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Sirjuddin Ahmed

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DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT

**THE
TRUTH ABOUT THE KHILAFAT.**

COMPILED BY

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PREFACE.

On the conclusion of the Grecio-Turkish War in 1897, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the great Indian Musalman Reformer of the nineteenth century, felt the necessity of expressing his views on the subject of the Khilafat for the guidance of his co-religionists in this country. He wrote a series of seven Articles which were published in the *Aligarh Institute Gazette*.

The *substance* of these articles was, no doubt, of very great importance, and one wonders to find no reference to it in the *Hayat-i-Jawaid*, a most exhaustive work on the life and works of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, in Urdu. This requires a few words of explanation. The first life of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, was compiled and published in English by Lieutenant-Colonel Graham, a friend and great admirer of the Syed in 1885. This book was very favourably received by the English Communities in India and England, but it could not claim to be exactly a biography, being only a translation of such writings and speeches of Syed Ahmed Khan as Colonel Graham considered to be of importance and interest to the English readers. It contained of course accounts of Sir Syed's works regarding the education of the Indian Musalmans, the founding of the Aligarh College, and other works of reform, but it lacked a good deal of what a biography should contain.

At the instance of Nawab Haji Ismail Khan of Datawali, I undertook to compile a Life of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in Urdu, and finished my work in 1892. It was then proposed to publish the book during his life time, provided the Syed agreed

to read the manuscript and to correct it. But Sir Syed refused to do so, as he had done to give me any help in the preparation of it. He always, stubbornly maintained, out of modesty, that it was a useless task to write his biography, that is, his works were not worth taking any notice of. It is also certain that he never gave any help to Colonel Graham, which has led to the introduction of many errors in the accounts of his family and of his early life. Colonel Graham had to be content with such information as he could collect from Sir Syed's friends, as I had to travel all over India to meet those gentlemen who were considered likely to furnish information *about* the subject.

The idea of publishing the book during Sir Syed's lifetime had to be abandoned and the manuscript remained with Nawab Haji Ismail Khan. Sir Syed died in March 1898, and as shortly after that, I left for England, the manuscript was made over to Shamsul-Ulama Khwaja Altaf Husain Hali of Panipat, the great Musalman poet of the century and an accomplished prose writer as well. There was surely no person in India, more suited to do justice to the subject and to edit the book. He rewrote the whole book, arranging the subjects according to his own ideas, but it appears that Sir Syed's articles on the Khilafat escaped his notice, in fact it seems, he did not take much trouble in collecting more material beyond what I had done. I had of course been carefully preserving all that Sir Syed wrote after 1892, with a view to use it in future when necessity arose, and there were other admirers of Sir Syed, who did the same.

As the present Great War gave rise to another occasion, similar to the one in 1897, and as I thought that the young Indian Musalmans, seemed to have no recollection or notion of what Sir Syed had written on the subject of Khilafat, I thought it fit to republish in Urdu, the articles in a small

pamphlet. I selected five articles out of the seven, as the two were merely the repetition of what was contained in the five articles. Articles No. 6 and No. 7 were written by the Syed in his famous journal *Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq* (The Muhammadan Social Reformer) in early eighties, and I *have given* them place in the pamphlet as they have an indirect reference to the subject in question.

I added to these articles, what may be called a review of Sir Syed's writings, and I need offer no apology for it, as I think it will make Sir Syed's articles *more* comprehensible to their readers.

The present English translation of Sir Syed's articles, is as literal as it could be but I have omitted in this English version, the introduction to the Urdu pamphlet, as it was meant for young Musalman readers only, and I have also left out some thirty pages of my writings towards the end of the pamphlet which dealt with the present situation of the affairs or contained Sir Syed's views on such matters which have no direct bearing on the subject under discussion. But I have inserted at the end an article I had written on the "Revolution in Arabia" which was published partly in the *Bombay Times of India* of 25th July, and a full version of it appeared in the *Morning Post of Delhi*, in its issue of 28th July 1916.

It is not necessary here to point out the worth and value of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's utterances and writings which will surely always serve as a guide to the right path for the right-minded Musalmans of India. English Statesmen of all degrees and shades of thought have expressed in their times, their appreciation of the noble work performed by the Syed during his life time, but I am tempted to quote here, the short and sweet *but* perfectly true words spoken by Sir Michael

O'Dwyer, the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, about Sir Syed, in his reply to an address presented to him by the Anjuman Islamia, Rawalpindi, on 2nd August 1913. He said "No people at a critical time of their history ever had a wiser leader than the Muhammadan Community had in Sir Syed, and no Government had a sounder or more trusted adviser."

RAWALPINDI ;
22nd August 1916. }

SIRAJ-UD-DIN AHMED.

THE ARTICLES
OF
**SIR SYED AHMAD KHAN ON THE
KHILAFAT.**

I

The Khilafat and the Khalifa.

Khilafat literally means succession, and the person who succeeds is called the Khalifa. But the word Khalifa has now assumed a religious significance, and the Khalifa is looked upon as a person holding a religious office. The origin of the Khalifa may be traced to the Roman Catholic religion. The head of the Roman Catholic church is regarded as a successor of St. Peter, a Disciple of Christ, and is styled the Pope.

According to the belief of the Roman Catholics the Pope is infallible, which means that he can do no wrong. The Roman Catholics believe that the Pope has complete authority in matters temporal and spiritual as well as power to grant absolution. That the Pope has authority in temporal matters does not require any comment. By his authority in spiritual matters is meant, that his religious ordinances must be obeyed without question, whether they accord with existing religious ordinances or not, and whether they declare what is unlawful to be lawful or *vice versa*.

By the Pope's power to grant absolution the Catholics mean that he can forgive the sins of any person who confesses them before him, and that person then becomes

as pure as if he had committed no sin at all and on the day of judgment will not be answerable for his sins.

After the death of the Prophet of Islam, Abu Bakr succeeded him with the title of Khalifa. But he was not a Khalifa in the sense in which the Pope is regarded as a successor of St. Peter. He had no authority in religious matters, except that he was to carry into practice the teachings of the Prophet, help others to do the same, and look to the temporal needs of the Muslim community. He had no power whatever to declare lawful that which was unlawful in Islam, nor to declare unlawful that which was lawful. He had no authority to abrogate any religious commandment nor to introduce any new practices in Islam. He could not pardon the sins of any one, nor could he intercede with God for the pardon of any one's sins.

