd-al-'Aziz, al-Aṣmaī, al-Jawālīqī, al-Khwarizmi and others, the word 'Baghdād' is derived from 'Bagh' (god or idol) and 'dād' (given) and not from Bāgh (garden) and dād (justice).⁸⁶
- 7) Not to speak of Arabic scholars and historians even Persian scholars think that the term 'Bagh' means god or idol. In this very sense it has been used in the Avesta and cuneiform inscriptions of the Achaemenian period too. Bhag of Sanskrit Bhagwān and Bhagwat is also identical with it.⁸⁷

Besides, the author takes up the topic of the Jizyah (protection tax) and other taxes and maintains that in taxes al-Māmūn followed the Prophet (S.A.) and his orthodox caliphs such as 'Umar (R.A.) and 'Alī (K.W.).

It would not be out of place to say a few words about the Jizya erroneously supposed to be imposed on non-Muslim subjects as a penalty for their refusal to accept Islam. The Jizya was levied on the able-bodied males (old men, women and children were exempted) for providing protection of life and in lieu of the military service they would have been called upon to perform had they been Muslims. It is very noticeable that when any christian people or other non-Muslims served in the Muslim army, they were exempted from the payment of this tax; and if the Muslims failed to protect their lives they paid back all the Jizyah collected from them. The following explanation may be taken into account :

"When the people of Hira contributed the sum agreed upon, they expressly mentioned that they paid this Jizyah on condition that

⁸⁶Ibid pp.136-7-8.

⁸⁷Ibid pp.125, 139, 140, 143.

"the Muslims and their leader protect us from those who would oppress us, whether they be Muslims or others". Again, in the treaty made by Khalid with some towns in the neighbourhood of Hirah, he writes :

"If we protect you, then Jizyah is due to us; but if we do not, then it is not due". How clearly this condition was recognized by the Muhammadans may be judged from the following incident in the reign of the Caliph Umar. The Emperor Heraclius had raised an enormous army with which to drive back the invading forces of the Muslims, who had in consequence to concentrate all their energies on the impending encounter. The Arab general, Abū Ubaydah, accordingly wrote to the governors of the conquered cities of Syria, ordering them to pay back all the Jizyah that had been collected from the cities, and wrote to the people, saying, "We give you back the money that we took from you as we have received news that a strong force is advancing against us. The agreement between us was that we would protect you, and as this is not now in our power, we return you all that we took. But if we are victorious we shall consider ourselves bound to you by the old terms of our agreement". In accordance with this order, enormous sums were paid back out of the state treasury, and the christians called down blessings on the heads of the Muslims, saying, "May God give you rule over us again and make you victorious over the Romans; had it been they, they would not have given us back anything, but would have taken all that remained with us."⁸⁸

He then sheds light on al-Mamun's Justice and tolerance, his beliefs and his keen interest in education, philosophy, and the

⁸⁸The Preaching of Islam, p.61. Also see p.62.

compilation of Arabic grammar. Apart from this, he vehemently refutes the charge made by Palmer that the followers of Islam do not consider the unbelievers as the creature of God. He seeks to prove on good proofs that the non-Muslims were granted all types of freedom (religious and otherwise) and they also enjoyed justice, equality, protection of life etc. He writes that the orthodox caliphs undertook the protection of thousands of churches through pacts. Not only this, Umar-II (717-720) ordered the governor of Damascus to demolish that controversial portion of a mosque which was actually the property of a church and which had been included in the mosque in the time of al-Walid (705-715), and to allow the Christians to reconstruct their church at that place.⁸⁹ From the beginning upto the time of 'Abd-al-Malik-b-Marwan (685-705) the financial administration of Syria and Iraq was, he observes, under the charge of the Romans and the Iranians respectively, as all the tax records were written in Greek and Persian (Pahlawi) instead of Arabic.⁹⁰ He also asserts that during the Abbasid caliphate (750-1258) there were built, in Baghdād, thousands of churches where religious duties were freely performed; Jibril and his son, Bakhtishū' who were christians by origin had wielded great influence among the courtiers of Hārūn al-Rashid (786-809). Nasr-b-Hārūn, the Prime Minister of 'Adud Daulah (949-982) of the Buwayhid dynasty of Persia, he writes, was also a christian who constructed a number of churches with latter's permission.⁹¹

⁸⁹ See Al-Māmūn, p.155.

⁹⁰ Ibid p.156. Also see Nicholson, R.A.; A Literary History of the Arabs, Cambridge, 1979, p.201 and Hitti, P.K.; History of the Arabs, London, p.217.

⁹¹ For further details see Al-Māmūn, pp.155-6 and Preaching of Islam, p.64.

It would not be out of place to cite here the Charter granted to the monks of the Monastery of St. Catharine and to all the christians by which the Prophet secured to them important privileges and immunities. The Charter was granted in the sixth year of Hijrah about 628 A.D. Making remarks on it Sayyid Amīr 'Alī writes thus :

"By it (the Charter) the Prophet secured to the christians privileges and immunities which they did not possess even under sovereign of their own creed, and declared that any Muslim violating and abusing what was therein ordered, should be regarded as a violater of God's testament, a transgressor of His Commandments, and a sligher of His faith. He undertook himself and enjoined on his followers, to protect the christians, to defend their churches, the residences of their priests, and to guard them from all injuries. They were not to be unfairly taxed; no bishop was to be driven out of his bishpric; no christian was to be forced to reject his religion; no monk was to be expelled from his monastery; no pilgrim was to be detained from his pilgrimage. Nor were the christian churches to be pulled down for the sake of building mosques or houses for the Moslems. Christian women married to Moslems were to enjoy their own religion, and not to be subjected to compulsion or annoyance of any kind on that account. If christians should stand in need of assistance for the repair of their churches or monasteries, or any other matter pertaining to their religion, the Moslems were to assist them. This was not to be considered as taking part in their religion, but as merely rendering them assistance in their need, and complying with the ordinances of the Prophet which were made in their favour by the authority of God and His Apostle. Should the Moslems be engaged in

hostilities with outside christians, no christian resident among the Moslems should be treated with contempt on account of his creed. Any Moslem so treating a christian should be accounted recalcitrant to the Prophet."⁹²

In this context, the terms and conditions of the agreement which were drawn up when Jerusalem submitted to the Caliph Umar-b-al-Khattāb (634-44) also merit quoting. They are as follows :

"In the name of god, the merciful, the Compassionate! This is the security which Umar, 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 ought of their possessions, nor shall any constraint be put upon them in the matter of their faith nor shall any one then be harmed."⁹³

To illustrate further, we produce below two more extracts from Arnold's 'Preaching of Islam'. One runs :

'Mu'āwiyah (661-680) employed christians very largely in his service, and other members of the reigning house followed his example. Christians frequently held high posts at court, e.g. a christian Arab, al-Akhtal, was court poet, and the father of St. John of

⁹²The Spirit of Islam, London, 1974, pp.84-5.

⁹³The Preaching of Islam, p.56.

Damascus, counsellor to the Caliph Abd al-Malik (685-705). In the service of the Caliph al-Mustasin (833-842), there were two brothers, christians, who stood very high in the confidence of the Commander of the Faithful; the one, named Solmuyah, seems to have occupied somewhat the position of a modern secretary of state, and no royal documents were valid until countersigned by him, while his brother, Ibrahim, was entrusted with the care of the privy seal, and was set over the Bayt al-Mal or Public Treasury, an office that, from the nature of the funds and their disposal, might have been expected to have been put into the hands of a Muslim; so great was the caliph's personal affection for this Ibrahim, that he visited in his sickness, and was overwhelmed with grief at his death, and on the day of the funeral ordered the body to be brought to the palace and the christian rites performed there with great solemnity.⁹⁴

The other reads thus :

"In the reign of al-Mutadid (892-902), the governor of Anbar, Umar-b-Yusuf, was a christian; and the caliph approved of the appointment on the ground that if a christian were found to be competent, a post might well be given to him. Al-Muwaffaq who was virtual ruler of the empire during the reign of his brother al-Mutamid (870-892) entrusted the administration of the army to a christian named Israel, and his son, al-Mutadid, had as one of his secretaries another christian, Malik-b-al-Walid. In a later reign, that of al-Muqtadir (908-932), a christian was again in charge of the war office."⁹⁵

⁹⁴Ibid p.63.

⁹⁵Ibid p.64.

The learned author, like a broadminded and unbiased historian, feels no hesitation in admitting that some hard-hearted Muslim rulers like 'Alī b-Salman, governor of Egypt, interfered with the freedom of other religions by demolishing churches in Egypt which were later reconstructed by Isa-b-Musa, also a governor of Egypt, in 171 A.H. (788 A.D.).

In conclusion, one may say that this celebrated work was written on scientific lines. In it the author has adopted western methodology, discussing the causes and effects of events, which were neglected by early Muslim historians and biographers. Though a biography, it is a political, social and cultural history of al-Mamun's time. The work which was hailed by scholars and general readers alike and which served as a model for others deserves close study.

Al-Farūq (Life of 'Umar the Great in Urdu) was originally published in 1899. It is also divided into two volumes. The first volume contains a preface and accounts of the life of 'Umar (R.A.). In the preface the learned author discusses the beginning of historiography among the Arabs, definition of history, Riwayat (narration) and Dirayat (rational criticism), The defects in the early works on Islamic history, causes and effects of events etc. Thereafter, he records the events relating to 'Umar's birth, his embracing of Islam, his geneological tree and death along with the battles in which he participated. Besides, the battles which occurred in the wake of the Prophet's migration to Madinah such as those of Badr, Uhud, Khaybar, Hunayn etc. are also surveyed in order to form a link in

the events. The able author, in this connection, does not confine himself to the description of the battles as was done by his predecessors, but he makes critical comments on the events wherever he deems it necessary. For instance, while dealing with the battle of Badr, he refutes the statement of historians that the Prophet (S.A.W.) left Madinah for Badr to plunder the trade Caravan of the Quraysh which was coming back from Syria under the leadership of Abū Sufyān. In order to corroborate his argument he quotes the verses from the Qurān.

He also rebuts the statement of al-Balādhurī that 'Umar (R.A.) was in the battle of Uhud among those who had fled from the battle field. He argues, to this effect, as follows :

"We can never accept this narrative which is totally wrong from the point of view of both Riwayāt (narration) and Dirāyat (rational criticism), as the whereabouts of 'Abbās-b-'Abd-al-Malik and Ghaid-b-Ishaq on whose authorities it has been narrated are unknown to us. Barring this, all other narratives go against it."⁹⁶

In the following chapter, the author first deals briefly with the Caliphate of Umar's predecessor, Abū Bakr (632-634). Then, he surveys the Caliphate of 'Umar (634-644) and also takes notice of conquests of Iraq, event of Buwaib, battles of Qadisiyah and Jalūla, Yarmūk, Jerusalem, Hims and the conquests of Qaisariyah, al-Jazīrah, Khuzistān, Egypt, etc. He discusses the events under separate heads, deviating from the annalistic method adopted by some Muslim historians like 'al-Tabarī and al-Masūdī, which creates confusion in

⁹⁶ Al-Fārūq, Vol.1, Azamgarh, 1956, p.43.

the mind of reader, disconnecting the series of events.

The first volume of the book also bears some important remarks, which testifies to the thorough study of its author who made a painstaking search for some striking points. While describing the conquest of Ādharbaijān, he throws light on the appellation of the city though without giving reference to his authority. He writes : "Regarding the appellation of 'Ādharbaijān' there are two different views. One is that Adharbād, a magian high priest, had established a fire temple which was called "Adharabadgān". According to the other view, the Pahlawī word "Adhar" meaning fire and the word "Baigān" implying protector or preserver constitute this name which was later arabicised as "Ādharbaijān".⁹⁷

In addition, the event of the Qirtās (the paper) which has become an issue of acute conflict between the two groups of the Muslims (Shiās and Sunnis) is also discussed in detail. By some arguments he proves that this story has no historical ground. He observes that ʿAbdullah-b-ʿAbbās (R.A.), the main narrator of the tradition, was not present at the time of the alleged occurrence of the event, and even the name of the authority from which he derived his information regarding the same is unknown. He further remarks that no tradition speaks of any other case in which the Holy Prophet (S.A.W.) showed signs of delirium (as is reported) during his illness which lasted for thirteen days or so, and the Prophet (S.A.W.) lived for four days after this alleged occurrence and made several behests

⁹⁷Ibid p.175.

as well as gave instructions in the interval.⁹⁸

The last but one chapter is devoted to the conquest of Egypt. In it the author speaks of the "letter" of 'Umar (R.A.) to 'Amr (R.A.) which was received by the latter at Rafaj according to al-Maqrizī and at 'Arīsh according to al-Balādhuri. After examining the two different statements made by these two historians, he maintains that it does not matter whether the letter was received at Rafaj or 'Arīsh because both the places lay within the Egyptian border, and that 'Amr (R.A.) intentionally did not receive the letter from the messenger (as is generally held) apprehending that 'Umar (R.A.) might have ordered him not to proceed further sounds untrue.

In the last chapter the author describes the assassination of 'Umar the Great in 644 A.D.

As for the second volume, it is by far the most important from historical point of view. It is a detailed study of political, military, educational and cultural services of 'Umar (634-644). It also bears notes by the author on the reasons of the defeat of the Persians and Romans which are wrongly analysed by the European historians. According to them the weakness of the Persian empire after Khusrau Parvēz and the two religious movements, i.e., Muzdakism and Nestorianism led to the defeat of the Persians. As for the Romans they trace the causes of their defeat at the hands of the Muslims to the weakness of their empire and disunity prevailing among them.

⁹⁸Ibid p.54-58. Also see Maudūdī; Rasā'il wa Masā'il, Vol.II, Delhi, 1984, pp.299-303.

Shibli does not agree with these explanations. He holds that the mighty and glorious empire of Khusrau had not weakened so much that it could easily be defeated by the Arabs. And to assume that any kind of assistance or help was extended by the above mentioned religious movements to the Arabs is historically baseless because we find no mention of it in any historical work of high order. According to him, firm determination, liberty, courage and bravery, honesty and sincerity sowed in them by the Prophet (S.A.W.) coupled with the wise leadership of Umar (R.A.) were the main factors which brought them victory over the two most advanced powers of that time. Another reason for the Arab victories lay, according to him, in the sincere support to the Arab invaders by the converted chiefs of Hirah and Syria.

Side by side, the renowned author tends to show by several evidences that during Umar's Caliphate all the communities including the Jews and the Christians enjoyed toleration, equality and justice irrespective of caste and creed. In a separate chapter entitled "The Rights of the Dhimmis (non-Muslims)" he observed that the non-Muslims (Dhimmis) were not only granted liberty and freedom but were also consulted (if needed) in important administrative affairs. Throwing light on justice granted to them by Umar (R.A.), he writes on the authority of "Imam al-Shāfi'ī thus: "a member of the tribe of Bakr-b-Wail killed a Christian of Hirah. Umar (R.A.) ordered him to be handed over to the heirs of the non-Muslim victim. He was, accordingly, handed over to the victim's heir named Hunayn who put the offender to death".⁹⁹

⁹⁹Al-Fārūq, Vol. II, p.138.

Another charge levelled by the Christian missionaries against Islam is that it spread by sword. The able author refutes this charge and quotes Umar (R.A.) as saying to his slave who refused to embrace Islam in spite of former's persuasion that "there is no compulsion in matter of religion". He maintains that the main reason for the spreading of Islam during the Caliphate of Umar (R.A.) lay in the fact that he had, by his training and guidance, made the Muslims who were already imbued with truthfulness, piety, fervour, sincerity and simplicity a true model of Islamic teachings. He further holds that it was the characteristics and peculiarities with which the Muslims of Umar's time were adorned that attracted the attention of other communities to Islam.

In this context, he also makes comment on a misunderstanding prevailing among the theologians over the issues of Zunnār (sacred thread), nāqūs (church bell) and Cross (ṣalīb). That the zunnār, a kind of janēva, was a mark of contempt and dishonour is refuted by him on the ground that the term "Zunnār" signifying belt is synonymous with the Arabic word "mintaqah" and is still used in this sense. In order to prove that both the words are synonymous, he gives reference to "Kanz-al-Ummāl" in which Umar (R.A.) is quoted as using the word "zanānīr" in the meaning of "manātiq" (pl. of mintaqah - belt). For further clarification, he cites another quotation from Murūj-al-Dhahab by al-Masūdi and seeks to prove thereby that this dress which was later adopted by the caliph, al-Mansūr was worn by the Dhimīs (non-Muslims) even before Umar (R.A.), and it is a mere accusation to say that he (Umar, R.A.) ordered the Dhimīs (non-Muslims) to put on this dress as a mark of contempt for them.

Defending Umar (R.A.) for his policy with regard to the bearing of the Cross, ringing the church bell and baptizing, the able author observes that these were in perfect consonance with the pact made between the Muslims and the Christians. The pact stipulated that Cross should not be displayed in the meetings of the Muslims nor should the church bell be rung at the time of prayers.

Besides, he also endeavours to prove that the banishment of the Christians and Jews who had always been hatching plot against Islam was on political basis and not on account of any personal grudge or religious prejudices.

The illustrious author also critically discusses the marriage of Shahrbanu with Husayn (R.A.), son of Ali (R.A.). He says that great historians such as al-Tabari, Ibn-al-Athir, al-Ya'qubi, al-Baladhuri and Ibn-Qutaybah are silent on it. Zamakhshari is the only historian who has mentioned it, and in the absence of ample proof how can it be taken as true.

On other ground, too, he rejects this story as false. He argues that Husayn (R.A.) was barely twelve years old at that time, and it is also a fact that the Muslims could not capture the members of the royal family of Yazdjurd who had fled to Hulwan, then to Isfahan and Kirman and finally to Marw where he was killed in 30 A.H./652 A.D. during the Caliphate of Uthman (R.A.). Hence there arises no question of the marriage of Husayn (R.A.) with Shahrbanu while the family of Yazdjurd was not captured by the Muslims during Umar's Caliphate.

Throwing light on Umar's services in the field of education the renowned author shows that he (Umar, R.A.) played a leading role in

the preservation of the Qurān and Hadīth by awarding stipends to those studying them. He writes that Umar (R.A.) who had committed a good deal of Arabic verses to his memory was interested in poetry also. He quotes, to this effect, the comments made by him on Imru'ul Qais, Nabighah and Zuhayr whom he considered the greatest of all Arabic poets. In addition to this, the author asserts that Umar (R.A.) knew Hebrew also. As a proof of his claim, he gives a quotation from the "Musnad Darimi" which is as follows :

"Once Umar (R.A.) visited the Prophet (S.A.W.) with a copy of the Toreh (The Old Testament) and began to recite it (in his presence)."

Umar's moral character, his habits and manners including his piety, devotion, fast, etc., are described in detail in the last but one chapter. The second volume of the book closes with a remark made in Persian by Shah Waliullah of Delhi on Umar (R.A.), which brings all his characteristics to light.