No Roman Catholic can call into question the ordinances of the Holy Pope, but in Islam every Muslim has a right to refuse obedience to a Khalifa, if his orders are opposed to the Commandments of God and the teachings of the Prophet. Briefly the Khalifa in Islam had no power to frame new rules in religion. All that was expected of him was to see that the teachings of the Prophet were duly practiced and that no evils found their way into the Muslim Society. No doubt Abu Bakr was called the Khalifa of the Prophet, but Omar who followed Abu Bakr, substituted for this title that of Amir-ul-Mominin (the chief of the faithful) which was quite appropriate and in accordance with the position. The title of Amir-ul-Mominin remained in use till the time of Ali, but those who afterwards came into power again assumed the title of Khalifa, thinking that it conveyed a greater idea of Holiness.

In connection with the Khilafat there is a difference

of opinion as to whether the Khalifa should belong to the Quresh, the tribe of the Prophet, or whether a non-Quresh was also eligible to hold the Khilafat.

The traditions of the Prophet bearing on this point are various. In the Mustadrik of Hakim and in another work by the same author on surnames there is a tradition related by Ans which runs thus "The Amirs are from the Quresh" the Sunan of Baihqui and the Mustadrik of Hakim say on the authority of Ali that the Imams are to be from the Quresh" The Masnad of Imam Hanbal, Bukhari and Muslim say on the authority of Ibn i-Omar that "Authority shall always remain with the Quresh." Mujam Tibrani and the Masnad of Imam Ahmad Hanbal contain a tradition related by Zi-Mujmar which runs as follows:—" This *Amr* was among the Hamir, but God took it away from them and bestowed it on the Quresh." The word *Amr* in this tradition means leadership, for no person belonging to the tribe of Hamir can, in any way, be the Khalifa of the Prophet. So it is quite clear that *Amr* means headship or authority and not Khilafat in the ordinary or accepted sense of the word.

The Masnad of Imam Ahmad Hanbal, the Masnad of Abi-y'ali the Sahib of Ibn-i-Habban and the Jami of Tirmazi, contain the following tradition related by Safina, "After me the Khilafat shall remain among my people for thirty years; after that there shall be kings." The Sunan of Abu-Daud and the Mustadrak of Hakim say on the authority of the same Safina that "Khilafat shall last for thirty years, after that God shall grant Kingship to whomsoever he wishes."

All these traditions that we have quoted above as well as others on the same subject are in our opinion fabricated and unworthy of credit. But granting their genuineness

we consider that as Khilafat was to last for thirty years after the death of the Holy Prophet, and as the period of thirty years expired with the abdication of Imam Hassan, there is no reason why those who came into power after that time, should be styled the Khalifas of the Prophet or Khalifas in the accepted sense of the term, whether they belong to the Quresh triben or not. So the people who rose to power after the termination of the period of Khilafat may be styled, Kings or Sultans or Amirs and the spiritual relations subsisting between the Musalmans and those Khalifas, who flourished within thirty years after the death of the Prophet, cannot exist between the Muhamadans and those Muslim rulers who came into power after the expiration of that period, whether they call themselves Khalifas or Amirs or Sultans. Thus we cannot look upon any Muslim ruler who holds sway in any country as more than a mere ruler. We cannot recognise him as a Khalifa of the Prophet or a Khalifa of a Khalifa of the Prophet. No doubt we are bound to him by ties of Islamic brotherhood, we rejoice with him in his welfare or good fortune and sympathise when any misfortune befalls him.

The Musalmans rejoiced at the triumph of Turkey over Greece simply because of that fraternity which Islam has established among all its followers. Supposing the Turks had suffered defeat, it would have grieved us quite naturally. The Greeks are not our rulers and we are not their subjects, so we can have no hesitation in saying that it is well that the Greeks have been vanguished and humiliated and the Turks have gained the victory.

We do not know at all, what policy the British Government, under whose benign rule, we Musalmans, live in the peace and security, adopted in the war between Greece and Turkey. I am not prepared to agree with those who

think that the policy of the English Government was hostile to Turkey, they seem to us to be quite ignorant of the real state of things. But supposing the British Government is compelled to pursue an unfriendly policy towards Turkey, we according to the plain teachings of Islam cannot shake ourselves free from those obligations of obedience and submission which we owe to our rulers. Our duty as plainly set forth by our religion is to obey our rulers and remain quite loyal to them. The utmost that we can do is to pray to God that the relations between the British Government and Musalman States, such as Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan, may always remain cordial and friendly, and that there may not be any conflict between them.

II

The Greeks and the Turks.

In their joy at the victory of Turkey over Greece the Musalmans have overstepped the bounds of moderation, and have styled it the victory of Islam. In our opinion it is absurd to drag Islam into such matters. The victory of Islam was achieved on that day when the Prophet of Islam took his stand before thousands of infidels and proclaimed that there is no God, but God.. The infidels continued to say "Has he reduced our Gods to one, surely this a strange thing". But the Prophet of God went on preaching "There is no God, but God" and the command of God "worship me this is the straight path". To style the victory of a Muslim ruler as the triumph of Islam is to betray utter ignorance of the dignity of Islam. Victory and defeat are in the hands of God. He himself says, " we alternate these days among the peoples of the world." Sometimes Musalmans get the upper hand and sometimes the non-Muslims. If we call the victory by the Turks over

the Russians, with the help of the English and the French, the victory of Islam; shall we designate the defeat of the Turks by the Russians the defeat of Islam? Never! Our meaning is this, that it is the height of ignorance and folly to associate Islam with such affairs, which pertain to this world and are regulated by material causes and are always fluctuating. Islam has achieved a victory which is real and everlasting, it can never suffer defeat.