To sum up, this volume examines causes and effects of the events along with cultural aspect - a thing which had been neglected by the Muslim historians of middle ages. Not only this, but the learned author gives convincing replies to the charges levelled against Islam by non-Muslims particularly the Christians, which was the pressing demand of the time. On the other hand, he tries to remove some misunderstandings prevailing even among the Muslim historians as well as theologians as shown above.

It can easily be observed that this work has broken fresh ground in the Islamic historiography of India. It has been written entirely along modern critical methods of scholarship, showing the

background and discussing all the factors that went to prove the events mentioned in this book. Against this book we find those older books which were composed by those authors writing on traditional lines. In them, they confined themselves only to the description of wars made during the reign of Umar (R.A.). It goes to the credit of the author of "al-Faruq" that he has taken so much pain to glean his material from various sources almost bordering on a score. Before Shibli, some authors who had attempted to produce historical works have not been able to move enough from the trodden path. Their language and style are antiquated. We may, for instance, cite "Mujādalāt-i-Farūqiyyah" by Maulavī Abdul Rahman or Futūh-al-Shām which is translation of an Arabic work. Works like these have concentrated, as mentioned above, on conquests only. Their method of presentation to a modern reader is unattractive. Shibli thus deserves credit not only for having written a book in consonance with modern method of historiography, and in modern language and style but also for showing the way and setting a model to those who want to work in this field. It can be safely said that this example set by him has been followed by other authors, nay, whole school has taken him for its master and owes inspiration to him. The book won such admiration that it was considered worthwhile to attempt an English translation of it to bring it to the notice of the English reading public whether in India or abroad. Zafar Alī Khān, the editor of the once well-known Urdū daily Zamindār and an ardent Muslim leader, translated the first volume, and its second volume was rendered by Muhammad Salīm. It is to be regretted that the work was produced in Urdū, a language little known in learned circles abroad, and hence it failed to draw the notice of foreign scholars, otherwise it can

easily compare with the work of any foreign historian produced in this field. As a matter of fact, this book continues to be one of the authoritative works on the subject

Sirat al-Nabi is regarded as the masterpiece of *Shibli*. It consists of two volumes. Its first volume was posthumously published in 1918. This volume consists of a lengthy preface and thirteen separate heads rather chapters. In this pioneering work the able author has relied on the verses of the Quran, the traditions recorded in *al-Bukhari* and *al-Muslim*, narratives of *Ibn-Ishaq*, *Ibn-Sad*, and *al-Tabari*. While recording significant events, he has also initially examined the narratives pertaining thereto and tried his level best to correct the flaws and mistakes committed by earlier biographers.

The author first deals with the history of Arabia, political, religious, social conditions of ancient Arabs, the sacrifice of *Ismail* (A.S.), the construction of the *Kabah*, whereabouts of the *Quraysh*, the geneology of the Prophet *Muhammad* (S.A.W.) etc.

In the second chapter the author first deal with the birth of the Prophet (S.A.W.) as to which opinions are divided. *Ibn Khaldun* puts his birth on the 12th of *Rabi' al-Awwal*¹⁰⁰ (the third month of the Islamic calendar). *Abu al-Fida'* holds that he was born on the 10th of *Rabi' al-Awwal*. According to another view, the birth came on 9th *Rabi' al-Awwal*. From these views it becomes clear that all the scholars are unanimous as to the month of the Prophet's birth, and it is its actual date which is disputed. *Shibli* supports the third view according to which the date of the Prophet's birth falls on the

¹⁰⁰ See *Tarikh-i-Ibn Khaldun* (Urdū version), Allāhabād, p.

9th of Rabi' al-Awwal. In order to corroborate his view he cites Mahmūd Pāshā al-Falākī of Egypt according to whom Muhammad (S.A.W.) was born on Monday, 9th Rabi' al-Awwal corresponding to 20th April, 571 A.D.

Then he describes the Prophet's childhood, the death of his mother, his journey to Syria, his marriage with Khadijah (R.A.) etc.

While describing the Prophet's journey to Syria at the age of twelve, he critically examines the story of his meeting with the Christian, Bahira. He thinks the narratives regarding the journey untrustworthy because of their being "mursal" i.e. (the first narrator was not present on the spot). He also rejects the statements of Draper, William Muir and Margoliouth who claim that Muhammad (S.A.W.) laid the foundation of the Islamic faith on the teachings of Bahira of Syria. He argues that had the Prophet (S.A.W.) been influenced by Bahira's teachings as is thought by European historians, he would have never developed such a firm belief in Allāh and disdain for Trinity (Tathlith) in his heart, which is noticed in the Qurān. Making critical comments on the narratives he writes thus :

- (i) In the narrative there is no mention of the teachings of Bahira. The only mention found in the narrative is that seeing the Prophet (S.A.W.), Bahira said that he (the Prophet) was the leader of the apostles. This narrative is mursal because its first reporter who was not present on the occasions does not mention the name of his authority. One of the narrators of this tradition is Abd al-Rahmān b- Ghazwān who is thought untrustworthy by traditionists.
- (ii) The last narrator is Abū Mūsā who was also not an eye witness. He too, does not refer to his authority.

- (iii) In the tradition it is mentioned that to Syria the Prophet (S.A.W.) was accompanied by Bital (R.A.) and Abū Bakr (R.A.). But Abū Bakr (R.A.) was too young to accompany him to such a distant land. As for Bital (R.A.), he was not even born at that time.

The author also examines a charge made by European historians like Margoliouth against the Prophet (S.A.W.) that before his prophethood he exercised the same cults as practised by the people of his native land. He writes that the tradition quoted by Margoliouth in support of his assertion has no indication of the claimed worship of an idol by the Prophet (S.A.W.) who was deadly against idolatry even from his childhood. The tradition recorded in Musnad of Ahmad b Hambal from which Margoliouth deduced wrongly runs thus :

"A neighbour of Khadijah told me, "I heard the Prophet (S.A.W.) say to Khadijah (R.A.), 'O Khadijah, by Allah I will never adore al-Uzzah and Lat." He (the narrator) said, "Khadijah (R.A.) said, Leave Lat and al-Uzzah." He said, "Lat and al-Uzzah were the idols which they (the Arabs) used to worship before going to bed".¹⁰¹

After noting the extract the author remarks that even a person with the least knowledge of Arabic can very easily understand while going through the above tradition that the word "Kanū", plural of Kana, together with the verb "Yabudūn" (third person masculine plural), signifies that it was the Arabs and not the Prophet (S.A.W.) who would worship Lat and al-Uzzah.

In the third chapter, the able author gives accounts of the prophethood of Muhammad (S.A.W.), propagation of Islam by him,

¹⁰¹ Sirat al-Nabi Vol.1 (footnote), pp.192-3.

opposition of the Qurayshites and its causes, migration of the believers to Ethiopia, boycott of the believers by the infidels of Makkah, deaths of Khadijah (R.A.) and Abu Talib, preaching of Islam by the Prophet (S.A.W.) among the Arab tribes coming to Makkah on the occasion of the Hajj, torture inflicted on him and his followers, embracing of Islam by Hamzah and Umar (R.A.), first meeting of the Prophet (S.A.W.) with the Madinites, pledges of Aqabah, migration of the believers to Madinah etc.

The fourth chapter is devoted to the accounts of the Prophet's migration to Madinah, his offering the Friday prayer, the construction of the Prophet's mosque, the beginning of Adhan (call to the prayer), the pact with the Jews etc.

The fifth chapter is a detailed study of the wars fought by the Prophet (S.A.W.) and his followers against the unbelievers and other miscellaneous events. The author asserts that all the wars waged by early Muslims were of defensive character, and it was the unbelievers and not the Muslims who were offensive. He further asserts that it was the idolaters of Makkah who hatched conspiracy against the Muslims with Abd Allah b-Ubayy and instigated him in a letter to rise against the Muslims and drive them out of Madinah, as a result of which, the Prophet (S.A.W.) had to keep the Muslims alert in self-defence. To corroborate his assertion he cites a verse from the Qur'an which reads : "Fight for the cause of Allah against those who combat with you."¹⁰² He further holds that when the unbelievers decided to raid Madinah, the Prophet (S.A.W.) had to take two immediate rather emergent steps - to interrupt the trade between

¹⁰²The Qur'an 2:190.

Makkah and Syria in order to force them for agreement or compromise, and contract the pact with the neighbouring tribes of Madīnah.

While analysing the causes of the battle at Badr, the author seeks to prove that the murder of 'Amr b-'Abd Allāh al-Hadramī was accidental, over which the Prophet (S.A.W.) expressed his severe anger. But as for the root cause of the battle, it lay in the fact that since the Qurayshites themselves wanted to fight with the Muslims, they had fully equipped the Caravan led by Abū Sufyān to Syria with weapons. Above all, the readiness and firm decision of Abū Jahl for the battle despite the reluctance of some leaders of the tribes of Zuhra and 'Adī, the suggestion made by Ḥakīm b-Hizām to Abū Jahl to avoid war at Badr and the instigation of 'Abd Allāh b-Ubayy by the Qurayshites serve to testify to the statement of the author.

Commenting on the statement of earlier biographers who mistakenly hold that the Prophet (S.A.W.) marched out to Badr so as to engineer an attack on the Caravan coming back from Syria, he observes that the reason for this erroneous impression lies in the fact that he (the Prophet) ~~often~~ did not disclose the direction and purpose of his march even to his followers and used equivocal words on such occasions in view of security.

The sixth chapter is related to the battle of Uhud, the marriages of Ḥafṣah and Umm Salmah with the Prophet (S.A.W.), the marriage of Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of the Prophet (S.A.W.), with 'Uthmān (R.A.), the birth of Ḥusayn (R.A.), prohibition of marriage with a polytheist woman, laws regarding heirship, forbidding of wine,

expeditions of Abū Salmah and Ibn Anīs, expedition to Bir Maunah etc.

The seventh chapter is on the pact and wars with the Jews. The author speaks of the events occurring between 2 A.H. and 4 A.H. The battle with the Banū Qainuqā', their exile and its causes, the murder of Kab b-Ashraf, the battle with the Banū Nadīr constitute main topics of this chapter. The author shows that the root cause of the battles with the Banū Qainuqā' and the Banū Nadīr lay, inter alia, in the breach by the Jews of the pact contracted between them and the Muslims.

The eighth chapter gives a detailed account of the battle of the Banū Mustaliq in 5 A.H., the marriage of Juwayriyah (R.A.) with the Prophet (S.A.W.), the battle of the Troops or the Ditch and the causes which led to the defeat of the Quraysh, the banishment of the Banū Qurayzah together with its reason (their breach of the pact by participating in the battle of the Ditch against the Muslims), the story of Raihanah (a supposed maid of the Prophet), the marriage of the Prophet (S.A.W.) with Zainab bint Jahsh etc.

As regards the issue of Juwayriyah the author preferred the tradition quoted by Ḥāfiẓ b-Ḥajar to that cited by Ibn-Ishāq. The tradition runs thus: "... the father of Juwayriyah (Ḥārith b-Darārah) who was one of the chiefs of the Arabs came to the Prophet (S.A.W.) when she was made captive and said "my daughter cannot be taken as maid because my status and definity is higher than this. Set her free." The Prophet (S.A.W.) said, "Would it not be better to leave it to Juwayriyah herself". Ḥārith, then, informed her of this and said

(to her), "Behold! Let me not be disgraced by you". She said, "I would like to live with the Prophet (S.A.W.)."

Giving reference to Ibn Sad, the author further observes that the father of Juwayriyah paid ransom for her liberty and it was then that the Prophet (S.A.W.) married her (with her consent).

The embracing of Islam by Raihanah and her marriage with the Prophet (S.A.W.) are also disputed. Sulayman Nadvi quotes three opinions on it:

- (i) that the Prophet (S.A.W.) set her free, allowing her to join her family,
- (ii) that after her release the Prophet (S.A.W.) wanted to take her to his wife, but, instead, she preferred to remain with him as a maid, considering it very difficult for her to bear the great responsibility of being the wife of the Prophet (S.A.W.), and
- (iii) that she professed Islam and the Prophet (S.A.W.) married her after setting her free.¹⁰³

A careful scrutiny of the above opinions shows that according to the first view, after her release, she joined her family without hugging Islam; the second opinion testifies to her Islam but denies her marriage with the Prophet (S.A.W.) and the third view confirms both her Islam as well as her marriage with the Prophet (S.A.W.).

Of these three, the second view seems more credible as it gathers support from Ibn-Khaldun.¹⁰⁴ But Shibli takes the first

¹⁰³See *Sīrat al-Nabī*.

¹⁰⁴See *Tārīkh-i-Ibn Khaldūn*, Vol.III (Urdū translation), Allāhābād, 1927, p.121.

opinion as true, which sounds incredible on account of its getting no support from authentic sources.

The author also critically examines the tradition regarding the marriage of the Prophet (S.A.W.) with Zainab bint Jahsh. The tradition reads : "Once the Prophet (S.A.W.) went to the house of Zaid (R.A.) to see him but he was not present. The Prophet (S.A.W.) saw Zainab (R.A.) in loose and scanty dress and turned back uttering, "Glory be to Allah the Exalted, who averts the hearts." When Zaid (R.A.) became aware of it, he said to the Prophet (S.A.W.), "I may divorce Zainab (R.A.) in case you have felt fascinated by her beauty."¹⁰⁵

The author dismisses this tradition as abscene and a conspiracy hatched by the hypocrites who flang taunt at the Prophet (S.A.W.) by saying that he had married the wife of his adopted son, which was considered unlawful in the pre-Islamic times. In support of his statement the author refers to Hafiz-b-Hajar and Hafiz b-Kathir.

Chapter IX concentrates on the truce of al-Hudybiyah which was described in the Qurān as the victory over Makkah, other important events related to it, the letters sent by the Prophet (S.A.W.) to various rulers, the discussion between Caesar and Abū Sufyān, embracing of Islam by Nagus, preaching of Islam to Muqauqis of Egypt, Prophet's marriage with Umm Habibah (R.A.), acceptance of Islam by Khalid b-Walid and Amr b-al-As, etc.

In the tenth chapter the author focuses on the battle at Khaybar, its causes and effects, performance of the Umrah etc.

¹⁰⁵ See Sirat al-Nabi, Vol.1, pp.443-4.

The eleventh chapter accounts for the battle at Mutaḥ, the victory of Makkah, the battles of Hunayn and Awtās, the siege of Taif etc.

The twelfth chapter deals with the events of Īlā' (the vow) Takhyīr (choice), the battle of Tabūk, the farewell pilgrimage and other important issues.

The last chapter is a critical review of the wars fought by the Prophet (S.A.W.) and his adherents. Besides, the author speaks of the nature of booty in wars, the resentment rather wrath expressed by Allāh and His Prophet (S.A.W.) on plundering and the restriction imposed on it by them. He quotes the Quran and also a tradition which runs : "(the narrator says) we accompanied the Prophet (S.A.W.) in a journey in which we felt hungry. Having caught sight of some goats, we plundered them and made arrangement for cooking them after their being slaughtered. Informed of it, the Prophet (S.A.W.) rushed to us and overturned all the coudrons with arrows and said, "the things plundered are as unlawful as the dead."¹⁰⁶ He refers to another tradition which concerns the battle of Khaybar in which the Muslims plundered the cattle and the fruits of the Jews, which caused resentment on the part of the Prophet (S.A.W.), who warned them in these stirring lines : "Allāh does not permit you to enter the houses of the Jews without permission and beat their women. Nor are you allowed to eat their fruits while they pay tax thereof."¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ See Abū Dāūd, Kitāb al-Jihād, quoted in Sīrat al-Nabī Vol. 1, p.617.

¹⁰⁷ Abū Dāūd, Bābū Tashīr al-Dhimmah Idhākhtalafu fi al-Tijārah, quoted in Sīrat al-Nabī, Vol. 1, p.

By quoting these traditions the able author tends to prove that the Prophet (S.A.W.) never encouraged plundering as is generally ^scontrued by European and Christian authors. On the other hand, he also admits that in the beginning the Muslims considered the spoils as reward and its reason lay in the Arabs age old tradition of Savaging. To them the booty gained in war was lawful. But the Prophet (S.A.W.) denounced it in unequivocal terms as shown above. Once asked by a companion about a person intending to wage war in greed of spoils, the Prophet (S.A.W.) replied that he would get no reward (in the hereafter). When the companion informed his fellows of this declaration, they said to him with surprise that he had misunderstood him (the Prophet, S.A.W.). They sent him again for clarification but the reply was the same.¹⁰⁸

The celebrated author, a man of wide learning, also differentiates between "ghazwāt" and "sarāya". As regards Ghazwāt, he cites two opinions - one is that in Ghazwāt (war) the fixation of the number of persons is necessary whereas there is no restriction on number in Sariyah (expedition) in which only one person can be sent, and the other is that the wars in which the Prophet (S.A.W.) himself participated is termed Ghazwāt (plural of Ghazwah) and the expeditions headed by his followers^③ are known as Sarāya (plural of Sariyah).

The author also discusses at length the sudden attack conducted by the Muslims on certain tribes and explains its cause. He maintains

¹⁰⁸For details see Abū Dāūd, Kitāb al-Jihād, quoted in Sīrat al-Nabī, Vol.1, p.613.

that its main reason was to gain control over those nomadic tribes which, having plundered others, hid themselves in untraceable places, and the only possible alternative left for the Muslims was to attack them unaware so that they might not run away.

Before the close of this celebrated work, the learned author first makes brief mention of the rules of war followed by the wild Arabs before Islam such as to kill women, old men and children brutally, to mutilate them and burn them alive, to put even messengers to death, to treat the captives cruelly, and then describes summarily the important reforms made by the Prophet (S.A.W.) who strictly forbade his followers to murder women, old men, and children and messengers on the one hand and enjoined them to treat the prisoners of war kindly by providing them all types of facilities.

He also explains the main object of war in Islam. According to him, the sole object of fighting was to put an end to persecutions and civil strife, bring about peace, raise the banner of truth high, save the oppressed from the claws of cruel oppressors and extend all out support to the poor and distressed.

This volume was translated into English by M. Tayyib Bakhsh Badāyūnī in two volumes which were published by Idāra-i-Adabiyyat-i-Dillī, Delhi, in 1979.

The second volume of Sirat-al-Nabī which was published posthumously in 1920, covers the accounts of the last three years of the Prophet's life as well as those of his wives and children. A considerable portion of the book has been written by Shibli's pupil, Sayyid Sulaymān Nadvī without whose sincere and vigorous efforts

this work would not have seen the light of day. For the sake of convenient study, the book which is spread over 440 pages may be divided into five main chapters, each consisting of several sub-chapters.