We may rejoice that a Muslim State has come out with flying colours from this war, but to invest this event with a religious significance and to call it the victory of Islam is certainly overstepping all bounds of propriety. Surely this victory is not so grand as to justify all this fuss. Every one knows that Greece is quite an insignificant power, and if it rises in arms against Turkey, it will be smashed in no time. What made thinking people so anxious was, the strange fact that Greece had been so bold as to take up arms against Turkey, and it was surmised that some powerful State, was at its back. This suspicion was strengthened by the unreasonable speeches and writings of Mr. Gladstone and the mad ravings of the radical zealots of London. But every sensible person could understand that Mr. Gladstone was not at the head of Government and the radical minority could not sway the policy of the existing Government. So the idea that the policy of the British Government is inimical to Turkey is entirely a mistaken one, and the outcome of ignorance, for when war was actually declared, none of the great powers took up the cause of Greece. The future will be guided wholly by political considerations and not by hostility to Islam.

In our opinion much of the outcry raised by the Musalmans was solely due to the tone of the British Press. Mr. Gladstone and the English newspapers denounced Musalmans

and strongly condemned the Turks. This was very irritating and painful to the Musalmans in general and particularly to the Turks.

Now after the Turkish victory the Musalmans as a reaction from that state of annoyance have indulged in excessive rejoicings and the Government has watched this quietly. We too do not find fault with these demonstrations of joy, but we wish to point out that we are subjects of the British Government, and as such we must not loose sight of the fact that in our relations with foreign powers we cannot do anything that should savour of hostility to our English Government. It is our first and foremost duty to bear in mind that in matters of this kind we do not act contrary to the wishes of the Government.

III

Indian Musalman's Sympathy for the Turks.

If anybody is instrumental in saving the life of our friend or helps him out of difficulty, are we not bound to show our gratitude to him.

The most critical time in the history of the Turks was, when in 1855 Russia declared war upon Turkey. This is known in history as the Crimean war. In this war the English and the French came forward to help the Turks with men and money, and it is an undeniable fact that if these two powers had not espoused the cause of Turkey, the Turkish Empire would have ceased to exist. Now the question arises if the Musalmans of India really sympathised with the Turks, why after the victorious termination of the Crimean war did they not give expression of their gratitnde to France and England. Why did they not offer up prayers for them in

their mosques? And why did they not send telegrams expressive of thankfulness to these two Governments? An English gentleman charges Indian Musalmans with ingratitude, and says that just when the British Government assisted Turkey with men and money and saved her from annihilation, the Indian Musalmans rose in mutiny against the English. Had they had any real sympathy with the Turks they would never have forgotten the deep debt of gratitude which the Turks owed to the British, and would never have taken up arms against the English Government.

We do not agree with the above mentioned gentleman, as in our opinion nobody had any intention of rising against the English. According to a well known historian Mr. Kay, it was not a revolt, but a sepoy war, and was principally due to mal-administration and not to any design of rebellion. Still there is no answer to the question as to why at that time the Indian Musalmans failed to express their gratitude to England and France.

In 1876 war again broke out between Turkey and Russia and the exploits of Ghazi Osman Pasha became the talk of the day. But unfortunately the Turks had the worst of it, and in 1878 the conquering Russians after taking Plevna and Shibka, reached the walls of Constantinople. At this time the utter extinction of the Turkish Empire was imminent, but when all seemed lost, the British Government came to the rescue, despatched her fleet to the Turkish waters and cried 'Halt' to Russia. It was the intervention of England alone, that saved the situation and brought about the Treaty of Berlin which guaranteed the integrity of Turkey and left it as we see it today. If England had not stepped in to help the Turks, it would have been impossible for them to survive this defeat. The question is, why the Musalmans did not express their gratitude to England for this valuable help to Turkey.

In the recent war with Greece Adham Pasha did not display greater heroism than Osman Pasha did at Plevna. How was it that while the Musalmans extolled Adham to the skies, they never made any demonstration for Osman. We have no answer to this question, except that it was due to the light-headed folly of a few and the majority simply followed their example.

Those who think that the rejoicings of the Musalmans at the Turkish victory over Greece have any political significance are quite mistaken. It was a mere foolish outburst. The Sultan is a Khalifa, in no other sense than that in which the Abasides and Omayyads were called Khalifas, and no Muslim looks upon the mandates of the Sultan of Turkey as obligatory as the Catholics regard those of the Pope or they themselves consider those of the rightly guided Khalifas. How can we therefore conclude that their demonstrations are due to any political motives, although we think that their doing so, without the permission of the Government whose subjects they are, was highly objectionable.

IV

The Khilafat.

The Prophet of God combined in his person the three following functions :—

- (1) He was the recipient of the Divine Law.
- (2) He had to promulgate that law amongst mankind.
- (3) He had to maintain order; to enforce the law and to secure obedience to it; he had to protect his followers and to repel with force any invasion of their rights and liberties.

The first of these functions came to an end when the Prophet died, and in this respect no body was his Khalifa or deputy, nor in the nature of things can any one claim to be such.

As regards the second function, all the lawyers, divines and traditionists, who preach the law and teachings of Islam amongst mankind may be regarded as the Khalifas or deputies of the Prophet. In view of this, some of the commentators of the Holy Quran while commenting on the verse "O ye who have believed, obey God, obey the Prophet, and obey those who possess authority amongst ye" have included the chief Imams of the Prophet's family and the Muslim divine or learned men among those "who possess authority amongst ye."

As regards the third function, those persons may be considered the Khalifas of the Prophet who rule over a country, are in a position to enforce the law and to compel obedience to it, and have the ability to protect the country and to repel the encroachments by the enemies, provided they partake of the character of the Prophet, are adorned with outward and inward purity and conform to the laws and ordinances of Islam. It is just possible that Muslim rulers who hold sway over any country style themselves Khalifas in consideration of the third function of the Prophet. But their Khilafat or Government is confined to the Muslim inhabitants of that country alone over which they rule. For it is essential that a Khalifa should have absolute and independent power over his dominions and should be able to enforce the laws of Islam, uphold the true religion, to protect the lives and properties of his people against enemies, and to maintain order and peace in his country.

People who do not admit the claim of the Sultan of Turkey to the Khilafat, urge, that he does not come from the Quresh. But those who recognize his title to the Khilafat, assert that

the tradition requiring the Khalifa to be a Quresh is not genuine. We do not enter into this controversy, but acknowledging the Khilafat of the Sultan still maintain, that he can be Khalifa for those Musalmans only over whom he rules and among whom he has power to enforce the Islamic laws, to punish offences, and to uphold the ordinances of Islam. He can in no sense be the Khalifa for these, over whom he has no such authority, the conditions for his Khilafat being altogether absent. We Indian Musalmans are subjects of the British Government, under whom we enjoy the blessings of peace. This Government has vouchsafed to us not only piece and security, but religious liberty also. The religion of the rulers is Christianity, but if a Christian turns Musalman, there is no interference on the part of the Government, just as there is none if a Muslim turns Christian. Christian Missionaries have no connection with the Government. They have liberty to go about preaching their religion just as hundreds of Musalman go about preaching theirs.