In the first chapter the author, deeply steeped into the history of Islam, briefly speaks ^{of} external and internal dangers faced by Islam, establishment of peace in Arabia after the victory of the Muslims over the infidels at Makkah, embracing of Islam by Tufail-b-Amr, Amr-b-Anbasah, Damād-b-Thalabah, Abū Dhar al-Ghifari, Jubair-b-Muṭim (R.A.) etc., and by the tribes of Izd, Ghifar, Aslam, Aus, Khazraj etc. Besides, the author talks of the effects of the treaty of al-Hudaibiyah, the conquest of Makkah, preaching of Islam in al-Yaman by 'Alī (R.A.), Mu'adh-b-Jabal (R.A.) and Abū Mūsā al-Ashārī (R.A.), in Najran by Khālīd-b-Walīd, in 'Uman by Abū Zaid al-Anṣārī (R.A.) and Amr-b-al-'Ās (R.A.) and on the borders of Syria by 'Amr-b-al-'Ās (R.A.). The learned author then gives detailed accounts of sixteen different deputations of the Arabs, which accepted Islam.¹⁰⁹

It is followed by the second chapter entitled "the Establishment of the Islamic State". It contains a vivid description of administration, justice, role of the army and Du'at (preachers), construction of mosques, appointment of Imams and mu'adhdhins, completion of Shari'ah, principles of Islam, prayer, fasting, pilgrimage and among other things, the laws for heritage, entailment, marriage, divorce etc.

¹⁰⁹Opinions are divided on the number of deputations. According to Ibn Ishāq, they numbered fifteen. Ibn Sa'd holds that they were seventeen in number. Hāfiz b-Qayyim seems to believe that their number did not exceed 34 while the author of Sirat al-Shāmi is of the view that they were 104. As for Shibli, he appears to share the opinion of Hāfiz b-Qayyim. See Sirat al-Nabī, Vol.2, 1976, p.36.

In the third chapter the gifted author discusses at full length the death of the Prophet (S.A.W.). He quotes reliable sources to this effect, and after analysing them he comes to the conclusion that the Prophet (S.A.W.) passed away on the 1st of Rabi'-al-Awwal, Monday afternoon, 11 A.H. (footnote, pp.174, 183). His contention is based on the statements of Mūsā-b-Uqbah (an outstanding biographer), Imām Laith-al-Misrī (a notable traditionist) and Imām Suhailī.

Another important issue in the history of Islam which deserves special attention is the late burial of the Prophet's holy body by a day.¹¹⁰ According to Shibli, main reasons therefor were as follows:

- (i) The Muslims first did not believe that the Prophet (S.A.W.) had expired. 'Umar (R.A.) exclaimed that the Prophet (S.A.W.) was not dead, but he had gone to his Lord and would return like Moses; and that he would behead those who dared say that he (the Prophet) was dead. It was with the coming of Abū Bakr (R.A.) to the spot and the recitation by him of some particular signs of the Quran that the Muslims knew of certainty that the Prophet was no more. (Naturally this situation must have remained for some considerable time.)
- (ii) After this, they did not have enough time to their disposal to lay him buried before the sunset.
- (iii) The room in which the Prophet (S.A.W.)'s holy body was lying was not spacious enough. At a time a very small number of people¹¹¹ could offer the funeral prayer. Hence it took all the Muslims including men, women and children in Madīnah a long time to offer the prayer in a number of small groups.

¹¹⁰ Relying on the authority of Ibn-Sād and Ibn Mājah, the author maintains that the burial took place on the evening of the 2nd of Rabi'-al-Awwal (Tuesday). See footnote p.184.

¹¹¹ According to Abū al-Kalam Āzād, at a time as many as ten persons could perform the funeral prayer. See Rasūl-i-Rahmat, Delhi, p.66

- (iv) The work^{of} grave digging started after his holy body was given bath and covered with coffin and all the Muslims offered the funeral prayer in groups in the same room where he breathed his last and where he was to be laid to rest. This also caused delay.¹¹²

The fourth chapter throws light on the Prophet's nature and temperament, his habits and manners, his routine works and social life, his food and dress, his likings and dislikings, his piety and devotion, his prayers and fasts, his love for God and trust in Him, his pious character and kind heartedness, his sense of justice and generosity, his policy of tolerance and non-violence etc.

The last chapter contains detailed accounts of his wives¹¹³ and children. The author, a man of wide reading, describes, inter alia, the Holy Prophet's good dealing with his wives of different nature and temperament, which may rightly be considered as a miracle of him.

Among Shibli's historical works is a booklet entitled "Bad' al-Islam" in Arabic. Primarily designed for the Arabic students of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, it was published perhaps in 1887. It contains brief accounts of the life of Muhammad (S.A.W.).

Besides, he wrote treatises on some most striking issues which include Kutubkhāna-i-Iskandariyah (Urdu), al-Jizyah¹¹⁴ (Urdu), Huquq

¹¹²For further details see Sirat-i-Nabi, Vol.2, pp.184-5-6, and Mukhtasar Sirat Ibn Hisham, 1977, pp.311, 316, 317.

¹¹³The author has not given account of Mariya Qibtiyah whom he does not regard as a maid of the Prophet (S.A.W.) but as his wife. See Sirat al-Nabi, Vol.1, p.472.

¹¹⁴It was translated into Arabic by Shibli himself. Sir Sayyid had it turned into English in order to make it accessible to non-Muslims and also to Western educated young Muslims who were misguided by orientalist and Christian missionaries.

al-Dhimmiyīn (Urdu) etc. and also reviewed Zaidān's "Tarīkh al-Tamaddun al-Islāmīyi" in Arabic. The review entitled "Al-Intiqād 'ala al-Tamaddun al-Islāmīyi" was published in 1911 and hailed in India and abroad.

A thorough study of the historical writings of Shibli leads one to conclude that in his works on Islamic history which he produced mainly to refute the baseless allegations against the life of the Prophet (S.A.W.) and his companions, to interpret Islam in its true perspective, to remove the erroneous impression from the minds of non-Muslims that Islam is an aggressive religion and to dispel the doubts entertained by westernized young Muslims about certain Islamic teachings, he rejected the frozen attitude of earlier historians and biographers who confined themselves to the mere description of the wars and conquests of Islam without making any effort to analyse causes and effects of the events. Instead he employed the methodology developed by himself which was "a synthesis of the traditional Islamic disciplines of chronicles and the Western discipline of objective analysis".¹¹⁵ A traditionalist marginally influenced by modernism, he insisted upon the application of common sense and reason in assessing the sources,¹¹⁶ laying equal emphasis on the analysis of causes and effects of the events. His style became so effective and popular that it was emulated by his pupil, Sayyid Sulaymān Nadvī and others.

¹¹⁵ See Islam and Modernism in India and Pakistan, p.77.

¹¹⁶ Ibid 79. Also see Habibullah, A.B.M.; Historical writings in Urdu, in Philips, C.H.; Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, London, 1962, p.487.

Sayyid Sulaymān Nadvī was born at a village of Patna called "Dasna" on 22nd November 1884.¹¹⁷ He received his early education at home from a teacher of his own village named Sayyid Masūd 'Alī. With his father, Sayyid Abu-al-Hasan, an able physician, setting up in practice at Islāmpūr, Patna, he pursued his studies under the care of his elder brother who taught him some Persian and Arabic books like Mīzān, Munshā'ib, Ṣarf-i-Mīr, Fuṣūl-i-Akbarī and Sharḥ-i-Mullā Jāmī. His other teachers were Shāh Muḥi Uddīn Maulānā 'Abd-al-Raḥmān, Maulavī Murtada Ḥusayn of Deoband, Maulavī Fidā' Ḥusayn etc. Like Shibli, he also had the honour of being a disciple of Maulānā Muḥammad Fārūq, a man of great erudition and learning, who influenced him greatly.

In 1902 when he was studying at Dār-al-'Ulūm Nadwah, Lucknow, he had the privilege to see, for the first time, 'Allāmah Shibli Numānī, a profound scholar of his time, who had come to Lucknow to visit Nadwah, a well-known institution of Islamic sciences. Two years later when Shibli again paid a visit to Nadwah, Sayyid Sulaymān Nadvī was introduced to him by Maulavī Muḥammad Amīn. Shibli felt much pleased to meet him.

A man of deep and wide learning with a dexterous and facile pen, Sayyid Sulaymān was entrusted in 1907, with the sub-editorship of the Urdu magazine "al Nadwah" which had to start in 1904. The following year he was appointed Lecturer in Arabic in Dār al-'Ulūm, Nadwah, Lucknow. He also worked as an Assistant Professor in Persian in the Deccan College, Puna, from January 1914 to November 1915 when,

¹¹⁷ See Dasnawī, 'Abd-al-Qawī; Yādgar-i-Sulaymān, Patna, 1984, p.20 and Hayāt-i-Sulaymān, p.4.

having tendered his resignation, he came to Azamgarh and set himself to accomplishing the stupendous task — to give finishing touch to the comprehensive biography of the Prophet (S.A.W.) — with which he had been entrusted by Shibli at the time of the latter's death in 1914. And of this uphill task he acquitted himself very creditably.

In order to transform the dream of Shibli into reality, Sulayman first established, in June 1916, the Ma'arif press, whose first publication was the Urdu literary monthly "Ma'arif" which appeared in July 1916. It was in this press that the first volume of Sirat-al-Nabi by Shibli was posthumously printed in 1918 with the financial assistance of Sultān Jahān Bēgam of Bhōpāl.

A scholar of purely literary taste, Sulaymān Nadvi did not stand aloof from politics. Whenever the occasion arose, he took an active part in it. He staunchly supported the Khilafat movement and vehemently advocated its cause in the House of Commons, London, which he and other dignitaries like Maulānā Muḥammad Ālī, Sayyid Ḥusayn etc. attended in 1920. He remained associated with other political parties such as the Jamīyat-al-'Ulamā' and the Indian National Congress. In 1926 when Sultān 'Abd-al-'Azīz of al-Hijāz demolished some holy spots of Madīnah, he, accompanied by Kifāyat Ullah, Maulānā Shabbīr Aḥmad 'Uthmānī, Maulānā Muḥammad Ālī, Maulānā Shaukat Ālī and others arrived in Jiddah to dissuade the Sultān from his sacrilegious acts and present before him true Islamic democratic system of government. On the invitation of the Afghān Government he left in 1933 for Afghānistān, where he had a good fortune to meet Nādir Shāh.

Gifted with a high literary taste, he devoted more time to literary activities than to political ones. Among his literary activities was to deliver lectures on different topics, giving priority to the biography of the Prophet (S.A.W.) on which he gave eight lectures, in Madras in 1925, which were first published in 1926 in a book form entitled "Khutbat-i-Madras" (Lectures of Madras). For this purpose he also travelled in 1933, to Baroda, where he delivered an extensive lecture on the life of Muhammad (S.A.W.) in the hall¹¹⁸ of the Baroda College (the present M S University). In recognition of his great and valuable contribution to Islamic sciences, Dr Diyā'-al-Dīn, the then Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University, conferred on him the honorary degree of doctorate in 1943. He performed the Hajj in 1949 and migrated in the following year to Karachi, where he passed away on 23rd of November, 1953.¹¹⁹

A voracious reader, a prolific writer as well as a gifted historian and biographer, he produced a number of scholarly works particularly relating to the history of Islam. His works on Islamic history include "Sirat-i-'Aishah", "Sirat al-Nabi" in five volumes (3 to 7), Khutbat-i-Madras, Rahmat-i-'Alam etc.

Sirat-i-'Aishah (Biography of 'Aishah) was written in 1917 but published in 1920. In writing this book the author has consulted most authentic works such as al-Bukhari, al-Muslim, Abū Dāwūd, Musnad of Ahmad, Tabaqāt of Ibn Sad, Tadhkirat al-Huffaz, Fath al-Bārī, al-

¹¹⁸This hall is now called "Prēmanand Hall".

¹¹⁹See Hayāt-i-Sulaymān, pp.595, 599 and Sayyid Sabahuddin; Maulānā Sayyid Sulaymān ki Tasānif (Ek Muṭāla) Vol.1, 1988, p.27.

Mustadrak of Ḥakīm, Ainal-Isābah by Jalāl Uddīn-al-Suyūṭī etc. Though written under various heads, it can be divided into five main chapters - the first covering 'Āishah's birth, her marriage, education, house-keeping, her behaviour with co-wives and step daughters, the event of falsehood (Ifk), prohibition (Tahrīm), Īlā' and choice (Takhyir) as well as her widowhood; the second taking an account of political crises and disturbances which erupted during the Caliphates of 'Uthmān (R.A.) and 'Alī (R.A.) and the key role played by her to eradicate them as well as her march towards Basrah for the purpose of reformation, where the unexpected battle of camel took place between the troops of 'Āishah (R.A.) and 'Alī (R.A.); the third depicting her virtues and manners; the fourth dealing with the interpretations made by her of some verses of the Qurān, her profound and deep knowledge of the sayings of the Prophet (S.A.W.) and the careful deduction of various important jurisprudential issues in the light of the Quran and Hadith along with her acquaintance with history, geneology, medicine, literature, oratory and poetry of the ancient Arabs; the fifth treating of her religious school (madrasah) and Iftā'.

The first chapter deals with her name, title, geneology and family. Opinions are divided as to her birth as its actual date is unknown. Ibn Sa'd and others hold that she was born in the beginning of 8 B.H. The author, vitiating this view, maintains that she was born at the end of the fifth year of the prophethood - July 614 A.C. and was married while she was six. On the contrary, 'Abbās Mahmūd Al-Aqqād puts his birth in 610 A.C. or even before this, according to which 'Āishah was between twelve and fifteen at the time of her wedding. He writes thus :

"We are of the view that 'Āishah's age was neither less than twelve nor above fifteen at the time of her wedding. According to some narratives of Ibn Sa'd, 'Āishah's Nikāḥ was held while she was of seven or nine, and the wedding took place five years later between the age of twelve and fifteen years".¹²⁰

Making comment on the statement of Ibn Sa'd, al-Āqqād observes: "that Nikāḥ was held at the age of six years, seems implausible because Khaulah-bint-Hakīm might have mentioned the name of 'Āishah to the Prophet (S.A.W.) who had lost Khadījah while she had reached the age of maturity. It sounds inadmissible that Khaulah might have advised Prophet (S.A.W.) to marry a girl who was to mature after four or five years. The chief object behind this advice was to pacify the grief and sorrow of the Prophet (S.A.W.) and she never meant that he should marry 'Āishah four or five years later."¹²¹

Before dealing with the conjugal relations between Aishah and the Prophet (S.A.W.) the author takes a brief account of the status of woman in the East and the West whose conception regarding her was poles apart. In the East woman was considered impure and an impediment to human progress. On the contrary the westerners regarded her as God or equal to Him. The learned author thereafter compares the conditions of woman in the East and the West with those in Islam and tries to show that Islam takes woman neither as impure nor as God or equal to Him. Islam's balanced conception of woman is that she is a

¹²⁰ 'Āishah (Urdū translation), Allāhābād, p.73.

¹²¹ Ibid p.73-74.

pacifying partner of man in the world. In support of his view he quotes from the Qurān certain verses which reads :

"Of His signs is that He created for you from your souls wives so that you may feel at home with them, and He established love and mercy between you."¹²²

The author has confined himself to quoting only one verse of the Qurān but in fact the verses and the sayings of the Prophet (S.A.W.) regarding woman are galore, which show that no religion other than Islam has given her such a high status in society. It is a well known fact that in the Pre-Islamic period it was customary to bury girls alive, considering them as an insult and disgrace or economic burden. We may cite the instance of Qais-b-Āsim, Chief of the Banū Tamīm, who was the founder of this illdoomed practice. The Quran also attests it by condemning this mercilessly merderous practice in such terms, "Slay your children not out of the fear of poverty."¹²³

Although this custom was not prevalent among all the tribes, being confined to some of them, yet a common practice among the Arabs was that the birth of girls was marked with grief and sorrow while that of boys was celebrated by organizing functions. Contrary to this, Islam taught that the Muslims should manifest no grief and sorrow on the birth of girls and regard them as gifts from God. God condemns in the Qurān those marking the birth of girls with sorrow in the following terms :

"When anyone of them is given glad tidings of girl, his face turns

¹²²The Qurān 30 : 21.

¹²³The Qurān 17 : 31.

black owing to grief and sorrow. He hides his face, considering her as disgrace for him, and thinks whether he should bear this insult or bury her alive. Beware! What a wrong notion they form."¹²⁴

Then the author takes up the conjugal relations of the Prophet (S.A.W.) and 'Aishah which was based on mutual love and sincerity. The author describes not only their harmonious conjugal relationship based on love and sincerity but also sheds light on its cause. He writes that love between them was not on account of Aishah's beauty because the Prophet's other wives such as Zainab-bint-Jahsh, Juwairiyah and Safiyah, were no less beautiful. Its main reason lay in her devotion to religious services which is testified to by a saying of the Prophet (S.A.W.) narrated by Abū Hurayrah. It reads thus :

"Marriage can be contracted with a woman on the basis of her four qualities i.e. (i) her wealth, (ii) her noble geneology, (iii) her beauty, (iv) and her religion, (but) choose a religious minded woman -----"¹²⁵

The argument of the author in this respect is correct. A cursory glance at the life sketch of 'Aishah (R.A.) shows that she was endowed with all the above four qualities, and the main reason for the Prophet's passionate love with her was really her earnest devotion to her religious duties and her gifted power of deduction of jurisprudential issues.

¹²⁴The Qurān 16 : 58, 59.

¹²⁵Intekhāb-i-Sihāh-i-Sittah, 1970, p.221-222.

Thereafter the author makes comments on some wrong and doubtful narratives. According to a Hadīth which is recorded in Abū Dāūd, Nasāī, Musnad of Ahmad and other books, once Āishah broke the bowl or cup sent by Safiyah to the Prophet (S.A.W.) out of rivalry. This saying has been considered unreliable by him for its not being mentioned in al-Bukhārī and al-Muslim and its first and second narrators being untrustworthy according to Ibn Hāzīm and Imām Ahmad.

Another saying in which bitter and harsh conversation between Āishah and Zainab-bint-Jahsh is narrated is also doubtful. The author says that although this saying is related by Anas in al-Muslim, it nevertheless sounds weak and unreliable and the reason therefor is that Anas who had stopped to enter the private rooms of the Prophet's wives since 5 A.H. was not present on the spot of the event which took place after 5 A.H. The narrative chain therefore does not reach the last and final authority.

Still another saying in which Aishah and Hafsah are reported to be taunting Safiyah for her being a Jewish lady has also been declared doubtful by the author on account of its narrator, Ḥashim al-Kūfī, being unknown.

Having dealt with some doubtful and wrong sayings, the author dwells on the event of falsehood (Ifk) and shows that behind it were the hands of the hypocrites whose aim was to defame the families of the Prophet (S.A.W.) and Abū Bakr (R.A.), to sow the seeds of dissension in Islam as well as to sap the social unity and harmony of Islam.