Besides this complete religious liberty there is perfect security of life and property. All our rights relating to marriage, divorce, inheritance, &c., are regulated according to Islamic laws. The judge may be a Christian, but he is bound to decide such cases on the basis of the Islamic jurisprudence. For these reasons it is our religious duty to be loyal and faithful to British Government, and never to say or do anything which may savour disloyalty. We are not the subjects of Sultan Abdul Hamid Khan, nor has he any authority over us or in our country. No doubt he is a Musalman ruler and as such we are pleased when he is attended with some good fortune and feel sorry when some misfortune overtake him, but according to Islamic law he can in no way be our Khalifa. If he is Khalifa, he is such for those only over whom he holds jurisdiction.

A reference to Islamic History will clearly show that the sovereigns who adopted the title of Khalifa were acknowledged as such only in those countries which were under their direct rule, but no one recognised his Khilafat or Imamatus beyond his territorial jurisdiction.

For instance Abu Bakr who assumed the reins of government after the death of the Prophet, was called Khalifa. But when Omar succeeded him he did not like to be called Khalifa of the Prophet, and adopted the title of Amir-ul-Mominin (chief of the faithful). This title remained in vogue till the time of Imam Hassan. When Imam Hassan abdicated and Muawiya, son of Abu Sufyan, who belonged to Omayya family came into power and Damascus became the capital, he too was styled Amir and is still known in history as Amir Muawiya. But as the term Khalifa, was regarded as sacred, because it implied succession to the Prophet, therefore, the Beni Omayya rulers who came after Muawiya, assumed the title of Khalifa, which in reality meant nothing more than a King.

When Alsaifah the founder of the Abbaside dynasty overthrew the Omayyides power in 754 A. D. and his successor Almansoor transferred the seat of government from Damascus to Baghdad, Khalifa became a fixed title for the rulers, and all Abbaside Kings, like those of the Imayyides bore that title.

During the Khilafat (rule) of Almuqtadir Abbasi, another Khilafat was set up in Africa, by Abdulla-al-Mehdi, with its seat of Government at Kairwan. This new Khilafat was founded in 909 A. D. In 952 Almuizbilla transferred his capital to Egypt. Abdulla-al-Mehdi and his successors, who were the descendants of Ali adopted the title of Khalifa. Thus it was that the Islamic world was divided between two independent Khalifas, each, having absolute authority over his own dominions.

In 755 A. D. Abdul Rahman Aldakhil had entered Spain and founded a new Omayide dynasty in that country. For some time his successors abstained from adopting the title of Khalifa, but during the Khilafat of Almuqtadir at Baghdad, Abdul Rahman Nasir sat on the throne of Spain in 912 he assumed the title of Khalifa and his successors after him, continued to bear that title. Their seat of government was at Cardova.

Thus at one and the sametime there were three absolute Khalifas in the Muslim world, each independent of the other, namely the Abbasides in Baghdad, the Ulvies in Egypt, and the descendants of Abdul Rahman Nasir in Spain. These three Khalifas regarded themselves as Khalifas of only those countries which were under their direct rule. Each Khalifa had Muftis and Qazis attached to his court who expounded the law and enforced it according to the will of the Khalifa of their own country. In the Abbaside Khilafat the Courts followed the Hanfi law. In the Courts of the Egyptian Khilafat the Ismaili law was administered and the Maliki law was in force in the Courts of Spain.

The examples that we have cited above make it sufficiently clear that Sultan Abdul Hamid Khan cannot be Khalifa for the Indian Musalmans who are subjects of the British Government.

Undoubtedly the Sultan is the protector of the two sacred places, rather of three holy cities, namely Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem, the last being regarded sacred by the Musalmans, Jews and Christians alike. But this fact has nothing to do with his claim to be called Khalifa.

Some people assert that in every age there should be one Khalifa for all the Musalmans of the world, consequently they look upon the Sultan of Turkey as such a Khalifa. But this

is a mistaken view of the case. The contention that there should be one Khalifa or Imam for the whole world does not find any support from the Quran or Hadis (traditions of the Prophet). Such a Kha'ifa has never existed in the world and perhaps shall never come into existence. Musalmans inhabit different parts of the world, and when they live in countries ruled by non-Muslims, no Musalman can be Khalifa over them, nor a universal Imam, which is another term for Khalifa. Besides this view is falsified by the historical events we have just related, which clearly prove that there were three Khalifas at one and the same time, who were declared to be rightful Khalifas by the Muslim Jurists, Divines and Qazis who lived under their rule.

Musalmans also believe that just before the Day of Doom, when Christ descends from Heaven, Imam Mehdi, will make his appearance, who will be Imam for the whole world. Those who will be in the world of the living, will see what takes place then, but in our opinion, neither Christ will come down from heaven nor is any Mehdi going to make his appearance, for all the traditions relating to the resurrection of Christ and the appearance of Mehdi are spurious.

From some traditions it is inferred that it is indispensable for every Musalman to recognise the Imam of the time and submit to him. These traditions too are fabricated and not worthy of credit. But we do not wish to discuss the subject and taking the truth of those traditions for granted, we also assert that it is obligatory for every man to know and to submit to the Khalifa, under whose rule he lives. Every one who lives under a Government is bound to be obedient to it but not to a foreign rule with which he has no direct connection. In short no Musalman ruler can be a Khalifa for those Musalmans who do not live in his dominions.

The Imam and the Imamatus.

By Imam we do not mean a person who leads the prayers in a mosque, but one who by virtue of his spiritual perfection, great learning and piety comes to be known by this title.

The Prophet was God's Messenger, it was his duty to promulgate God's commands, and to protect the Musalmans. He possessed besides this personal perfections and virtues in the highest degree. So to acquire a likeness in the various attributes of the Prophet, enables a person to attain to the dignity of Imam. For instance, the Prophet possessed to perfection, the ability to interpret and explain the divine law by the help of holy inspiration, any person, therefore who acquires the ability to elucidate problems of law and divinity, though he is not infallible, is looked on by the people as an Imam. It is for this reason that the four great jurists, Abu Hanifa, Shafai, Hambal, and Malik were given the title of Imam.

Similarly the Aima Ahlibait (the Imams of the Prophet's family) were called Imams) because the majority of Musalmans admitted their having acquired resemblance with the Prophet, either through instruction or by inspiration, in his virtues of personal purity, spiritual excellence, and knowledge of divine laws.

The Musalmans again, conferred the title of Imam on Ghizali Fakharruddin Razi and other learned men in ethics for they established their reputation through logical reasonings as to their having attained likeness to the Prophet in treating of the science of human duty, morals and faith.

In like manner a person who acquires resemblance to the Prophet in all his spiritual and moral attributes and is at

the same time the ruler of a country in which he has power to enforce law and to protect the Musalmans, he has an undoubted right to be styled an Imam or Khalifa for that country over which he possesses the authority. If he does not bear any resemblance to the Prophet in any of his virtues but is merely the ruler of a country he can only be called the Sultan or King of that country, and not the Imam or Khalifa of the Prophet, although he may adopt that title for self glorification and compel the people to call him a Khalifa. Any religious mandates issued by such a Khalifa do not carry any weight at all.

Considering the state of things at the present time, there appears to be no such person who may justly claim the position of an Imam, nor there is any person, who is entitled to be called the Khalifa of the Prophet, although he should be the ruler of a country. Any Musalman who is governing a country can only be called the Sultan of that country and he is in reality so, whatever title he may have assumed for himself.

We have now to see, what are the teachings of Islam as to the duties which Muslim subjects owe to their Sultan or Sovereign. A Hadis (tradition of the Prophet) which we quote here verbatim from the *Mishkat* will throw light on the subject:—

Ibn-i-Omar has reported a saying of the Prophet that "A king is the shadow of God on the earth. Every wronged person out of his subjects, seeks his protection. If he deals justly, he shall be rewarded, and his subjects are bound to be thankful to him. But if he is unjust he shall be answerable to God, and it is incumbent on his subjects to be patient."

In this tradition the word Sultan (ruler) occurs without any qualifying word, from which it must be concluded, that the subjects are bound to behave towards their ruler in the manner described in this tradition, irrespective of his religion, whether he be a Musalman, a Christian, a Jew or a Fireworshipper or an Idolworshipper.

In this tradition the king is styled the shadow of God, because every wronged person seeks the protection of his Sovereign in the same way as he does of God.

Now we come to the consideration of the case of the Indian Musalmans, who are living in peace and security as subjects of the British Government, which deals justly with them to the best of its abilities. The Government has framed laws for the settlement of their all kinds of disputes and every one knows the consequences of his acts.

English Government has granted religious freedom to all communities under its rule. The followers of each religion have their religious matters settled according to the rules of their own religion. There is perfect security of life and property. Every body has perfect liberty, and nobody is questioned unless he is seditious or mischief monger. So the Musalmans particularly in view of the tradition quoted above, must feel grateful to the Government and must not as long as they are the subjects of this Government do or say anything which should savour of sedition, rebellion, or hostility.

There are various other traditions in the books of Hadis, in which the Holy Prophet has enjoined in the most distinct and emphatic terms to render implicit obedience to their rulers under all circumstances, whether they oppress them or treat them in a just and generous manner. In all these traditions the word *Hakim* (ruler) is not preceded with any qualifying word, as to his religion. The Musalmans

are bound to obey the teachings contained in these traditions, and consequently it is obligatory upon them to be perfectly loyal and faithful to the British Government under which they are fully enjoying the blessings of peace. They should thank God that he has entrusted their lives, properties, honour and religion, to the care of a Government under which all these things are safe, and which never requires us to do anything which may involve disobedience to God.

VI

The king's name in the Khutba.

Some days ago we read an article in the *Pioneer* on the subject of the Friday *Khutba* (sermon). According to the teachings of Islam every sermon whether delivered on a Friday or on the two 'Ids, should contain nothing but the praise of God and exhortations to virtue. The religion of Islam has not prescribed or fixed the context of the Khutbas, every speaker delivers it according to his own knowledge and ability or reads out one composed by some one else. The Khutba in Islam is nothing more nor less than a sermon among the Christians. The writer in the *Pioneer* has not thrown sufficient light on the question whether a king's name must find a place in the Khutba or not. We propose to discuss the subject in this article.

In the lifetime of the Holy Prophet and during the times of the four rightly guided Khalifas, no body's name was mentioned in the Khutba. But owing to later dissensions and open hostilities among the companions of the Prophet, the Muslim society was split up into two rival factions. As one of the parties openly abused and vituperated the first four Khalifas, the practice of mentioning the names of the four Khalifas and those of the two uncles of the Prophet in the Khutba, was in-

roduced to signify that they were all worthy of honour and reverence, and the jurists recognised this practice as permissible. It is not certain, which of the Khalifas, who were only Kings in reality, had his name and his boastful titles mentioned in the Khutba. Syooti, in his History of the Khalifas, relates on the authority of Ali-bin-Muhamma† Nofli, that no prayers were ever offered for Saffah, Mansoor, Mehdi, Hadi, and Haroon-ur-Rashid* nor were their praises spoken from the pulpit, nor their written farmans (mandates) contain any boastful words. But when Amir ascended the throne of Khilafat, prayers were offered for him from the pulpit under the title of Amir, Askari also writes in his book the Awa'il, that first of all prayers were said for Amir from the pulpit and his title was mentioned in there.

But we should see, what the jurists, on whose opinions الحديث modern Islam principally depends, have to say on this point. Durri-Mukhtar, an authoritative work on Hanfi law says "It is not an act of religious merit to pray for the king in the Friday Khutba." Qahastani, alone has said that it does not matter if the name of the king is mentioned in the Khutba. Bahr-ul-Baiq on the other hand says, that it is improper to mention the name of the king in the Khutba, because it is an innovation. Khutba should only contain advice.