In the second chapter the author speaks of the role played by Aishah during the regimes of 'Uthmān (R.A.) and 'Alī (R.A.) in order to quell the rebellion by the Egyptians among whom was his step brother, Muḥammad b-Abū Bakr whom she tried her level best to prevent from indulgence in causing disturbance and disorder in Islam and rising against 'Uthmān (R.A.) but in vain. The author also proves with reference to various sources that 'Aishah (R.A.) who headed a troop towards Baṣra, aimed at reformation and bringing about compromise between 'Alī (R.A.) and others and nothing else but some members of the Banū Umayyah with self interest exploited the situation and tried to put obstacle in her mission and to add to the difficulties of 'Alī (R.A.). On the other hand the followers of 'Abdullah b-Sabā were also creating problems.

It is a fact and if we turn over the pages of history we shall arrive at the following conclusion :

- (i) That the main object of 'Aishah's reformatory mission was to prosecute the murderers of 'Uthmān and thus to bring about peace and compromise between the parties of Islam but the two elements - the Umayyads and the Sabais - fanned the fire of war for their self-interest which resulted in the death of Moslems by Moslems first time in the history of Islam.
- (ii) That there was no clash based on any personal grudge between 'Aishah (R.A.) and 'Alī (R.A.) as no speech delivered by 'Aishah (R.A.) in Baṣrah bears a single word against 'Alī (R.A.). If there had been any grudge between them, they would have never met each other during the war, and 'Alī (R.A.) as well as Ḥusayn (R.A.) might have never seen her off with regard and respect for al-Hijāz.

In this very chapter the author sheds light on the burial of Hasan (R.A.) regarding which the Shi'a historians have provided false information. He says that it is mentioned in the old copy of the Persian translation of *Tārīkh al-Tabarī* that 'Āishah, riding on a white ass, herself came out to prevent the funeral of Hasan (R.A.) and soldiers shot arrows then came her brother who said to her that she had prepared herself for another battle (in addition to the battle of camel). The author says that these sentences are additional and are not found in the original Arabic copy of Vol.VII. Al-Ya'qūbī also records it without giving reference to any authority. Besides, the author also refutes Abu al-Fidā' who quotes 'Āishah (R.A.) as saying "This is my property, and I shall not allow anyone to be buried here", and tries to prove on the authority of Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr and al-Suyūṭī that 'Āishah (R.A.) had willingly given permission to Hasan (R.A.) for being buried in her private chamber even when the latter was alive but it was Marwan who opposed it by arguing that since 'Uthmān (R.A.) was not let buried in it, Hasan's body would also not be allowed to be earthed in it.

The third chapter of the book consists of her contentment, her obedience to the husband, her refrain from self-praise and backbiting, her sense of justice, her generosity and piety and so on.

The fourth chapter is related to the interpretation of some important passages of the Quran and the sayings of the Prophet (S.A.W.) her principles in the deduction of jurisprudential issues, her logic and beliefs and her acquaintance with medicine, history, literature, oratory and poetry of the Arabs.

In the last chapter the author throws light on her method of teaching and produced the list of her students both men and women such as Asmā' bint 'Abdul Raḥmān, Jasrah, Ḥafṣah bint 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Fāṭimah bint Abī Jaish, 'Aishah bint Talḥah, 'Urwah b-Zubayr, Qasim b-Muḥammad, Abū Salmah, Masrūq al-Kufī etc.

The book closes with the contribution she made to uplift the status of women.

The third volume of *Sirat-al-Nabī* first appeared in 1924. In this pioneering work the author explains the reality of miracles in the light of the Qurān, modern and ancient philosophy and describes the characteristics of prophethood, prophetic dreams, the events of *Sharḥ-al-Ṣadr* or *Shaqq-al-Ṣadr*¹²⁶ and the *Mirāj*, prophecies about the Prophet Muḥammad in the earlier scriptures. In a separate chapter the author also makes a critical study of some reliable narratives regarding miracles. That apart this volume contains a lengthy chapter entitled "*Dalā'il-o-Mujazāt aur 'Aqliyyāt-i-Jadīdah*" by 'Abdul Bārī Nadvī, retired professor of modern philosophy, 'Uthmānia University, Ḥayderābād, India. In this chapter the celebrated writer takes a detailed account of miracles in the light of modern rationalism, analysing the thoughts and views of western philosophers.

One of the miracles of the Prophet Muḥammad, discussed in this voluminous work, is *Shaqq-al-Ṣadr*. There is divergence of opinion as to whether it took place only once or more than once. A careful study of various traditions concerning it reveals that *Shaqq-al-Ṣadr* took

¹²⁶ According to him both the terms are synonymous.

place on five occasions - (i) when the Prophet was three, four or five years old and was being brought up at the house of Ḥalimah, (ii) when he reached the tenth year of his age, (iii) when he was of twenty years, (iv) when the first revelation was made to him, (v) on the occasion of the Mirāj (the ascent to heaven).¹²⁷

Ḥafiz-b-Ḥajar rejects the tradition which tells that the heart of the Prophet (S.A.W.) was opened up when he was twenty and believes that it happened four times.¹²⁸ Imām Suhailī of Raud-al-Anf holds that the opening up of Muḥammad's heart was performed by the angel Gabriel on two occasions - once when he was five years and a second time on the occasion of the Mirāj. Qādī Ayād maintains that it took place only once when he was an infant. As for the author, his statement regarding this is not clear. He seems to take Shaqq-al-Sadr as Sharḥ-al-Sadr which suggest according to him, to make one understand the reality of a thing.¹²⁹ The author also seems to believe that Sharḥ-al-Sadr as termed by him took place on the only occasion of the Mirāj.¹³⁰

Of much greater importance among the prophet's miracles is the event of the Mirāj (the ascent to heaven). Opinions are divided as to its date, number and nature. Ibn Ishāq has noted it before dealing with the deaths of Abū Ṭalib and Khadijah,¹³¹ from which it can be

¹²⁷See Sīrat-al-Nabī, Vol.III, p.484.

¹²⁸Ibid p.485.

¹²⁹Ibid p.499.

¹³⁰Ibid p.504.

¹³¹See Al-Zabi, Muḥammad Afīf, Mukhtaṣar Sīrah Ibn Hishām, Beirut, 1977, pp.75, 77.

inferred that, according to him, the Mirāj took place three years before the Hijrah (the migration of the Prophet to Madīnah in 622 A.D.). Hāfiz b-Kathīr also shares this view.¹³² Qādī Ayād is of the view that it occurred five years before the Hijrah.¹³³ Our author holds that it ensued about a year before the Prophet migrated to Madīnah in 622 A.D.¹³⁴ Maulānā Abu-al-Kalām Āzād,¹³⁵ Qādī Muḥammad Thanā'ullah 'Uthmānī,¹³⁶ Abū-al-Ālā Maudūdī,¹³⁷ Muḥammad Husayn Haikal¹³⁸ and Muḥammad Ridā¹³⁹ also subscribe to this view.

A tradition related by al-Kalbī who is regarded as untrustworthy tells us that the heavenly journey was made by the Prophet (S.A.W.) when he was asleep in Umm Hānī's house at night. Muḥammad Husayn Haikal also holds the same view.¹⁴⁰ The learned author refutes this tradition and maintains on the authority of al-Bukhārī and al-Muslim that the Prophet (S.A.W.) was sleeping that night in that part of the Kabah which is known as Hījr or Ḥaṭīm.¹⁴¹

Some commentators and biographers believe that the Prophet (S.A.W.) made the heavenly journey two times - once when he was sleeping at Ḥaṭīm and the second time when he was asleep in the house of Umm Hānī.¹⁴²

¹³²See Sirat-al-Nabī, Vol.III, p.401.

¹³³Ibid p.402.

¹³⁴Ibid p.403.

¹³⁵See Tarjumān al-Qurān, Lahore, 1936, p.346.

¹³⁶See Tafsīr-i-Mazharī, Vol.10, Delhi, 1969, p.19.

¹³⁷See Tafhīm-al-Qurān, Vol.2, Delhi, 1963, pp.586, 588.

¹³⁸See Ḥayātu Muḥammad, 13th edition, Cairo, p.189.

¹³⁹See Muḥammad Rasūlullāh, Bierut, 1975, p.114.

¹⁴⁰See Ḥayātu Muḥammad, 13th edition, Cairo, p.189.

¹⁴¹See Sirat-al-Nabī, Vol.III, p.410.

¹⁴²See 'Uthmānī, Qādī Muḥammad Thanā' Ullah, Tafsīr-i-Mazharī, Vol.7, Delhi, 1969, p.19.

Besides, some biographers hold that the first journey is known as the *Isrā'* while the second as the *Mirāj*.¹⁴³ The author does not take this view as true. According to him, it occurred only once, and the *Isrā'* and the *Mirāj* are indicative of the same journey. To substantiate his argument he quotes *Ḥafiz-b-Kathir* who regards the above view as groundless and untrue. The learned author seems justifiable in his argument because the term *Isrā'* is applied, as *Mawlānā Ashraf^{Alī} Thānavī* says, to the nocturnal journey made by the Prophet between the sacred mosque of *Kabah* and the farther mosque at *Jerusalem* whereas his ascent to heaven is termed "*Mirāj*", and sometimes both the words are used in the same meaning.¹⁴⁴

It is also disputed whether the night journey to heaven was performed by the Prophet (S.A.W.) physically or in spirit. Some believe that the Prophet made the heavenly journey in spirit while others hold that he was carried corporeally. Some biographers opine that he was transported bodily to *Jerusalem*, but no farther, and that he ascended thence to heaven in spirit only.¹⁴⁵ Others suppose he was carried both in the body and in spirit.¹⁴⁶ According to another view, it was no more than a vision. The orthodox opinion is that it was no vision but the Prophet (S.A.W.) undertook it with his body and he was awake.¹⁴⁷ The author shares this very orthodox and

¹⁴³ See *Sīrah-al-Nabī* Vol.III, p.397.

¹⁴⁴ See *Bayān-al-Qurān*, Vol.2, Delhi, 1353 A.H., p.71.

¹⁴⁵ See *Haikal Muḥammad Husain*, p.189 and also the chapter of the night journey in *Salé, George; The Koran*, London.

¹⁴⁶ See *Ridā, Muḥammad; Muḥammad Rasūlullāh*, pp.115-16.

¹⁴⁷ See *Maudūdī, Abu-al-Ālā, Tafhīm-al-Qurān*, Vol. II, Delhi, 1963, p.589.

received view and quotes in his favour the arguments of al-Tabarī, al-Razī and others. The most convincing arguments of al-Tabarī are as under:

- (1) If the Prophet has not been carried away in a corporeal sense the event would afford no proof of his divine mission and those who disbelieved the story could not be accused of infidelity,
- (2) It is stated in the Qurān that God caused His servant to journey, not that He caused His servant's spirit to journey,
- (3) If the Prophet had been carried away in spirit only, the services of Burāq would not have been required since animals are used for carrying bodies not for carrying spirits.¹⁴⁸

Muhammad Ridā brings forth another important point by saying that if the ascension had been performed by the Prophet in spirit, he would have explained it and the Quraysh might have not denied it.¹⁴⁹

The fourth volume which was first published in 1932 is related to the Islamic faith which involves the belief in God, His angels, His books, His prophets, hereafter and the Divine Decree of good and evil. The learned author makes a comprehensive, rather an exhaustive study of each of them under separate headings.

Like other volumes, this volume too contains a lengthy preface which is divided into two sections. In the first section the author

¹⁴⁸ Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol.II, Leyden, 1927, p.554. Also see Sirat-al-Nabi Vol.III, pp. 433-34-35.

¹⁴⁹ See Muhammad Rasūlullāh, pp.120, 121.

speaks of the importance and reality of prophethood, infallability of prophets, the mission of the Prophet Muhammad, kinds of revelation etc., whereas the second section takes a detailed account of the cultural and social history of the Persians, Romans, Hindus, Jews and Arabs before Islam.

While dealing with the cultural history of Persia where there was conception of two gods, and where fire and planets were also worshipped, the author, a man of deep and wide learning, writes referring to "History of Persia" by Malcolm and other sources that marriage with daughters and sisters was lawful among the Persians. To illustrate further he cites Yazdjurd the second who married his daughter.¹⁵⁰ Besides, kings were regarded as gods and prostration was made before them.¹⁵¹ Manes preached celibacy and monasticism. According to the devilish doctrines of Mazdak the wife of a particular person could be shared by other persons of the society.¹⁵²

In Rome, he notes relying on the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire by Gibbon, The Koran by George Sale and other important and authentic sources, the doctrine of Trinity was prevalent. In addition, planets, idols, gods, deities, graves of saints were adored. The images of Jesus Mary and Ruh-al-Quds (Gabriel) were also the objects of worship.¹⁵³ Celibacy, monasticism and other superstitious doctrines such as pledge not to take bath throughout life were widely practised.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁰ See Nadvi, Sayyid Sulayman, Vol.IV, Azamgarh, p.214.

¹⁵¹ Ibid p.214.

¹⁵² See Ibid p.215.

¹⁵³ See Sale, George; The Koran, London, 1877, p.25.

The social condition of the Indians was not better than this. In India too, idols, trees, different gods, deities and images were worshipped. The number of gods which was thirty three in the Vedas rose to thirty three crores in the Sixth Century A.D. A woman had a number of husbands.¹⁵⁵ Naked men and women were worshipped. Scheduled castes were deprived of all human rights. They were not allowed even to enter temples. Melting lead was poured into their ears on their trying to hear the Shlokas of the Vedas. Women's plight in particular, was highly deplorable, the Sati custom¹⁵⁶ (burning of women alive in fire after the death of her husband) being practised among the Hindus.¹⁵⁷

Similarly the author writes on the authority of the Qur'ān (4:51) that the Jews would believe in demons and idols and like the Christians, they would also regard 'Uzair as the son of God.¹⁵⁸

The learned author then proceeds to discuss in detail the social condition of the Arabs, their ideas and beliefs at the time of the rise of Islam. A tribe of the Arabs which was, he says, ruling over Hīrah was deeply impressed and influenced by the religion and culture of the Persians. Another tribe known as "Ghassanids" had accepted Christianity and adopted the Roman culture. The impact of

¹⁵⁴For details see Nadvi, Sayyid Sulaymān, *Sīrat-al-Nabī* Vol.IV, Azamgarh, pp.221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229.

¹⁵⁵See Dutt, R.C., *The Mahābhārata*, Bombay, 1966, p.28.

¹⁵⁶The Sati practice came to an end on 4th December, 1829.

¹⁵⁷See Dutt, R.C.; *The Ancient India*, Vol. III, pp.276, 281, 342, 343.

¹⁵⁸See *Sīrat al-Nabī*, Vol. IV, pp.243, 245 and the Qur'ān 9:30.

Judaism was also traceable on the thoughts and beliefs of those Arabs dwelling in Madinah, Khaybar etc. On the contrary the Arabs who lived in other parts of Arabia would worship idols, stones, trees, the sun, the moon and other planets, angels, jinns, ghosts, satans etc. They believed that angels were the daughters of God who would intercede for their worshippers on the Day of Judgement. Despite this, the conception of one God was also found among them.

While describing the social condition of the Arabs at the time of the rise of Islam, the author writes that drinking, gambling, usury, plundering, warfare, adultery etc. were in wide vogue in their society; girls were buried alive and women were deprived of rightful inheritance. But inspite of all these evils, they were, the author observes, endowed with such qualities as were unknown to other nations of the world, and it was due to these rare peculiar qualities that God chose them for His divine mission and prophethood. One of their peculiarities was that their majority was influenced neither by magianism nor by christianity nor by judaism, but instead the religious persons were the followers of the religion preached by Ibrāhīm. Besides, bravery, fearlessness, truthfulness, enthusiasm, practicality etc. were the main characteristics of the Arabs.

Among the causes of the rapid spread of Islam, the author maintains, was the Quran which was a miracle in itself on account of its unique and fascinating style, the declining political and social conditions of the Iranians, Romans, Hindus, Jews and Arabs and above all the clean personality as well as pious character of the Prophet who was popularly known as "Amin" (the Faithful). Another most

important reason was the universality of the teachings of Islam which were open to all irrespective of caste, colour, status and region. Contrary to this, Hinduism, Judaism and Christianity, the author asserts, were confined to some particular nations and regions.

The learned author then embarks upon the basic faith of Islam which is the main topic of this work and studies them exhaustively. He also explains in detail the term "Barzakh" which literally means a barrier between two things and which is synonymous with "Qabr" (grave), the resting place of the dead bodies. In other words, Barzakh is actually applicable to a place or condition which serves as a barrier between the present life and hereafter.

In conclusion the learned author describes the effects of belief (Imān) which is composed of love of God, obedience of God and His prophet, welfare of neighbours and Muslim brethren, hospitality of guests etc., and lays emphasis on both belief and action.

The pioneering work of such a high order earned undelible fame for the author whose scholarly exposition of the Islamic faith deserves high appreciation. It shares the honour of being the first work of its kind on the subject in Urdu. The author makes use of English sources, besides Arabic ones, which is one of the distinct features of the book. Among the English sources utilized by him are History of Persia by Malcolm, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire by Gibbon, Muhammad by Margoliouth, Encyclopaedia Britanica, Encyclopaedia of Islam etc. Besides, there are also some shortcomings in this voluminous work. One of them is that the author often quotes

his sources without mentioning the date of their publication and renders the original title into Urdu. As a result, the reader is put to difficulties in obtaining original references. He should have given either only the original title or original titles with the Urdu version.

The fifth volume appeared in 1935 (1354 A.H.). The author, a man of great piety and devotion, discusses in it the importance of good deeds in Islam. According to him good deeds may be divided into three classes i.e. 'Ibādah (worship), Akhlāq (morality) and Mu'amalat (conduct), the former being directly concerned with God and the latter two with human beings. He further maintains that the term "Ibādah" has a very wide sense, covering all those deeds which are performed to win the pleasure of God; and in this sense Akhlāq and Mu'amalat also fall in the category of "Ibādah" provided they are done with the intention of pleasing Him.

The author then makes a detailed study of "Ibādah", giving a brief account of the concept of worship before Islam. In this context he sheds a flood of light on the religious practices and customs of the Arabs, the Jews and the Christians. Thereafter he explains the true concept of "Ibādah" in Islam, which, as he maintains, means to express humility and in Shari'ah (Islamic Law) implies to discharge the services of God.

The learned author afterwards discusses in detail the five pillars of Islam i.e. the Salāt (prayer), the Ṣaum (fasting), the Zakāt (poor tax), the Ḥajj (pilgrimage) and the Jihād (holy war)

under separate headings. First he dwells on "Salāt"¹⁵⁹ which constitutes a most important part of Islamic faith. Referring to the Quran he says that the Salāt was preached and observed by all the prophets preceding Muhammad (S.A.W.). He cites Ibrahim (A.S.) who settled his son, Ismā'īl (A.S.), at Makkah in order that he and his people might establish the Salāt¹⁶⁰ and then Ismā'īl (A.S.) who bade his people to observe it.¹⁶¹ Similarly he quotes Shu'ayb (A.S.) (The Qur'ān 11:87), Lūṭ, Ishāq and Ya'qūb (A.S.) (ibid 21:73), Luqman (ibid 31:17), Mūsā and Hārūn (A.S.) (ibid 20:14, 10:87), Zakariya (ibid 3:39) and 'Isā-Jesus-(ibid 14:31), who not only observed the prayer but also enjoined their peoples and followers to perform it. The Old Testament,¹⁶² the Psalms¹⁶³ and New Testament¹⁶⁴ also attest this fact. In order to make his statement even more weighty the author refers to such traditions as testify to the fact that the Salah was performed even by the Jews and the Christians before Islam.

¹⁵⁹It seems to be derived from the Aramaic term "Selota", which means the act of bowing. See "Salāt" in Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol.IV, Leyden, 1934, p.96; and Hitti, Philip K., History of the Arabs, London, 1972, p.131.

On the contrary, Rāghib al-Isfahānī notes that some scholars think it to be derived from the term "Sila" hence "Ṣalla-al-Rajul" means that the man saved himself from the fire of Hell, just as marrada signifies to remove disease. Salāt is also used in the meaning of the place of worship of the Jews in the Qur'ān (22:40).

Raghib considers Salāt to be synonymous with Du'ā' (prayer). See al-Isfahānī, Rāghib, Mufradāt al-Qur'ān (Urdu translation), Lahore, 1968, pp.526-27.

¹⁶⁰The Qur'ān 14:40.

¹⁶¹Ibid 19:55.

¹⁶²Genesis 12:8, 17:3, 18:2, 22, 24:26, 26:25, Exodus 4:31.

¹⁶³5:7

¹⁶⁴Mathew 6:5, 17:21, Luke 22:41.

He goes on to say that the Ṣalāh was observed in its distorted form by some Christians and Jews living in Arabia as is attested by a verse of the Qur'ān.¹⁶⁵ Besides, some Hanafites¹⁶⁶ dwelling in Arabia, he says, would also offer the Ṣalah. One of them was Zaid-b-ʿAmr who would often say, "O Lord, I do not know how to worship," and after saying this he used to raise the palms of his hands and bow his head on them.¹⁶⁷ Another Hanafite was Abū Dhar al-Ghifārī who would observe the Ṣalāt during the night before he embraced Islam.¹⁶⁸ The author then quotes a line by an Arab poet belonging to the Jāhiliyah period which indicates that the Hanafites would offer the Ṣalāt in the latter part of the night.¹⁶⁹ He further notes that the infidels were also aware of the Ṣalāt, yet they did not perform it, strictly adhering to idol worshipping.

Discussing the preliminary forms of the Ṣalāh the author, a man of wide learning, refers to a verse of the Sūrah, Muddaththir and takes it as the basis of the Ṣalāh. He claims that Qiyām (standing position), Rukū' (bowing) and Sijdah (prostration) are proved not only by the Qur'ān but by the Old Testament and the Psalms as well.¹⁷⁰ He further adds that the times of the Ṣalāh are also proved by the Qur'ān and the sayings of the Prophet. He holds that indication of the morning prayer is found in certain Surahs of the Qur'ān like Tāḥā, Tūr, Dahr, Hud, Qāf, Rūm, Nūr; that of the noon

¹⁶⁵3:113

¹⁶⁶The followers of Ibrāhīm's religion.

¹⁶⁷Sīrat-al-Nabī, Vol.V, Aẓamgarh, 1975, p.41.

¹⁶⁸See Al-Muslim, Faḍāil Abi Dhar.

¹⁶⁹See Sīrat-al-Nabī, Vol.V, p.41.

¹⁷⁰Ibid pp.58, 59.

prayer in Dahr, Qāf, Tāhā, Isrā' and Rūm; that of the afternoon prayer in Baqarah, Dahr, Hūd, Tāhā, Qāf and Rūm; that of the evening prayer in Hud, Tāhā, Rūm and Qāf; and that of the night prayer in Muzzammil, Tūr, Dahr, Tāhā, Hūd, Rūm, Qāf and Hūd.

That apart, some traditions are also cited by him. According to one of the sayings recorded in al-Bukhārī, the Prophet (once) told his companions, "Gabriel came to me and led me in the Ṣalāt, and I observed it (under his guidance) five times". Another tradition tells us that once a Bedouin came to the Prophet by traversing a long distance and said to him, "O Prophet, your messenger has told (us) that the Ṣalāt is to be performed five times daily, is it correct?" The Prophet replied, "Yes, it is correct -----" ¹⁷¹

The second pillar of Islam is the Zakāt whose root is disputed. Some authorities believe it to be derived from the Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac " *ṣṣ* " meaning to be pure both in the physical and in the moral sense, and alms is so called because it purifies the soul from meanness or even because it purifies wealth itself. ¹⁷² According to another view, it seems to be derived from Jewish usage (Hebrew - Aramaic Zakut - purity) ¹⁷³ Opinions are also divided on whether the word "Zakāt" was given the meaning of alms before Islam or whether it was specialized for this after Islam. Fraenkel suggest that the Jews of Arabia had already given this meaning before Islam whereas Noldeke believes that the specializing of the word for alms was due to

¹⁷¹For further details see *Sīrat-al-Nabī*, Vol.V, pp.100, 101, 102.

¹⁷²See Jaffery, Arthur : *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Quran*, Baroda, 1938, pp.152, 153.

¹⁷³See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol.IV, Leyden, 1934, p.1202.

Muhammad himself.¹⁷⁴ Shedding light on the origin of the Zakāt (poor-tax), the author asserts that it was prescribed in all the revealed religions. He further writes that from the Old Testament¹⁷⁵ and also from the Qurān¹⁷⁶ we learn that it was imposed upon the Jews. It was also obligatory, he says, for Ismā'īl and his people as is confirmed by the Qurān.¹⁷⁷ Jesus and his followers were also not exempted from it. In favour of his statement the author quotes some specific verses from the New Testament¹⁷⁸ and the Qurān.¹⁷⁹

The third pillar of Islam is Ṣaum, whose primary significance is abstaining in an absolute sense and includes abstaining from eating or speaking or moving about; thus a horse that abstains from moving about or from fodder, is said to be Saim, and wind is said to be Saum when it abates, and the day when it reaches the mid point; in the sense of abstaining from speech, the word is used in the Holy Quran in the early Makkah revelation : Say, I have vowed a fast to the Beneficent God, so I shall not speak to any man to-day (19:26).¹⁸⁰ In the technical language of the Islamic law, Ṣaum and Ṣiyām signify fasting or abstaining from food and drink and sexual intercourse from dawn till sunset.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁴ See The Foreign Vocabulary of the Quran, 1938, p.153.

¹⁷⁵ Exodus 30:13, 14, 15.

¹⁷⁶ 2:83 and 5:12.

¹⁷⁷ 19:55.

¹⁷⁸ See Luke 18:10, Mathew 19:24.

¹⁷⁹ 19:31.

¹⁸⁰ Maulānā, Muhammad 'Alī; The Religion of Islam, Lahore, 1936, p.477. See also the word "Ṣaum" in Ency. of Islam Vol. IV, 1934, p.193, Isfahānī, Rāghib; Mufradāt-al-Qurān (Urdū translation by Muhammad 'Abduh al-Firozpurī), Lahore, 1963, p.534 and Lane Edward William; Arabic English Lexicon Vol. IV, New Delhi, 1985, pp.1749-50.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

Scholars differ as to the source of Ṣaum. According to Fraenkel it has come from Hebrew, Noldeke thinks it to have come from Aramaic or Syriac and Mingana considers the Syriac form as its immediate source.¹⁸²

As for the origin of Ṣaum, it is unknown. But certain verses of the Bible and the Qurān point out that it was practised among the Jews and Christians. The author shares this view and in his favour he quotes a verse of the Qurān which runs : "the fasting was laid upon you just as it was imposed upon those before you", (2:183) and the verses of the Old Testament (Exodus 34:38, Samuel I 7:6) and the New Testament (Mathew 4:6, Mark 2:18). In addition to this, he writes on the authority of Musnad by Ahmad-b-Hanbal that the Arabs particularly the Quraishites would also observe the fasting on the 10th of Muḥarram.¹⁸³ In Islam Ṣaum was obligated in 2 A.H. at Madīnah.

While describing the Hajj¹⁸⁴ the author briefly discusses the sacrifice of Ismā'īl by his father, Ibrāhīm, at Marwah at Makkah.

One of the most important pillars of Islam is Jihād, which is often misinterpreted by the opponents of Islam and is considered as synonymous with "Qitāl" meaning war or fighting. They allege that

¹⁸²See The Foreign Vocabulary of the Quran, p.202.

¹⁸³See Sirat-al-Nabī Vol.V, p.214.

¹⁸⁴"Hajj" means to be-take oneself to or towards (a person) or (a place) or to visit. It is synonymous with Qaṣd. See Mufradāt-al-Qurān, p.204 and Arabic English Lexicon Vol.II, New Delhi, 1985, p.513.

Islam is a religion of violence and it spread by sword. Our author emphatically refutes this charge and tries to prove in the light of the Quran that this was never as such. He adds that in the Qurān the terms "Jihād" and "Qital" are used in different meanings.

"Jihād"¹⁸⁵ means to exert one's utmost power (in the path of God) while "Qital" signifies to fight against the enemy (in the way of God), which, though constituting a part of Jihād, is allowed only when obstruction is put in the way of preaching or when war is imposed upon the followers of Islam.¹⁸⁶

In the concluding chapter the learned author describes in detail the importance of piety, sincerity, trust in God, patience and gratitude in Islam. First published in 1938, the sixth volume which is spread over 872 pages forms an attempt towards the exposition of Islamic ethics. Among the other things it contains a preface in which the learned author deals with the importance of moral excellences in Islam, explains the philosophy of Islamic morality, determines the status of the Prophet, Muḥammad, as a moralist and describes the methods of his moral teachings. Thereafter he deals in detail with human rights, moral virtues and vices and concludes the pioneering work with throwing light on Islamic decorums and etiquettes of eating, meeting, gathering, talking, sleeping, wearing, travelling etc.

Every religion of the world whether it be Judaism or Christianity or Buddhism or Hinduism, has its own ethical system in

¹⁸⁵It is derived from Jahd or Juhd which literally means to take extraordinary pains. See Mufradāt-al-Qurān, p.193 and Arabic English Lexicon Vol.II, p.473.

¹⁸⁶See Sīrat-al-Nabi Vol.V, pp.300-301.

which emphasis is laid on some particular aspects of morality. In Judaism, the author says, the main stress is on only six things - respect of parents, forbidding of blood shedding, of committing adultery, of stealing, of bearing false witness against the neighbour, and of coveting the neighbour's house, his wife, his manservant, his maidservant and his other belongings.¹⁸⁷ In addition oppression of a stranger, a widow or a fatherless child is also condemned.¹⁸⁸

Christianity, the author observes, emphasizes ⁶modesty, grief, and suffering, mercy, patience, forbearance, love of enemies, etc. and neglects other qualities without which the establishment of peace and law and order on earth cannot be imagined.

Unlike them, the universal religion, Islam, insists on each and every aspect of ethics, covering all walks of life. Even religious duties such as the Salah, the Zakāt, the Ṣawm, the Ḥajj, consist in some particular ethical values. For instance, the Ṣalāt prevents one from evils, the Zakāt gives one the lesson of human sympathy, the Ṣawm teaches one piety and the Ḥajj is a means of improving morals through sacrifice and helping others in different ways. This fact, the author notes, can be estimated by a tradition in which the Prophet, Muḥammad, is reported to have said that he has been sent to fulfil moral excellences.¹⁸⁹ Besides, the author also quotes one of the verses of the Qurān which reads : (O, Muḥammad)

¹⁸⁷ See Exodus 20:12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid 22:21-22, 23:9.

¹⁸⁹ See Sirat-al-Nabi, p.3.

You are on a sublime morality.¹⁹⁰ In this connection the speeches delivered by Jafar before Negus and by Abū Sufyān at the court of the Roman emperor which bear mention of moral virtues preached by the Prophet are also cited. To illustrate further he refers to yet another most important tradition according to which morality is an article of faith and a person with noble disposition is dearest to God.¹⁹¹

In order to show that as compared to Judaism, Christianity and other religions, Islam attaches greater importance to ethics, the author gives a detailed list of Islamic ethics which include truthfulness, perseverance in the truth, forgiveness, forbearance, patience, thankfulness, sacrifice, generosity, prohibition of extravagance, doing good to relatives, to orphans, to neighbours and to the destitute, help of the poor and passersby, kindness towards slaves and prisoners, sympathy with the suffering, humanity to living creatures, fulfilment of promise, chastity, charity, obedience of parents, justice, true witness, prohibition of slaying children and others, brotherly love, tenderness for children and respect for age, protection of the wealth of orphans, abstinence from doing wrong, unlawfulness of adultery, prohibition of entering one's house without permission, dignity of labour, purity of heart, desisting from jealousy, backbiting and slander, prohibition of drinking and gambling, the return of good for evil etc.¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰The Qurān 68:4.

¹⁹¹See Sirat-al-Nabi, Vol.VI, 1975, pp.20-22.

¹⁹²For further details see ibid pp.121-22-23-24-25.

The author then proceeds to take a detailed account of Islamic ethics by dividing them into three main classes i.e. (i) Huqūq (rights), (ii) Fadā'il (excellences, virtues) and Radā'il (vices) (iii) as well as decorams and etiquettes.

A condensed and thorough study of this pioneering and challenging work reveals that the learned author endeavours in it to prove that Islam is not a religion of force or compulsion, but it is a religion of peace, giving prominence to humanity and morality. The study of the present volume will also help understand the true objectives of Islamic teachings and assess the importance the Prophet, Muḥammad (S.A.W.) attached to morality.

Originally published in 1980,¹⁹³ the seventh volume, though incomplete, of Sirat-al-Nabī is devoted to Muāmalāt. In it the learned author takes an account of the importance of Muāmalāt¹⁹⁴ in Islam alongwith the relevant aspects of Islamic history. The volume underreview contains, apart from a preface by the author and a foreword by Abū Ḥasan 'Alī al-Nadwī, four long and two small chapters. The first four deal with the importance of state in Islam, the purely Islamic system of government, relations between religion and state, and the rise of the Muslim community, while in the last two chapters the author, a man of deep learning, discusses kinds of the government of the world and the sovereignty of God in the universe. The work is designed in such a manner as to suit the taste of the present

¹⁹³Though out of the scope of our thesis, it has nevertheless been included in it for its being the last volume of the series of Sirat-al-Nabī started by Shibli.

¹⁹⁴The author uses the term "Muāmalāt" in a very wide sense, which covers politics, economics and sociology of Islam.

generation, seeking solution to latest problems of life in the light of the Qurān and Hadīth.

It is widely held that politics and religion are two different things. Our author does not subscribe to this view. According to him, politics which he takes as a boon from God is a part and parcel of religion, whose glaring example may be sought in the personality of the Prophet himself which was composed of Imāmat (leadership) and Nubu^wat (Prophethood) both. But by this statement of the author it should not be deduced that the main aim of the preachings of Islam was to gain political ascendancy. Classifying his argument the author maintains that one finds no word in the history of Islam providing any indication to this groundless assumption. The main objective of Islam, he claims, was to put an end to murder, oppression, plundering, corruption etc. and to establish peace and justice in the world. He further argues that if the Prophet had desired so, he would not have turned down the offer made by Utbah of being nominated the unopposed leader of the whole Arabia.¹⁹⁵

While discussing the political system of Islam, the learned author compares the Prophet with other great rulers of the world and tries to show that the systems evolved and adopted by the latter were all autocratic and in most cases despotic whereas that of the former was based on just and divine principles according to which there was no difference between the master and the slave, the ruler and the subjects, the black and the white, the poor and the rich etc.

¹⁹⁵ See Sīrat-al-Nabī, Vol.VII, Azamgarh, 1985, p.50.

To illustrate further the author quotes a tradition from Abū Dāūd, which tells that once upon a time the Prophet was distributing booty among his followers, a man came and threw himself upon the Prophet who unintentionally injured his (man's) face with his stick. But having noticed this, the Prophet said to him, "Come and take 'Qisās' (requit) from me". The man said, "I forgive you".¹⁹⁶ Can any other example to this effect be produced from the history of the world? Apart from this, the author cites several other traditions which prove that the Prophet abolished all types of distinction, set the examples of equality and justice, and granted all the Muslims irrespective of their status the right to give their counsel in important issues — a fact which was unknown to the Iranians and the Byzantines.¹⁹⁷

State and religion are considered two different things as mentioned above, but the author is against this view. He divides the state into two categories : (i) that which has no relation with religion and (ii) that which is based on religious teachings and principles. He adds that in Islam a ruler called Khalīfah¹⁹⁸ (successor to God on earth) is not a master but a protector of his subjects because he is not authorised to implement his own rules against those of God. That is why the adoption of the title of King or King of Kings by any ruler who is himself bound to follow the orders of God is strictly forbidden. Even the Prophet is not exempted from this.

¹⁹⁶ See Sīrat-al-Nabī, Vol.VII, p.75.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid pp.83, 95, 97.

¹⁹⁸ The term Khalīfah is derived from Khalf meaning to succeed.

Once the Prophate forbade a thing for himself, God said to him, "O Prophet, why do you forbid what God has rendered lawful to you ..."¹⁹⁹

As this subject was taken up by the author in his later days, it lacks elegance and flow which are the main characteristics of the style adopted by him in his earlier works. The main reasons therefor perhaps lay, as Abul Hasan 'Ali Nadvi observes, ^{in the fact} that a major part of it was written in unfavourable circumstances and that the author could not have access to the rich library of Dār-al-Muṣannifīn partly due to his illness and partly because of his being settled at Bhōpāl. However, it throws considerable light on the political aspect of Islam and its importance in this scientific age. The work, though incomplete, invites the attention of scholars towards making a more detailed and comprehensive study of the subject in the true light of the Quran and the traditions of the Prophet (S.A.W.).

On the invitation of the Muslim Educational Association of South India, Madras, Sayyid Sulaymān Nadvī delivered eight lectures on the various aspects of the life of the Prophet, Muhammad (S.A.W.), in October/November 1925, which were originally published in 1926. These lectures are better known as Khutbat-i-Madras. They were translated into English under the title "The Living Prophet" which was published in Karāchī, Pākistān.

In the first lecture the author highlights the importance of prophets and the vital role played by them in imparting spiritual and ethical guidance to mankind. He asserts that prophets who have spiritual relations with God are the only source of bringing about

¹⁹⁹See The Qurān 66:1.

reforms and revolution in social set up and spiritual values. The lives of prophets in general and that of Muḥammad in particular may still serve as a model for the uplift of social, spiritual and moral values.

In the second lecture Sayyid Sulaymān Nadvī takes an account of the lives and teachings of prophets and other founders of religion such as Zoroaster, Buddha etc. and shows that their missions were confined to their own peoples, while on the contrary the message of Muḥammad was all embracing and permanent, with his life being ideal and practical.