The following is from Durri-Mukhtar and its marginal notes :—

"It is a good act to mention (in the Khutba) the names of the four Khalifas and of the two uncles (Hamza and Abbas) of the Prophet, but it is not so to pray for the reigning king. But Qahastani has held it permissible. He says, that after mentioning the names of the four Khalifas and of the two uncles, prayers may be offered for the king to the effect that he may be enabled to rule justfully and do good to the people.

* First five Khalifas of Abbassaide dynasty.

But one should restrain from such praises of him, which the learned have declared as iniquity and transgression. According to Durri-Mukhtar, Qahastani has only called it, 'permissible' but not 'an act of religious merit.' The reason for this is, that religious merit, consists in doing a thing for which there is religious sanction, but there is no such sanction for taking the name of the king in the Khutba or for praying for him; and Bahrul-Raiq calls it an improper act and an innovation on the authority of Attár-ibn-Yasár." And every innovation in the religion is a transgression.

Like the Khalifas of Baghdad who out of vanity and exultation caused their names to be mentioned in the Khutba, the Emperors of India, ordered their names to be mentioned from the pulpit every Friday. This was of course not a religious act. We have ourselves, heard the name of Akbar Shan, mentioned from the pulpits of Dehli and the same was done at some other places, although he did not possess even the semblance of authority. But in many mosques in India nobody was named after the time of Shah Alam, as the preachers knew, that it was a lie to style Akbar Shah or Bahadur Shah as kings in their sermons

In some of such mosques in which the names of the Mughal Kings were dropped from the Khutba, the preachers considering it essential to name some Muslim king, adopted the practice of naming the Sultan of Turkey therein. This practice was perhaps followed in Calcutta and Bombay and in some other distant places from Dehli, but there were other mosques in which nobody's name was mentioned, and the following short prayer was offered instead "O God help the Muslim with a just ruler, help them to be virtuous and obedient to thyself, and to follow the example of the Prophet, the Syed of the universe." This prayer is now recited in the majority of the mosques in India. It evidently includes a ruler, who

rules justly over us, does not interfere in the performance of our religious duties protects our lives and properties and grants us our rightful privileges. This prayer in fact is not meant for any king, but for the welfare of the Muslim community. The conclusion is that it is not a religious duty or act of the Musalmans to mention the name of a king in the Khutba, nor are they required by their religion to render obedience to any such king.

VII

The Sheikh-ul-Islam.

The office of the Sheikh-ul-Islam is one of great importance in Turkey. By virtue of his office the Sheikh-ul-Islam is a member of the Supreme Council of which the Prime Minister is the chairman and which is called Bab'ali (the sublime porte).

The person who is appointed to this office, must belong to the Hanfi sect, and be a profound scholar and thoroughly versed in Hanfi jurisprudence. The Sheikh-ul-Islam has no power of frame a new rule of Shariat (Muslim Law) or to abrogate or modify any of the existing laws. His sole duty consists to giving the verdict of the Hanfi Law regarding the cases that arise from time to time or when any new law is to be introduced, to give his opinion whether it is in agreement with the principles of Hanfi Law or not. Formerly he possessed very extensive powers, and although those powers have been very much curtailed, he is still in a position to oppose such orders which in his opinion are against the law of Islam.

The Sheikh-ul-Islam therefore has a voice in all the matters relating to the state. For example in the question of the deposition of Sultan Abdulaziz and Murad the assent of the Sheikh-ul-Islam was indispensable. A *Fatwa* (religious

mandate) was obtained from him to the effect that Sultan Abdulaziz was unfit for the work of government and his deposition was in accordance with Islamic law. When a new king was to be installed, the same authority was required to recognise his fitness and right to the throne.

As the Musalmans have come to believe that in all matters whether they relate to faith or to affairs of the world, or the administration of State, Hanfi law must be blindly followed, the Sheikh-ul-Islam, therefore has a right to interpose in all matters of administration, such as the fixing of land revenue, imposing of tax or jazia, issuing orders relating, to commerce and trade, legislation, establishment of courts, prescribing the procedure for such courts, determination of the principles of decision of disputes, military matters, the arranging of treaties with foreign powers, the equipment of the Army and even the details of its uniform, arms, and drilling did not escape his interference.

The Musalmans to whatever country they may belong, never believe that the Sheikh-ul-Islam possesses any such spiritual qualities so as to render submission to his orders obligatory for the Musalmans. They do not regard him as the Roman Catholic Christians regard the Pope. It is because, he is recognised as the greatest learned man in the Hanfi law that respect is shown to his opinions.

In former times when the Turks were backward in civilization the Sheikh-ul-Islam, like the Pope, enjoyed complete and unlimited authority. But gradually restrictions were placed upon his power which was appreciably curtailed by Sultan Mahmood. He is not the lion now, but only a skin of it, in other words the shadow of his former self. The Fatwas are still issued through him, and his interference in courts has been very much limited.

There was a time when the dismissal of a Sheikh-ul-Islam was not an easy matter. He at once issued a Fatwa, proclaiming the Sultan to have become an infidel or a Christian and stir up a rebellion. But the times have changed. Telegrams received on Monday have announced that the Sheikh-ul-Islam was dismissed and another one appointed in his place. Our European contemporaries are not acquainted with the principles of Islam, and therefore we do not know what ideas they have about the Sheikh-ul-Islam. The *Pioneer* writes "that some time ago we referred to a proclamation of jihad. This proclamation was issued by the same Sheikh-ul-Islam who has been removed from his office, and we assured the Government that the Indian Musalmans would not at all be affected by that proclamation, however great their sympathy with the Turks, might be. In the same way the dismissal of the Sheikh-ul-Islam is another such matter which might have some effect in Constantinople, but it will not affect the Muslim subjects of His Majesty the Emperor of India."

We wish to point out that Sheikh-ul-Islam is nobody in Islam. No one is under compulsion to obey his orders, and those who refuse to obey him do not cease to be Muslims nor do they commit any sin by doing so. His office is not such a religious office at all, as that of the Pope. Every Muslim has a right to examine his orders and to refute them if they are wrong. The Musalmans of India have nothing to do with the Sheikh-ul-Islam of Constantinople, nor is any of his orders binding upon them. They are the subjects of the British Government, under whom they live in peace, while the Muslims of Turkey are quite in a different state. Hence the laws applicable to the Turkish Musalmans do not apply to the Muslims in India and the orders of the Sheikh-ul-Islam have no religious value for the Musalmans of this country. It is a

religious duty of the Indian Musalmans to be strictly loyal to the Sovereign under whom they enjoy perfect security and complete religious liberty, however, great their fellow feelings for their Turkish brethren may be, and whatever may take place in Turkey or Constantinople. Supposing England to be in place of Russia, trying to seize Turkish territory by force; this action might have caused any amount of sorrow and grief to the Indian Musalmans, still in accordance with the teachings of Islam, they had no alternative, but to be loyal to the English Government under whom they enjoyed religious freedom. We wish to ask our European friends to bear in mind that any revolution in Turkey or any proclamation issued in that country has no religious effect on us here in India. But at the same time there is no doubt, that the Musalmans feel very keenly when anything happens detrimental to the interests of Turkey. It is absurd in the extreme to say that the sympathy of the Indian Musalmans with Turkey is due to the fact that they believe him to be their religious head. The sympathy is natural as a Muslim feels for another Muslim, and it has been very much increased as the result of education and newspapers and facilities in travelling which have brought about easy means of intercourse between the two countries.

The Truth about the Khilafat.

Some Musalmans believe that the Khilafat must be held by one or other of the Muslim rulers in the world, and that by virtue of his position the Khalifa commands the obedience of all Musalmans. They also believe that for several generations the right to the position of Khilafat has been vested in the Osmanli rulers of Turkey. The matter for consideration is, whether the status of a Khalifa, as generally understood has any foundation and whether there is any need for such an office in the creed of Islam.

The meaning of the word Khalifa is, "successor" that is, one who takes the place of another. But there can be no such thing as a successor if the rights and responsibilities of the position cannot be derived from the previous incumbent.

Every Musalman ruler may be said to be a Khalifa in its primary sense, if he has succeeded to the throne he occupies. It is obvious from this that the Turkish rulers do not claim the Khilafat in that sense.

Another meaning of the word Khalifa, is "agent or deputy." For example where in the Quran, God calls Adam, His Khalifa, in a metaphorical sense, there the meaning plainly is agent or deputy.

In the Quran the word Khalifa is also used in the sense of dominion or sovereignty.

As it says: -

"God has promised to such of you as have believed and act virtuously that He shall surely grant them dominion over the land, just as he had granted dominion to those who had preceeded them."

Keeping in view all these various meanings of the word, we have to consider what kind of Khilafat is that the Sultans of Tur'ey lay claim to.

According to the sense in which the Quran calls man the Khalifa of God, the term applies to all human beings. In the same way Khilafat as meaning sovereignty comprehends all Musalman rulers.

Thus in Islam we cannot find any trace of a Khilafat, which should invest a Muslim ruler with any peculiar privilege rendering imperative for the Musalmans of all the world whether living in his dominion or outside, to bow to his authority and to obey him in every thing.

But it appears that the Turkish Sultans claim that title of Khilafat, which is attributed to or is used with the names of the first four great Khalifas of the Prophet, Abu Bakr, Omar, Usman and Ali; and the one which was adopted by the rulers of the Umiyah and Abbasi families. The significance of the term Khilafat generally among the uneducated Musalmans, is, that it was the succession to the Prophet, which began with Abu Bakr and continued in unbroken line, until in course of time it devolved on the Turkish rulers. Now the question to be discussed and determined is whether in the nature of things there can be any Khilafat of the Holy Prophet.

In Islam there is no reference to such Khilafat and it was impossible that there should have been one. It is the belief of every Musalman worthy of the name, and it is essential that every one of them should believe that the Holy Prophet Muhammad was the last of all the Prophets. So from the point of view of Apostleship there could be no Khalifa or successor of the Prophet. But the Holy Quran suggests that besides the office of apostle-

ship God confers another office on his chosen ones. This office is termed Imamatus.

The Holy Quran defines a prophet in the following verse :—

“ We have sent unto you a prophet of your species. He reads out to you our verses, reforms your lives, teaches you the book and teaches you wisdom and other things which you were ignorant of.”

The sense in which the term Imam is used in the Holy book is clear from the following verses :—

“ And when God tried Abraham in several things and he stood the test, God said to him. I will make thee Imam of all mankind, Abraham said, wilt Thou show the same favour to any of my children too ; God said, but such as are transgressors, are not included in this promise.”

“ And we made from among the Imams (leaders) that they guide people in the right way under our guidance. We sent orders to them to act virtuously, to offer prayers and to give zakat. All these were true worshippers.”

“ And we raised among them Imams, who guided people to the right path by our orders. They got this distinction when they endured the persecutions of the infidels patiently, and firmly believed in our signs.”

From the above verses the following inferences can safely be drawn—

- (1) Risalat (apostleship) and Imamatus are distinct offices.
- (2) Apostleship is confined to conveying to mankind the message of God ; and Imamatus means to teach people to carry that message into practice.
- (3) Both these offices can be combined in the person of one man.

- (4) Apostleship has come to an end ; but the office of Imamat has not been closed.
- (5) Both these offices are Divine gifts to particular persons and are not such as may be transmitted from one person to another or may be hereditary in a family or sect or a party.

The truth of the above being granted, the Khilafat (succession) of the prophet can be possible only as regards his Imamat and that even is a purely religious or spiritual distinction and not any worldly office.

The prophet had no other function assigned to him besides this. The opponents of Islam on the other hand bring this charge against the Holy Prophet, that the chief aim underlying all his doings, indeed his one life object was the establishment of an empire, and religion was merely a cloak to conceal his real designs.

The opponents of Islam, we know, make such absurd and baseless assertions. But what makes us wonder is that fairly well read Musalmans, naively declare that the Holy Prophet laid the foundations of an empire. To assert that the Prophet founded an empire or it was his object to found one is to betray sheer ignorance of the real facts. Indeed this could form no part of his very lofty and exalted mission. But the truth is that he taught mankind a religion the followers of which by virtue of their pure and elevated character and their moral superiority were destined to get the upper hand even in the affairs of the world and thus the Divine promise contained in the following verse was fulfilled—

“ God has promised to such of you as have believed and act virtuously, that He shall surely grant them dominion (ascendency) over the land, just as He had granted dominion to those who had preceeded them.”