It is followed by the third lecture in which the author shows that Muḥammad (Be peace and blessings of God on him) is the only prophet to be born within the full light of history, and that even the minutest details of his life are recorded in maghazhi and historical writings. Besides, he gives a brief account of traditionists and biographers along with their works, and also discusses in this context the main sources of the Prophet's biography which include the Quran, the tradition, books on maghazi (wars fought by the Prophet), historical works such as *Ṭabaqāt* by Ibn Saʿd, *Tarīkh-al-Mulūk wa-al-Rusul* by Abū Jafar al-Ṭabarī etc., books written on the Prophet's habits, qualities and morality, accounts of Makkah and Madīnah etc.

In the fourth chapter Sayyid Sulaymān Nadvī claims that the details of the whole life of the Prophet from his birth to his death are available to us, thanks to his companions and his wives who were ordered to preserve the minutest details of his character, his habits, his doings and practices and pass them on to others.

In the fifth lecture the author concentrates on the comprehensive-ness of the Prophet's ideal and practical life. He takes the personality of the Prophet as a university comprising all departments of human life, which are open to all irrespective of caste, creed, colour, region and language.

Practical aspect is one of the most distinct features of the Prophet's life. The author discusses it in detail in the sixth chapter. He says that the Prophet himself practised what he preached to others. For instance, he enjoined five prayers a day on his followers while he would himself observe eight prayers a day. Not only did he preach tolerance and forgiveness but also he set practical example of it by pardoning his mortal enemies such as Abū Sufyān and his wife, Hind, 'Ikrimah and others.

The seventh lecture is devoted to the teachings of the Prophet. In it the author tries to show that like the life and personality of the Prophet, his teachings are also perfect, comprehensive, universal and permanent.

The last lecture presents the true conception of the oneness of God in Islam which is mainly based on the sura "Ikh̄lās" of the Qurān which runs thus : Say (O' Prophet), Allāh is one, the eternal God, He begot none, nor was he begotten. None is equal to him.²⁰⁰ In addition, the author compares it with the polytheistic ideas of other religions like Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Christianity, Hinduism and Buddhism. Finally he lays claim that Islam is the only religion that

²⁰⁰Dawood, N.J., The Koran, Penguin Books, 1975, p.265.

presents a true and clear picture of the Unity of God, omniscient and omnipotent.

Rahmat-i-Ālam deals briefly with the life of the Prophet, Muhammad (S.A.W.). It was published perhaps in 1940. It became so popular that it was translated into Hindi and other Indian languages.²⁰¹

Next to Sayyid Sulaymān was Abd al-Salām Nadwī. Born at a village called 'Ulamā' al-Dīn Patti, Azamgarh, in 1882, he had his early education at home.²⁰² He also received education in Kānpur, Āgra, Ghāzipur and Lucknow. After finishing his education, he was appointed a Lecturer in Arabic at Nadwah, Lucknow, in 1910. He worked as the Sub-Editor of the Journal "al-Nadwah" for some time. On the invitation of Maulāna Abu al-Kalām Āzād he went to Calcutta where he worked for the former's "al-Hilāl". At last he came from Calcutta to Azamgarh where he settled permanently and became attached to Dār al-Muṣannifīn which he served till his death on 4th October 1956.²⁰³

He contributed to Islamic historiography through his *Sīrat-i-ʿUmar b-ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz*, *Uswa-i-Ṣaḥābah* (in two volumes) and *Uswa-i-Ṣaḥābiyyat*.

Shibli chose Walīd-b-ʿAbd al-Malik the hero of the Umayyad Caliphets during whose reign several conquests were made. But, on the contrary, Abd al-Salām Nadwī selected ʿUmar-b-ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz who followed the orthodox caliphs particularly ʿUmar (R.A.) and was justly called the

²⁰¹ See Hayāt-i-Sulaymān, 1973, p.485.

²⁰² See Numānī, Khurshīd; Dār al-Muṣannifīn Azamgarh ki Adabi Khidmāt, Bombay, 1977, p.53.

²⁰³ Ibid p.54.

reviver of Islam. The book entitled "Sirat-i-'Umar b 'Abd al-'Aziz" is on the life of 'Umar-b-'Abd al-'Aziz, together with his cultural, educational and other services. In writing this book the author has utilized only Arabic sources such as the biography of 'Umar-b-'Abd al-'Aziz by Ibn-Ja'zi, Tabaqāt of ibn-Sād, al-Dibāj al-Mudhahhab fi-mar'ifati Ayān 'ulamā' al-Madhhab.

In the preface of the book the author briefly takes an account of the orthodox caliphate and the Umayyads rising to power. He, thereafter takes up his family, his birth, education and marriage, his appointment as Governor of Medīnah and later as Caliph. While dealing with his reign as Caliph, the author tries to throw light on every aspect of his administration which was based on equality and justice and then on his morality and personal habits, his death and its effect on the poets and other persons.

In addition, he gives a detailed account of his public and reformatory work, educational services in the field of poetry, oratory, of disseminating Greek science and his spreading religious teachings and compilation of Hadith.

While dealing with his administration, the author throws a flood of light on the important steps taken by 'Umar the Second among which was that he first appointed honest and dutiful men as governors deposing those who were corrupt and tyrannous, Secondly, unbiased in favour of his relations including sons, he never liked to entrust them with any post. Thirdly, following the "Sunnah" of the Prophet (S.A.W.) he never gave the post to those desirous of it. Fourthly, he always tried to appoint governors those who were well-versed in the

I am of the view that its position as it was in the times of the Prophet (S.A.W.) and Abū Bakr (R.A.), 'Umar (R.A.) and 'Uthmān (R.A.) should be restored."²⁰⁵

At the end the author briefly takes stock of the achievements of the Umayyads and the reasons and causes of their downfall.

On going through the book one may come to the conclusion that the author intentionally could not get rid of the fetters of archaisms. His still adopting the archaic spellings such as 'اوس' 'اون' instead of 'اس' 'ان' which we shall probably never find in the works of Shibli and Sulaymān Nadvi clearly mirrors his rigidity and persistence in archaisms.

Though written on the line of Shibli, the book did not prove as powerful and effective as al-mamūn, al-Fāruq, etc. by Shibli. Its main reason lies in the author being ignorant of European languages such as English, French, etc. Shibli too, did not have full command over these languages but he had at least a working knowledge of them. 'Abd al-Salām Nadvi therefore did not allow him-self to come out of the channels of Arabic, Persian and Urdu sources. That is why the book underreview got confined only to a limited circle of readers.

In the first volume of Uswa-i-Sahābah the author gives biographical accounts of the companions of the Prophet (S.A.W.) and also discusses in detail their beliefs, their devotional services, their behaviour and conduct, their morality and their character. Though biographical, this work is full of historical references.

²⁰⁵Ibid p.172.

The most important part of this volume is its preface in which the author makes a survey of the definition of the term "Ṣaḥābah" which is derived from "Ṣuḥbah" meaning "to be a companion". There is divergence of opinion on the application of the term "Ṣaḥābah". Some traditionists say that the term is applicable only to those who kept company of the Prophet for a long time. Some opine that only those who participated at least in one Ghazwah with the Prophet deserve to be regarded as his companions. Some are of the view that those who narrated traditions from the Prophet must be termed his companions. According to some of them those who joined the Prophet's company in order to acquire knowledge of religious sciences should in real sense be regarded as his companions. Some hold that those who after embracing Islam either saw him or only met him in a legal age and in a state of sound mind must be considered as his companions. Some maintain that the companions of the Prophet are those who having embraced Islam either saw him or only met him.²⁰⁶ The author is in favour of the last opinion which is shared by a vast majority of Muslim scholars.

The author then divides the companions into six groups which are as follows :

The first group comprises the orthodox Caliphs. The second group comprises the wives of the Prophet (S.A.W.). The third group consists of al-Muhājirūn-al-Awwalūn. To the fourth belong Ahl-al-⁴Uqbah. In the fifth group fall those who participated in the battle of Badr. The sixth group consists of Ahl-al-Muṣḥāhada.

²⁰⁶Being blind, 'Abdullah-b-Umm Maktūm, a companion of the Prophet, did not see him, and only enjoyed his company. That is why he is also regarded as a companion of his.

At the end the author makes a brief mention of three most aged companions of the Prophet i.e. Sahl-b-Sa'd (died at Madinah in 88 A.H. or 91 A.H.), Anas-b-Malik (died at Basrah in 90, 91, 92 or 93 A.H.) and Abu al-Tufail Amir (died at Makkah in 100 A.H.).

Well written and carefully documented, the work is of great importance. The books consulted include al-Bukhārī, al-Muslim, al-Tirmizī, al-Musnad li Ibn Ahmad, al-Tabaqāt li Ibn Sa'd, al-Istī'āb by 'Abd-al-Barr, Usud-al-Ghābah by Ibn Athār al-Juzrī, al-Isābah fi Tamyīz-al-Shāhābah by Hāfiz-b-Hajar al-Asqalānī, 'Ain-al-Shāhābah by Jalāl Uddīn al-Suyūti and others.

The second volume of Uswa-i-Shāhāba which was first published in 1922 deals in detail with the political, judicial, religious and intellectual services of the companions of the Prophet, Muḥammad (S.A.W.).

Sayyid Abū Zafar was born in 1307 A.H. (1889)²⁰⁷ in a respectable and learned family of a village called Desna situated in the district of Patna. Having received his early education under his father, he joined the Nadwah-al-'Ulamā, Lucknow, while he was twelve, and after completing his education there he travelled to Multān, where he was appointed a Lecturer in an Arabic school. In 1915 he left for Rangūn, where he wrote "Safarnāma-i-Brahma", which covers the social, educational and political aspects of the Brahma, and "Barmī Bōl Chāl" on the Burmese grammar. Seven years later (in 1922)

²⁰⁷ See Abd al-Rahmān, Sayyid Sabāh al-Dīn; Halāt-i-Musannif in Gujrat ki Tamaddunī Tarīkh by Nadyī, Sayyid Abū Zafar, Azamgarh, 1962, p.4 and Dār al-Musannifin Azamgarh ki Adabi Khidmāt, p.65.

he settled in Ahmadabad, where he was appointed an Arabic Professor in the Mahāvidyālay College, established by Mahātmā Gāndhī. It was here that at the behest of the Archealogical Department of Gujarāt he penned in 1928, the history of Gujarat whose first volume could not, for some reasons, be published till 1958. The book covers the political history of Gujarāt from the period of Krishnā Mahārāj to that of Zafar Khān.

He was later appointed the Principal of the Jamāliyah College, Madras, which made great progress under his able guidance and supervision.

In 1933, when the necessity of compiling the history of India in its true perspective was deeply felt and some initiatives were taken in this respect by the fellows of Dār al-Musannifīn, Azamgarh, Abū Zafar Nadvī was entrusted with the task of writing the history of Muslim India. He, therefore, came to Azamgarh where he stayed for five years, and there came from his pen "Mukhtaṣar Tarīkh-i-Hind" (A Short History of India), Tarīkh-i-Sindh (History of Sindh) and Tarīkh-i-Khāndān Ghaznah (History of the Ghaznavides).

In 1939, he served at Shānti Nikētan, a University founded by Ravindra Nāth Tagore, as Arabic and Persian Professor but at last he was given an offer by the Gujarāt Vidya Sabhā in Ahmadābād, which he accepted and devoted himself to undertaking researches on the various aspects of the history of Gujarāt.

His last work was Gujarāt ki Tamaddunī Tarīkh which was written by him in 1957 and which was posthumously published in 1962. He died

in May 1958.²⁰⁸ He contributed to the study of Islamic history through his illustrious "Tārīkh-i-Sindh", a detailed and full fledged work on the history of Sindh.

Tārīkh-i-Sindh was originally published in 1947. It is divided into two parts. The first part deals at length with the geographical and political history of Sindh before the invasion of the Arabs as well as gives detailed accounts of Muslim conquests upto the eighth century A.H.

While dealing with the political history of Sindh the author devotes much space to the accounts of Dāhir, King of Sindh, about whom he writes on the authority of Chachnāmāh that he married his sister, Rānī Bāī, at the instance of his vizier. Besides, the author also analyses the reasons for the invasion of Sindh. He writes on good proofs that the help lent to the Makranis by the Sindhis against 'Abdullah-b-Āmir in 22 A.H.²⁰⁹ Dāhir's providing refuge to some Arab rebels²¹⁰ and his reluctance to return to Hajjāj-b-Yūsuf al-Thaqafī, Governor of 'Irāq, the pilgrims and the members of an Arab trader who were looted near the seaport of Daybul and taken prisoners by some pirates - all these led to the invasion of Sindh.²¹¹

In the second part the author takes stock of social, cultural and intellectual conditions of Sindh under the Muslims. At the end of the book the author writes that full religious freedom was granted to the Sindhis; no harm was done to their religious places and even

²⁰⁸ See Dār al-Muṣannifīn Aẓamgarh ki Adabī Khidmāt, p.66.

²⁰⁹ Tārīkh-i-Sindh, Vol.1, Aẓamgarh, 1970, p.27.

²¹⁰ Ibid pp.39, 40, 44.

²¹¹ Ibid p.41-2.

slaughtering of cows was banned by the order of the Governor in view of the shortage of oxen.²¹²

The author's approach in this well-written and carefully documented work is apologetic, defensive, critical and analytical. Contrary to earlier works, this work contains at the end the list of bibliography, which marks a remarkable change in research methodology among Islamic historiographers in North India. One of the shortcomings with this study is that the author gives only Hijra dates neglecting Christian ones, which is troublesome for the general reader.

Hājī Muīn al-Dīn Nadvī was another renowned Islamic historiographer. He was born at Asthawan, Bihār, India, in 1891.²¹³ He received his education at Nadwat al-ʿUlamā, Lucknow. In 1914 he became an associate of Dār al-Muṣannifīn, Azamgarh. Besides, he worked in the Imperial Library, Calcutta, the Khudā Bakhsh Public Library, Patna, the Dāʾirat al-Māʾarīf, Haydarābād and the Government Library, Rāmpūr. Later he was appointed Principal of Shams al-Hudā College, Patna. He died in Patna in 1941.²¹⁴

His Khulafāʾ-i-Rāshidīn and Muhājirīn (volume one) are his main contribution to Islamic historiography.

Khulafāʾ-i-Rāshidīn (The Orthodox Caliphs) first appeared in 134 A.H. (1927 A.D.).²¹⁵ This book which contains a foreword by

²¹²Ibid p.392.

²¹³See Hayāt-i-Sulaymān, p.101.

²¹⁴Ibid

²¹⁵Khulafāʾ-i-Rāshidīn, Azamgarh, 1973, p.3.

Sayyid Sulaymān Nadwī and a preface by the author is a record of the lives, characters and services of the four orthodox Caliphs namely Abū Bakr (R.A.), 'Umar (R.A.), 'Uthmān (R.A.) and 'Alī (R.A.).

In it the author first deals in detail with the life, character and services of Abū Bakr (R.A.). While dealing with his services the author makes a survey of conquests of Iraq and Syria made during his Caliphate. The other important steps taken by him during his Caliphate such as suppression of rebels, impostors and those who felt reluctant to pay the Zakāh are also discussed at length. As regards the compilation of the Qur'ān the author tries to remove a misunderstanding that the Prophet left its surahs unarranged and unnamed and it was Abū Bakr (R.A.) who did it on his own accord. He writes on the authority of al-Bukhārī and Fath-al-Bārī by Ḥafiz-b-Ḥajar that like the Qur'ān, the titles and arrangement were also inspired to the Prophet, and this is testified to by several traditions recorded in al-Bukhārī. He further says that the only contribution of Abū Bakr (R.A.) in this respect is that by his order scattered portions of the Qur'ān were collected and brought together and a text was prepared. The text was extant upto the time of Marwan who having acquired it from 'Abdullah-b-'Umar, destroyed it.²¹⁶

It is often charged that Islam gives no rights to the non-Muslims (the Dhimmīs) living in an Islamic state. The author refutes this charge on the authority of Kitāb-al-Kharāj from which he produces a quotation which proves that Islam grants all types of freedom and all human rights including the security of life to the

²¹⁶For further details see Khulafā-i-Rāshidīn, pp.41, 42-3-4.

non-Muslims. The quotation which has been extracted from the text of the covenant made between Abū Bakr (R.A.) and the peoples of Hira reads : "No synagogue and church will be demolished, nor will any of their (non-Muslims) palaces in which they fortify themselves (take refuge) at the time of the attack of their enemy, nor will they be prevented from ringing the church bell, nor will they be checked from taking out the Cross on the occasion of their festival."²¹⁷ He goes on to say that not only old, poor and handicapped persons were exempt from paying the Jizyah but they were given stipend from the Bait-al-Mal as well.

The author thereafter gives detailed accounts of Umar (R.A.), Uthman (R.A.) and Ali (R.A.) separately throwing a flood of light on their characters, virtues and achievements. The work is not only a record of personal lives, characters and virtues of the orthodox Caliphs but it is also a chronicle of the copious contribution made by them in the field of administration. In it the author has relied as far as possible on the works of Traditions. He has also utilized some authentic historical works such as Akhbār-al-Tiwāl, Tarikh-al-Tabarī, Ibn-al-Athīr and Ibn Khaldūn.

Originally published in 1928, the first volume of "Muhājirīn" by Hājī Muīn uddīn contains a long preface and the description of virtues and manners of Abdullah-b-Abbās and Abū Mūsā al-Ashārī by his namesake colleague, Shāh Muīn uddīn Ahmad, a fellow of the Dārul Muṣannifīn, Azamgarh, and detailed biographical accounts of thirty eight great companions of the Prophet. The author first deals with

²¹⁷Ibid p.67.

those six followers out of ten who were given the glad tidings of Heaven even in this temporal world. The preface covers the families of Muhajirin before Islam, the tribes of 'Adnān, their religion, trade, rules of administration as well as their civil wars, the tribes of the Quraysh, the invasion of Abrahah, the construction of the Kabāh, the political independence of the Quraysh along with its systems - social, religious, traditional, educational, the first and second migrations to Ethiopia with the lists of the emigres, the death of Khadijah and Abū Tālib, the preaching of Islam by the Prophet in Makkah and Tāif, the professing of Islam by the Yethribites, the persecution of the Prophet and his companions by the infidels and his migration to Yethrib later called Madinah together its causes and effects as well as the vivid description of the virtues and manners of the emigrators.

Maulānā Saīd Anṣārī was also a well-known historian of this school. He was born on 16th February 1894.²¹⁸ After partition, he migrated to Pākistān and settled at Lahore where he devoted himself to the compilation of Urdu Encyclopaedia. He passed away at Lahore in October 1962.²¹⁹

His works on Islamic history include Siyar al-Anṣār (in two volumes), Siyar al-Ṣahābiyyat etc.

The first volume consists of a lengthy preface by the author, the biographies of fifty one helpers (Anṣār) of the Prophet (S.A.W.) alongwith a vivid description of the habits and manners of their

²¹⁸See Dar-al-Muṣannifīn kī Adabī Khidmāt, p.65.

²¹⁹Ibid.

exalted personalities while the second deals with the life sketches of forty seven helpers and their seventeen allies in alphabetical order. Of these two volumes the first one has great importance in respect of its preface in which the learned author first speaks of the political, religious, military, social, cultural, technical, agricultural and educational conditions of the helpers before Islam, tracing their origin. He then discusses the advent of Islam among them, the first, second and third oaths of allegiance all of which took place at 'Aqbah, the conversion of Usayd-b-Hudayr and Sa'id-b-Mu'adh and its effects in Yathrib, the emigration undertaken by the Makkan believers as well as by the Prophet himself, the construction of the mosque in Madinah, the pacts with the Jews etc.

The historians commonly start the history of the helpers of the Prophet (S.A.W.) from Qahtān, believing him their forefather. But the author rejects this theory and considers them offsprings of Nabit-b-Ismā'il, whose descendants spread out to the north west of Arabia, where they established their power in Petra, a Greek word meaning rock, which is translation of the Hebrew Sela,²²⁰ about the 4th Century B.C.

Like the Nabateans, the author writes, there was another branch of the descendants of Nabit by which the tribe of Azd is meant. They came, in time immemorial, to the Yaman, where they settled in Marib, which they had to leave owing to famine or for some other reasons under the leadership of the chief of the tribe, 'Amr-b-Amir, better known in the history of the Arabs as Maziqiya, who is considered the forefather of all the helpers and the Ghassanids. They made halt at

²²⁰See Hitti, P.K.; History of the Arabs, 1972, p.67.

Khaulān, Ans, Ṣanā' and finally settled in الان and Hamadān. Some-
times afterwards they ascended to the hills and settled in الوال
where they waged a fight against the tribe of Ghafiq. Then they
proceeded to Tihāmah, where they made settlement near a place called
Ghassān after a pond already inhabited by the members of the tribe of
Akk, and it was there that Amr-b-Amīr died in an epidemic. He was
succeeded by his eldest son, Thalabah al-Unqa, forefather of the
and the Khazraj, who sought from Shamlaqah, the chief of the tribe of
AK, permission to make halt there for a few days, which was turned
down by the latter. This resulted in the fierce fighting between
Thalabah and Shamlaqah in which the latter incurred defeat. But even
then Thalabah had to set out for Najrān. The main reason for this lay
in the enmity of the tribe of AK and the conspiracy hatched by his
treacherous and cunning commander-in-chief, Jadh'-b-Sinān. In Najran
too a combat between him and the tribe of Mudhhaj took place, and it
forced him to move to Makkah, which was then populated by the tribe
of Jurhum. Thalabah requested their permission to settle there for a
few days or months but the tribe of Jurhum did not allow him to do so.
This forced him to invade them, thus inflicting an ignominious defeat
on them. They brought Makkah, Tā'if, Surāt etc., in his hold. But
owing to the unfavourable atmosphere of al-Hijaz Thalabah fell ill
and died. The children of Thalabah settled in Thalabīyah and Dhī Qar,
whence two tribes i.e. the Awṣ and the Khazraj made advance to Yethrib,
which became their permanent abode.²²¹

In the light of the sayings of the Prophet (S.A.W.), the verses
by Mundhir Ḥassān, Aws-b-Ṣamīt etc. and other evidences referred to

²²¹For further details see Siyar al-Anṣār Vol.1, pp.20, 21, 22, 23,
24.

by the author one may unhesitatingly justify him in his opinion and argument. The most reliable source which leads one to favour the author's view is the tradition of the Prophet (S.A.W.), which receives further support from other evidences and facts mentioned above including the verses of Mundhir, Ḥassān and others.

The learned author then discusses, after a passing mention of the different branches of the helpers and their colonies, their religion, culture and the civil wars fought among them. As regards their civil wars he deals with the battles of Sumayr, the first civil war which ever took place, among the supporters, of Kab-b-ʿAmr, of Ḥasīn-b-ʿAslat, Fari, Rabi, Baqi, Fijar the first and second (other than what occurred between Kinānah and Qays in Makkah), Buath etc.

After this the author takes up the religion of the helpers in which he endeavours to prove that they worshipped Lat, Manāt, ʿUzza etc. to which testify such names as Timul Lāt known as Najjar and Awsul Lāt, nephew of ʿAmr-b-Lahy, who introduced idolatry into Arabia, Zaidū Manāt, ʿAbd al-ʿUzza etc. on the one hand and that there were also Judaized and Christianized persons as well as some Hanafites believing in the unity of God and following the doctrines of the religion preached by Ibrāhīm (A.S.).

While dealing with their culture the author throws light on its socio-political, military, religious, agricultural, traditional, technical and educational conditions. As regards the socio-political condition of the Helpers in the Pre-Islamic period the author writes that from the period of Mazīn to that of Ḥanīthah we find mention of chiefs only. During the time of Ṭhalabah we hear of the name of a

person, Jadh-b-Sinān who was the Commander-in-Chief of the so called army of Thalabah as mentioned above. It shows that there were two posts ⁱⁿ his time. In addition to them there were also two other important posts among the supporters and they were the patriarchate of temples and Kahānat.²²²

Throwing light on their military system the learned author says that they had no organized army. Every member of the tribe was to be a soldier. There was no system of marshalling. The tradition related by Abū Ayūb tells us that that was the reason why they broke the row on the occasion of the battle at Badr and the Prophet (S.A.W.) had to say, "Be with me". The battles fought among the Helpers also provide glaring proof of it. Besides, they would never become engaged with the spectators. We may quote for example, 'Abdullah-b-Uzay, who, riding on the horse in the battle of Bu'ath, was watching the combat but was not resisted by anyone. Such was the case with the tribe of Uyaina and Khiyar in the battle of Jasr. At last the author has also given a list of 81 forts erected in Yethrib and made mention of some important protective walls of it such as Suwaru Madīnah, Himādah, Rabi', Mu'abbas, Mufarras etc.

Another most important aspect of their civilization and culture was their religious system the study of which brings forth their beliefs and faiths. The author has very briefly treated of it and shown that they worshipped idols of which Manāt was the greatest and there were also the followers of Judaism, Christianity as well as the religion of the Hanafites.

²²²Siyar al-Anṣār Vol.1, p.66.

The peninsula was populated at that time by the civilized Arabs and the Bedoins. The Ismailites were composed of these two. The Nabataeans and the Qurayshites of Makkah belonged to the civilized group and the Arabs dwelling in the desert were all nomads, roaming to and fro. The Helpers who came of the Nabataean origin, as proved above, were inclined, the author says, to civilization and culture from the very beginning. They therefore cultivated the land and planted gardens ⁽ⁱⁿ⁾ Yaman and even excelled the Qahtanites in this field. In Yethrib too where they settled permanently after leaving the Yaman due to some unavoidable reasons pointed out to above, they took to agriculture. Apart from this they were also traders. Like Makkah in Yethrib too there were held various fairs by the Jews and by the Helpers themselves, and they exchanged their commercial goods. The most famous among them was Qainuqā' in which the poets would also gather as they did in 'Ukāz and other centres of trade and commerce in Makkah and it was there that Ḥassan met Nabighah. Among the fairs held separately by the Helpers the trade centre of Mahruz was of immense importance. Besides, a fair was organised in Quba, another near the spring known as Ummul 'Ayāl, still another in the vicinity of the Masjidur Rāyah. Muzāhim was also a commercial centre, where fair had been held till Islam stepped in Yethrib. The commodities exchanged included dates and wine.

As far as craft and technology are concerned, the Yathribites only with the exception of a butcher slave of Abū Shu'āib, a slave of Anṣārīyah who, being a carpenter, made for the Prophet (S.A.W.) a pulpit to sit on, which was placed in the mosque (of the Prophet) and a barber also a slave of Abū Hind, were totally ignorant of them.

The educational condition in Yathrib was not very good with a very few persons acquainted with the art of reading and writing. The author makes mention of the names of eleven Helpers.²²³

The author now takes up the beginning of Islam among the Yathrebites in whose context he first discusses the impression of Suwa'id with Islam and the conversion of Ayas-b-Mu'adh. Then he deals with the oath of fealty which the Helpers took at the hand of the Prophet at 'Aqbah. Unlike the other historians and biographers, who refer to only two oaths of allegiance, he believes that it occurred thrice. At first six persons namely Asad-b-Zararah, Awf-b-Harith, Rafi'-b-Malik, Qatabah-b-Amir, Uqbah-b-Amir, Jabir-b-'Abdullah came to Makkah and accepted Islam. The author rejects the view of those who name Ibadah-b-Samit instead of Jabir-b-'Abdullah in the first Bai'at on the authority ^{of} Musnad-b-Ahmad. Ibadah himself once said, "I am among those present in the first Bai'at and we were twelve." (According to the view of the author which receives support from Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani and Ibn Kathir, the baiat just referred to was the second one ensuing about a year after that in which there participated only six persons.)

While discussing the third great bai'at at 'Aqbah the author makes three statements regarding the number of the persons who took part in it. At a place he writes that the persons numbered seventy five,²²⁴ and at this very place as well as in the same time, he notes that they

²²³See Siyar al-Ansar, p.76.

²²⁴See Siyar al-Ansar, Vol.1, p.83.

amounted to seventy.²²⁵ At another place he jots down that they were seventy three.²²⁶ The fact is that they were seventy five including two women,²²⁷ who also took the pledge, as the author himself admits²²⁸ by giving a complete list of their names.

The preface however ends with a passing mention of the inception of the call to the prayer and thus begins the main topic of its book i.e. the description of the biographies of the supporters of the Prophet (S.A.W.). At a certain place the author writes about Abū Talḥah that he lived for forty years after the death of the Prophet (S.A.W.) and observed fast throughout his life except for the days of illness, the Id as well as the Id of Sacrifice.²²⁹

The author has written this unscrupulously without giving reference to his authority. It is therefore incredible.

Siyar al-Ṣahābiyyat was first published in 1341 A.H. (1922 A.D.). In the preface the learned author makes passing mention of the social conditions of women in Greek, Roman and other European cultures and compares them with those of Islamic civilization with reference to the Quran and the sayings of the Prophet (S.A.W.).

The book starts with the biographical accounts of Khadijah, the first wife of the Prophet (S.A.W.) and ends with those of Hannah-bint Jahsh. In this book the author deals with only 45 Ṣahābiyyat including

²²⁵Ibid

²²⁶Ibid p.89

²²⁷Ibn Hishām Vol.One pp.249 to 255.

²²⁸Siyar al-Anṣār pp.49, 50.

²²⁹Ibid p.188.

the Prophet's wives, his daughters and others, throwing light on their religious, political, and educational achievements and other important roles played by them in the way of Islam, critically analysing the controversial issues. The book in which much space is devoted to Umm Salmah (R.A.), 'Āishah (R.A.) and Khadijah (R.A.) in comparison with others is a good addition to the biographies of Ṣahābiyyat, written on scientific lines.

One of the distinguished historians of the school was Shāh Muīn al-Dīn Ahmad Nadwī. Born in 1903,²³⁰ he had his early education at home. Then he was admitted to Nadwat al-ʿUlamā, Lucknow. In 1924, he associated himself with Dār al-Muṣannifīn, Azamgarh, which he served till his death on 13th December 1974.²³¹ He was buried at his native place, Rudauli (U.P.).

He contributed a great deal to Islamic historiography through his "Muhājirīn" (Vol. 2), Siyar al-Ṣahābah (Vols. 6 & 7), and Tārīkh-i-Islām (the history of Islam) in four volumes. He also translated Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī's Al-Islam wal Haḍarat-al-ʿArabīyyah into Urdu under the title "Islām Aur ʿArabī Tamaddun".

Muhājirīn (Vol. 2) gives biographical accounts of those companions of the Prophet (S.A.W.) who embraced Islam before the victory over Makkah and migrated to Madīnah together and also highlights their religious, political and intellectual activities and achievements.

²³⁰ See Dār al-Muṣannifīn Azamgarh kī Adabī Khidmāt, p.60.

²³¹ Ibid p.63.

Siyar al-Ṣaḥābah (Vol. 6) is a detailed study of the lives of Ḥasan (R.A.), Mu'āwiyah (R.A.), Ḥusayn (R.A.) and 'Abd Allāh b-Zubayr (R.A.). It also focusses on their manners, virtues and their religious, political and intellectual achievements.

The seventh volume of "Siyar al-Ṣaḥābah" is related to those companions who professed Islam either after the victory over Makkah or before it but could not migrate to Madinah and to those who were very young. Such companions numbered one hundred and fifty.

Tārīkh-i-Islām (History of Islam in four volumes) is one of the most important works in Urdū on Islamic history. This well written and carefully documented work is not a mere account of wars and conquests of the Prophet, of the orthodox Caliphs and of the Umayyads as well as the Abbasids. Rather it is a record, from the earliest times to the fall of Baghdād in 1258 A.D., of the valuable contribution made by the Arabs under the flag of Islam to human knowledge in all departments of science and literature, of their marvellous system of administration and of their economic, social and intellectual development.

The first volume which first appeared in 1939 is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the early history of the Arabs, the life of the Prophet, wars and battles fought by the Muslims against the infidels and the Jews, religio-political system of Islam etc. In the second part the author discusses in detail the character and achievements of the four orthodox caliphs - Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī. He also gives a brief account of al-Ḥasan, the eldest son of 'Alī, who abdicated in favour of Mu'āwiyah (R.A.).

In the second volume the learned author makes a detailed survey of the conquests made by Mu'āwiyah and other thirteen rulers of the Umayyad dynasty namely Yazīd I, Mu'āwiyah II, Marwān, 'Abdul Malik-b-Marwān, Walīd-b-'Abdul Malik, Sulaymān-b-'Abdul Malik, 'Umar-b-'Abdul 'Azīz, Yazīd-b-'Abdul Malik, Hishām-b-'Abdul Malik, Walīd II, Yazīd III, Ibrāhīm-b-Walīd-b-'Abdul Malik and Marwān II, their system of administration and other achievements in the fields of science and literature.

One of the most unfortunate events which took place during the Umayyad dynasty was the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn, the youngest son of 'Alī, in 680 A.H. The author deals with this complicated issue in a balanced way. He writes that Yazīd had ordered only to take oath of fidelity for him from al-Ḥusayn but it was Ibn-Ziyād who slew him, at which Yazīd expressed great regret. He also notes on the authority of al-Ṭabarī that Yazīd behaved Zain-al-'Ābidīn, the son of al-Ḥusayn (R.A.) and other members of latter's family well, while bidding them farewell. At the end the author explains the cause of the downfall of the Umayyad dynasty.

The third and fourth volumes are devoted to the Abbasid Caliphate. First published in 1944, the third volume is a record of political, cultural and intellectual achievements of first twenty one Abbasid Caliphs who ruled about two hundred years. It also makes a study of the establishment of the Umayyad amirate in Spain, the rise and fall of the Bermechides - the Turks, the Tahirids, the Saffarids, the Samamids, the Carmathians (Qaramitah), the Fa'imids etc.

According to a tradition, the root cause of the fall of Barmānikah lay in the marriage of Jāfar -b- Yahyā with 'Abbāsah, the sister of Hārūn. Ibn Khaldūn regards this story as a baseless fiction. To him the true cause of the down-fall of the Barmakides (Barmānikah) is to be found in the manner in which they seized upon all authority, and assumed the absolute disposition of the public revenue, so much so, that Hārūn was often forced to the necessity of asking for and not obtaining from the chancellor small sums of money.²³² The author favours the view of Ibn Khaldūn. To clarify his statement he argues that al-Ṭabarī is the first historian to record this story without examining it and earlier historical works like "Kitāb-al-Ma'ārif" by Ibn-al-Qutaybah, Kitāb-al-Wuzarā' wa-al-Kuttāb by Muḥammad al-Jahshyārī, Akhbār-al-Ṭiwāl by Aḥmad-b-Dāwūd al-Dīnāwarī and Ṭarīkh-al-Yāqūbī by Aḥmad-b-Abī Yāqūb bear no mention thereof. In such case the statement of al-Ṭabarī cannot be regarded as true.

The fourth volume which first appeared in 1945 gives detailed accounts of the remaining sixteen Abbasid caliphs who include al-Mustakfi Billāh, al-Mutī' Lillāh, al-Ṭai' Lillāh, al-Qādir Billāh, al-Qaim Bi Amrillāh, al-Muqtaḍi bi Amrillah, al-Mustazhir Billāh, al-Mustarshid Billāh, al-Rashid Billah, al-Muqtafi Li Amrillāh, al-Mustanjid Billāh, al-Mustadi Bi Amrillah, al-Nāsir Li Dinillāh, al-Zāhir Bi Amrillāh, al-Mustanṣir Bi Amrillāh and al-Mustaṣim Bi Amrillah. This volume deals also with the rise and fall of the Buwayhids, the Ghaznavids, the Seljuqs, the Zangids, the Ayyubids,

²³² See Ibn Khaldūn, Muqaddimah (Urdū), Karāchī edition, p.39 and Ali, Ameer, A Short History of the Saracens, London, 1961, pp.244, 245.

the Tatars, the Mamlukes etc. In a separate chapter the author discusses in brief the establishment of the Abbasid caliphate in Egypt with the accession of al-Mustansir Billah in 1262 A.D. This caliphate came to an end in 1518 when al-Mutawakkil 'Ala Allāh al-Thālith abdicated in favour of Sultan Salīm al-Uthmānī al-Awwal. Our author concludes this volume with the description of the social and cultural life of the Abbasids. In this respect he speaks of the foundation and construction of cities and palaces as well as throws light on the modus vivendi of the Abbasids, their dresses and their literary taste.

This work deals, though very tensely at least in the third and fourth volumes, with the cultural and intellectual development along with political one. In it the author avoids discussing and examining doubtful and controversial issues in view of the bulkiness of the work. Instead he confines himself to recording only those events or views which he thinks reliable and correct. He has arranged his materials in chronicle order, giving only dates of Hegira which creates problem for the readers to have a clear idea of events. The accounts of petty dynasties such as those of the Tahirids, the Saffarids, the Samanids, the Fatimids etc. should have been given separately in order to facilitate their study. The author in this work has relied mostly on Arabic and Persian sources. In the second and fourth volumes he refers on few occasions to English sources but one will hardly find any reference to them in the first and third ones. Besides, the work bears no index and bibliography.

Despite these shortcomings, the work is, however, of immense importance and deserves to be read and retained for reference

especially by those who want to make a serious and detailed study of the history of Islam in Urdu upto the Abbasid period.

Still another was Maulavi Riyāsāt 'Alī Nadvī. He was born at Gaya, Bihar, in 1904.²³³ He received his education at his native place as well as at Nadwat al-'Ulamā', Lucknow. After finishing his education, he became an associate of Dar al-Muṣannifīn, Azamgarh. During his stay at Azamgarh, he produced the first volume of Tarikh-i-Andalus (the history of Spain) and Tarikh-i-Siqilliyah (the history of Sicily) in two volumes. He expired at Gayā, Bihār, in November 1976.²³⁴

The first volume of the "Tarikh-i-Siqilliyah" was originally published in 1933. It is a detailed study of the geographical condition of Sicily, the beginning of the invasion of Italy and Sicily by the Muslims, the establishment of the Islamic State, the progress made under it, the end of the Islamic State and its effects, the banishment of the Muslims etc.

The second volume appeared in 1936. It is a social, cultural, administrative and intellectual history of Sicily.

(3) General Historians:

Among prominent general historians were 'Abd al-Halīm Sharar, Maulavī Fath Muḥammad, Zahir Ahmad Shāh Zahirī, Sayyid Dhākir Husayn Jāfar, Akbar Shāh Khān Najībābādī, Munshī 'Abd al-Razzāq Kānpurī, Ḥabīb al-Rahmān Khān Sherwānī and Maulānā Muḥammad Aslam Jairājpurī.

²³³See Dar al-Muṣannifīn Kī Adabī Khidmāt, p.63.

²³⁴Ibid

Born at Lucknow in 1276 A.H./1860 A.D.,²³⁵ Sharar received his early education at Lucknow and Calcutta. He had good knowledge of Arabic and Persian and fair knowledge of English. He had also a working knowledge of French. He served as a tutor to Nawwāb Walī Uddīn, son of Nawwāb Waqār al-Umara, at Haydarābād. He died in 1926.²³⁶ He contributed to Islamic history through his Thānī Ithnayn, (Life of Abū Bakr), Dhul-Nūrayn (Life of Uthmān), Abul-Hasnayn (Life of 'Alī, R.A.), Siqilliyah mēn Islām, Tārīkh-i-Khilāfat, Tārīkh-i-Sindh, Tārīkh-i-Islām (in three volumes) etc.

Thānī Ithnayn is the biography of Abū Bakr (R.A.). The author briefly discusses the early life of Abū Bakr, his conversion to Islam, his migration to Madīnah along with the Prophet (S.A.W.), his services to the cause of Islam before and after his accession to the Caliphate, suppression by him of apostates, pretenders and other rebels, Syrian and Persian expeditions, collection of the verses of the Qurān into one volume, nomination of 'Umar (R.A.) by him as the Caliph with the consultation of other prominent companions of the Prophet (S.A.W.) like 'Abd-al-Rahmān-b-Aw'f (R.A.), 'Uthmān (R.A.) and Talha (R.A.) etc.

At the end the author quotes good opinions of Zain-al-'Abidīn 'Alī-b-Husayn Muḥammal al-Bāqir, Jāfar al-Sādiq and Mūsā al-Kāzīm about Abū Bakr (R.A.) and his Caliphate.

Omission of references which belittles the importance and value of this monograph is a great drawback with it.

²³⁵ See Saxena, Rām Bābū; Tārīkh-i-Adab-i-Urdū (Prose section), p.125

²³⁶ Ibid p.133

Another was Maulavi Fath Muhammad. He compiled Ghazwat-i-Nabawiyah, Muharabat-i-Siddiqiyah and Mujadalat-i-Faruqiyah.

Zahir Ahmad Shah Zahiri was yet another historian. He wrote "al-Badr". This book gives details of the life of the Prophet (S.A.W.) together with biographical data of those companions who participated in the battle of Badr.

One of the illustrious historians was S. Dhakir Husayn Jafar. His works include Tarikh-i-Islam, Mukhtasar Tarikh-i-Islam, Khutash al-Kalam fi Tarikh-i-Khayr al-Anam etc.

Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi was by far most important historian of this group. His fame rests on his Tarikh-i-Islam (in three volumes).

Tarikh-i-Islam (Vol. 1) is divided into three volumes :
The first volume which is a detailed survey of the history of Islam from the very beginning upto the orthodox caliphate, consists of four chapters besides a preface in which the author discusses the usefulness of History and the system of Government.

In the first chapter the author deals with the ancient history of the Arabs and sheds light on their moral and cultural conditions. In addition to this, he also speaks very briefly of the political and cultural conditions of Persia, Greece and Rome, Egypt, India and China.

The second chapter is wholly devoted to the life of the Prophet, Muhammad (S.A.W.), his mission and wars and battles.

The third chapter gives detailed accounts of first two caliphs - Abū Bakr (R.A.) and Umar (R.A.) - and their achievements. Before dwelling on the life of Abū Bakr (R.A.), the author discusses at length the concept of Khilāfat in Islam. He tries to show in the light of the Qurān that the term "Khalīfah" which means the Vicegerent of God on earth, is synonymous with ruler. But one should not confuse the term "Khalīfah" with that of ruler in general sense. By the term Khalīfah the author actually means that ruler who lays the foundation of his government on the principles of Islam (p.217).

At the end the author takes up two sayings of the Prophet (S.A.W.) which relate to the "Khilāfat". One reads : "the Khilāfat after me will last for thirty years. Thereafter kingdom will be established." The other runs : "Imāms (rulers) will be *from* among the Quraysh". The author takes these traditions as prophecies and not as injunctions as interpreted by some historians. In order to clarify his statement he further says that it was revealed to the Prophet that he would be succeeded by Abū Bakr, a member of the Quraysh that is why he appointed the latter to lead the prayers during his illness. Once the Prophet asked Muhājirūn to treat Ansar well in future. The author asserts that this also indicates that it had been made known to the Prophet that a Muhājir belonging to the Qurayshite family will be his successor (p.219).

The last chapter is related to the Caliphate of Uthmān (R.A.), Ali (R.A.) and al-Hasan (R.A.). In this chapter the author presents detailed accounts of the life of Uthmān (R.A.) along with those of conquests made during his Caliphate. Similarly he deals with the

Caliphate of 'Alī (R.A.) and the civilian war fought between him and Mu'awiyah.

At the end of the chapter the author throws light on the short lived Caliphate of al-Hasan (R.A.) and his abdication in favour of Mu'awiyah.

The second volume is divided into six chapters. The first chapter consists of detailed accounts of Mu'awiyah, Yazīd-b-Mu'awiyah, al-Husayn, Mu'awiyah-b-Yazīd, Marwān-b-Hakam, 'Abdullah-b-Zubayr and 'Abd-al-Malik-b-Marwān.

The second chapter is devoted to the detailed accounts of Walīd-b-'Abd-al-Malik, Sulaymān-b-'Abd-al-Malik, 'Umar-b-'Abd-al-'Azīz, Yazīd-b-'Abd-al-Malik, Hishām-b-'Abd-al-Malik, Walīd-b-Yazīd-b-'Abd-al-Malik, Yazīd-b-Walīd-b-'Abd-al-Malik, Ibrāhīm-b-Walīd-b-'Abd-al-Malik and Marwān-b-Muhammad. In this chapter the author gives details of the conquests of Sind and Spain also. Besides, he also takes an account of the policies adopted by the Umayyad rulers. In retrospect he discusses the causes which contributed to the downfall of the Umayyad dynasty. According to him, the incapacity of the rulers and the defects of their character, selfishness of the ministers and treachery of the soldiers, continual struggle between the Mudarites and Himyarites, the Unequal treatment of the Arabs etc. were the causes which brought about the overthrow of the Umayyads.

The third, fourth and fifth chapters are on the Abbasid Caliphate. The third chapter presents accounts of Abu-al-'Abbās 'Abdullah al-Saffah, Abū Jafar al-Mansūr, al-Mahdī-b-al-Mansūr, al-Hādī-b-al-

Mahdī, Abū Jafar Hārūn al-Rashīd-b-al-Mahdī and al-Amin-b-Hārūn al-Rashīd. In addition to this, the rise and fall of the Barmīkah is also discussed in this chapter. As regards their origin the author writes that they were magians (pp 265, 294, 345). According to him the word "Barmak" is derived from the Persian "Barmugh" (p 294). The view of the author is open to question. The word "Barmak" is an arabicised form of the Sanskrit "Pramukh" suggesting the chief of priests, and "Barmīkah" were Buddhists of Indian origin.²³⁷

The fourth chapter is devoted to al-Mamūn, al-Mutāsīm billāh, al-Wathīq billāh al-Mutawakkil 'Alallāh, al-Muntaṣir billāh al-Mustain billāh, al-Mutazz billāh, al-Muhtadi billāh and al-Mutamīd 'Alallāh. But much space is devoted to the life and achievements of al-Mamūn. That apart, the petty dynasties established by the Saffarids, the Samanids and the Tulunids are also discussed.

In the fifth chapter he deals with al-Mutadīd billāh, al-Muktafī billāh al-Qāhir billāh, al-Rādī billāh, al-Muttaqī Lillāh, al-Mustakfī billāh, al-Mutī Lillāh, al-Ṭai Lillāh, al-Qādir billāh, al-Qaim bi Amrillāh, al-Muqtadī bi Amrillāh, al-Mustazhir billāh, al-Mustarshīd billāh, al-Rashīd billāh, al-Muqtafī Li Amrillāh, al-Mustanjīd billāh, al-Mustadi bi Amrillāh, Nāsiru Dinillāh, al-Zāhir bi Amrillāh, Abū Jafar al-Mustansir billāh and al-Mutāsīm billāh. At the end he also discusses the establishment of the Abbasid Caliphate in Egypt in 1260 A.D.

The last chapter is divided into two parts. In the first part the author deals in detail with the system of administration of the

²³⁷For details see Nadvī, S. Sulaymān; *Arab-o-Hind Ke Taālūqāt* Allāhabād, 1930, pp 112-120.

Abbasids while the second part contains the details of petty dynasties of the East and the West.

The third volume comprises twenty one chapters. In the first chapter the author give brief geographical accounts of Spain and also explains the main reason for the invasion of Spain by Tāriq-b-Ziyād. According to him the main reason lay in the violation of the beautiful daughter of Julian, the Governor of Centa, by Roderick. This, he writes, enraged Julian who made an appeal to Mūsā-b-Nusayr, the Governor of Africa, to liberate Spain from the cruel Roderick's yoke.

In the second chapter the author discusses at length the war fought between the Muslims and the Christians, the defeat of the Christians at the hands of the Muslims and the establishment of the Islamic state in Spain. The author also talks of the imprisonment and death of Mūsā-b-Nusayr.

The third chapter is concerned with the amirs of Spain such as ʿAbd-al-ʿAzīz, son of Mūsā-b-Nusayr and first amir of Spain, Ayyūb-b-Ḥabīb, Ḥarb-b-ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān, Samḥ-b-Malik, ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān-b-ʿAbdullāh al-Gḥāfiqī, Amīr ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān and others and the establishment of an independent state of the Christians headed by Alfonso.

The fourth chapter presents detailed accounts of seven Umayyad caliphs of Spain like ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān-b-Muʿāwiyah al-Dakhil, the first Umayyad caliph of Spain, Hishām-b-ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān, Ḥakam-b-Hishām, ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān al-Thānī, Muḥammad-b-ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān, Mundhar-b-Muḥammad and ʿAbdullāh-b-Muḥammad along with their achievements, policy and system of administration.

The fifth chapter is a record of some other caliphs of the Umayyad dynasty. In it the author also discusses the cultural and intellectual conditions of Spain under other Caliphs in general and under Hākam in particular. At the end he deals with downfall of the Umayyad dynasty in Spain in 1036-37 A.D.

In the sixth chapter brief accounts of Banū Hamūd are given.

The seventh chapter speaks of Banū Ābbad, Banū Dhu-al-Nūn, Banū Hūd etc.

The eighth chapter presents accounts of Yūsuf-b-Tashfīn and others.

In the ninth chapter the learned author briefly discusses the establishment of the state of Muwahhids and the achievement of its rulers.

The tenth chapter is devoted to some petty states established by Banū Hūd, Ibn-al-Ahmar, Ibn Marwān, Ibn Khalid etc.

In the eleventh the author deals with the siege of Granada and its capitulation as well as takes an account of the Islamic state in Spain which came to end in 1491-92 A.D. Treachery of Ferdinand and Isabella and the persecution of the Spanish Muslims are also discussed (pp 175-76).

In the twelfth chapter the author speaks of the Idrisids and the Aghlabids.

The thirteenth chapter is related to Ubaidis. Besides, brief accounts of Nūr Uddin Muhammad Zangī and Salāhuddin al-Ayyūbī are

also given.

The fourteenth chapter is related to Qaramitah (Qarmatians) in Bahrain while the fifteenth one is concerned with Qaramitah in Persia. The latter also has information about Hasan-al-Sabah.

In the sixteenth chapter the learned author makes a detailed survey^{of} the accounts of the Shah of Khwarizm, Chingiz Khan, Hulagu Khan and other Mughal rulers.

The seventeenth chapter is devoted to the Saffarids, the Samanids, the Daylamids, the Ghaznavids, the Saljuqs etc.

In the eighteenth chapter the Atabuk of Syria, Ayyubids in Egypt and Syria and the Mamlukes are very briefly discussed.

In the nineteenth chapter the author speaks of the establishment of the Ottoman empire in 1299 A.D.

In the twentieth chapter the author first gives accounts of the Roman empire and then deals with Sultan Muhammad Khan I, Sultan Murad Khan I, and Sultan Muhammad Khan II and others. He also briefly deals with the history of Constantinople which was founded by Constantine the Great in 327 A.D.

The last chapter contains details of the war waged by Salim I against the Mamlukes and the conquests of Syria and Egypt by him in 1516 A.D. and in 1517 A.D. respectively.

The work is political more than cultural history of Islam. However, written in a simple and lucid manner, it is a good addition

to the study of Islamic history. In this work the author has given only Hijra dates neglecting the Christian ones. Besides, he has also given no reference of his sources in footnotes nor has he added bibliography. This has restricted the utility of such an important work.

His other works include *Tārīkh-i-Zawāl-i-Millat-i-Islāmiyah* (history of the fall of the Muslim community) and *Āina-i-Haqīqat Numā*.

Munshi Abd al-Razzaq Kanpuri was also a historian of good repute. He was born in 1866.²³⁸ From his pen we have "*al-Baramikah*", "*Nizām al-Mulk Tūsi*", "*Fārūq-i-Azam*", "*Mamūn al-Rashid*" and "*Tārīkh-i-Islām*" (in six volumes). The last four works are unpublished. He died on 17 February, 1948.²³⁹

Another renowned historian was Habib al-Rahman Khān Sherwānī (1867-1950).²⁴⁰ He wrote *Sirat-i-Siddiq* (Life of Abū Bakr, R.A.). This work consists of three main chapters. The first chapter covers the period from Abū Bakr's early life to the death of the Prophet (S.A.W.); the second chapter is an account of Abū Bakr's caliphate and the third is on the virtues of Abū Bakr (R.A.). His other work was *Shān-i-Risalat*.

No less famous was Aslam Jairājpurī. He was born at Jairājpur, a town in Azamgarh, U.P., on 27 January 1882.²⁴¹ His father's

²³⁸ *Fikr-o-Nazar* (Nāmwarān-i-Āligarh), Vol.3, p.55.

²³⁹ *Ibid* p.59. Also see *Sir Sayyid Aur Āligarh Tahrik*, p.283.

²⁴⁰ See *Sir Sayyid Aur Āligarh Tahrik*, p.279.

²⁴¹ *Jairājpurī*, Muḥammad Aslam, *Mērī Talīb-al-Ilmi*, in *Jamīah* (Maulānā Muḥammad Aslam Jairājpurī Number), Delhi, March-May 1982, pp.12, 173.

name was Maulānā Salāmat Ullāh. Aslam Jairājpurī memorized the Qurān at the age of eight years. He also studied Persian, Arabic, Jurisprudence, tradition, logic, philosophy, literature, mathematics and English.

In 1903 he was engaged as a translator in the newspaper (Paisah) published from Lahore. In the year 1906 he was appointed as a Lecturer in Arabic and Persian in the Collegiate School of Aligarh. Six years later he was appointed as Professor in Arabic and Persian in Madrasah-al-Ulūm (School of Science), Aligarh. In 1920 when Jami'ah Milliyyah²⁴² was founded, he joined it on the invitation of Maulānā Muhammad Ali and served it till his death on 28 December, 1955 A.D.²⁴³ His historical works are Sirat-i-Amr b-al-As and Tarikh al-Ummat in eight volumes.

Tarikh al-Ummat (Vol. 1) is devoted to the life of the Prophet (S.A.W.).

The second volume (1922) deals with the orthodox caliphate.

The third volume (1923) is a study of the Umayyad rulers and their achievements.

The fourth and fifth volumes are devoted to the Abbasids.

The sixth volume is related to the Abbasids in Egypt.

²⁴² Jami'ah Milliyyah was shifted from Aligarh to Qarolbagh, Delhi in 1925 and then in 1940 it was shifted to Okhla, Delhi, where it is still situated but the area in which it is located is now called Jami'ah Nagar.

²⁴³ See Jami'ah (Maulānā Muhammad Aslam Jairājpurī Number), p.182.

The seventh volume (1930) gives a vivid account of the Ottomans.

In the eighth volume (1944) the author discusses the history of Islam in the light of the Quran. He emphasises that the Islamic state should be based on divine precepts.

The literature of Islamic history of the period under study may chiefly be classified as follows :

- (1) The maghazi or sirat literature
- (2) Biographies
- (3) General history of Islam
- (4) Essays on various subjects relating to Islam.

It is to be noted that the works of the above historiographers are not subjected to any type of partisan nor do they suffer from prejudice and begotry.

Also to be noted is the fact that though the writers of both 'Aligarh and Azamgarh schools undertook historical writings with a common object — to refute the charges made against Islam by orientalist and Christian missionaries, they differ in their approach to Islamic historiography. Sir Sayyid and his friends tried to integrate religion with modern science and philosophy. Deeply impressed by the progress of experimental science in Europe, he adopted Reason and Nature as his criteria in assessing the sources. This aroused the resentment of the Muslims, who could not agree with his peculiar blend of faith and reason. However, as the founder and inspirer of the 'Aligarh movement which influenced a number of Muslim

writers like Cherāgh ^ʿAlī and others, Sir Sayyid may rightly be regarded as the master trend setter.

On the other hand, Shibli and his followers who were more adept in Islamic sciences endeavoured to interpret Islamic history in its true perspective. Though Shibli laid equal stress on what he calls Dirayat — the application of common sense and reason in assessing the sources, he reaffirmed the value of Hadith as an essential source of history.

Though general historians could not produce works of as high order as those of above schools, their contribution to the advancement of Islamic historiography can by no means be underrated. They did all in their power to promote Islamic historiography in North India, during the period under study.

The major drawback with most of these historians was their unacquaintance with foreign languages like Greek, Latin and even English. It was due to this limitation that they could not make full advantage of the works of foreign writers. A knowledge of foreign languages on their part would have surely enhanced the value and readability of their historical writings. Despite this, they, however, deserve high appreciation for their copious contribution to the study of Islamic history in North India between 1870 and 1947.