It is sheer injustice to say that our Holy Prophet established an empire, for such an assertion is not only absolutely unfounded and utterly devoid of truth, but it is highly insulting to the majesty and dignity of the apostleship. It is to be borne in mind that there had been mighty empires long before the advent of Islam, and many powerful and vast kingdoms are still existing. A kingdom of this world is such a common thing that thousands have gained and lost it in time. What was the worth of that small strip of land of which he is styled the sovereign, considering that the mightiest potentates, this planet has seen, those who ruled with dazzling splendour over very large parts of the world have thought it their greatest glory to be reckoned among the humblest slaves of that sublime personality.

Had it not been for the rules of Islam, thousands of massive golden chains might have been seen hanging from the door frame of the Mansoleum of the Prophet at Medina, such as is found at Najaf, as a memorial of the pilgrimage of Nadir Shah, who wore it round his neck when he went there to visit the tomb of Ali. Those Musalmans who call their Prophet the founder of an empire, unwittingly support and confirm the insinuation of his accusers that his sole object was the setting up of a kingdom. The truth is that our Holy Prophet had nothing whatever to do with worldly dominion. In addition to preaching the unity of God, he brought with him a law, embodying the most perfect social and moral code and he was besides responsible for the safety of the Muslim Community, so it was quite necessary that in order to find guidance in their religions, social and other important affairs, Musalmans should look to him alone. To guide them in these matters which pertained to his position of Imam, and in this capacity he was the head of the Muslim society. But this headship can have nothing in common with the kingship, in the ordinary

sense of the word, which some of the Musalmans attribute to him.

The Holy Prophet passed all his days in contented poverty. He never once grumbled and exhorted his friends and followers to live the same sort of life. Hundreds of instances may be cited from history to prove this. It is related on the authority of Aysha, the mother of the faithful, that Muhammad's family never ate their fill of barley bread for two days together, till he expired. Another incident is recorded on the authority of Omar. He says, "One day, I waited upon the Prophet and found him lying on his side on a matting of palm leaves. The matting was without any covering and the back of the Prophet, was covered with the impressions of the leaves. A leather pillow stuffed with palm leaves was under his head." Seeing him in this condition, I said "O Prophet of God, pray to God that he may give thy people plenty of good things of this world. The people of Persia and Rum, although they do not worship God pass their days in great ease and comfort." The Prophet, when he heard this replied "O son of Khattab, dost thou desire abundance of good things in this world? The people of Persia and Rum have affluence, because their share of good things is given to them in this world. In the next world, their lot will be nothing but tribulation. O, Omar art thou not satisfied that they should get their gifts in this world and we in the next."

Tirmazi relates the following from Abu Talha, that "One day we complained of hunger to the Holy Prophet and showed him the pieces of stone which we had tied to our bellies, upon this the Prophet uncovered his own belly and showed us two pieces of stone tied there."

The Holy Prophet declared alms unlawful not only for himself but his whole family. One day Imam Hassan (his grandson), then very young, put a date, out of the dates brought as alms, into his mouth. The Prophet sternly, made him take

it out of his mouth, throw it away and said "Don't you know, we sons of Hashim, never accept alms.

Whenever any rich man sent a present, the Prophet accepted it to prevent disappointment, and then gave it away to the people.

Poverty and destitution never left him. His own mosque was nothing but a platform of timber covered with leaves, much of the work of construction being done by the Prophet himself. When he marched forth to meet the invaders from Mecca, at Badr, his companions had scarcely ten horses among them, and of the 313 men of his following there were a great many who had no arms. There could be no better proof of his poverty than the fact that when he was at his death bed, there was no light in the house and there was nothing for the family to eat. His armour was pawned to a jew of Medina, and some barley flour was procured. Many a times when a guest chanced to come, not a bit of bread was to be found in the house.

This was the royalty in which that Holy Life was passed and that willingly and in preference to that life of which the Quresh held out the prospect to him before his flight to Medina. When the Quresh saw that in spite of their dire persecutions he did not abstain from denouncing their idols, they sent to him Mughira, son of Shaaba, a man of great wealth and high standing. He, as their spokesman, began his speech in a very gentle and conciliatory tone and said, "O my nephew, you possess very noble qualities and come from a high family. How is it that you speak ill of our idols, and call us foolish and mad on account of our worshipping them, and create dissensions among us. If your desire is to marry a wealthy and beautiful lady, we are willing to wed you to the most beautiful woman in Mecca, whom you choose. If you have set your heart on wealth, we are prepared to heap up all our money

before you, so that you shall become the wealthiest man in Mecca. If your ideal is kingship, we are quite willing to elect you as our ruler and solemnly promise to bow our heads before you and to obey you implicitly in all things as one obeys a powerful king."

When Mughira, had finished his message the Prophet began to recite a portion of the Quran, containing a denunciation of idol worship and an explanation of the unity of God. Mughira, hearing this went away quite baffled.

If the Prophet had established an empire or he had intended doing so, it ought to have been a kingdom ruled over by a line of Hashmi kings and he ought to have nominated as his successor one of his two grandsons, Hassan and Hussain, or his cousin and son-in-law Ali, or any other person from the family of Hashim, to which the Prophet himself belonged. But what came about and all the world witnessed, was that after his death, the first Khalifa or Amir of the Musalmans was Abu Bakor, who was related to him in the seventh generation. Abu Bakor was succeeded by Omar who was related to the Prophet in the eighth generation. After Omar came Usman related to Prophet in the sixth generation, and between whose tribe, the Beni Umiyah and the Beni Hashim to which the Prophet belonged, there had been a long standing and deadly feud. After Usman came the turn of Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet. On the termination of the Khilafat of Ali, the fourth Khalifa, the Beni Umiyah succeeded in founding a mighty and extensive Empire, and during their rule which lasted for over a century left no stone unturned to extirpate Beni Hasham, that is the tribe from which the Prophet has sprung.

It can be asserted without any fear of contradiction that the Holy Prophet in all his life never dropped even a hint relating to the matter of his succession. This was because, he had already delivered to mankind which was communicated to him

from on High, and never said anything that embodied a desire of his own heart, which is an irrefutable proof of his being a true Prophet. If he had given any directions as to who should be the head of his people after him, those unpleasant events which took place would never have been enacted.

When the Holy Prophet breathed his last, his body was still in the house and preparations for his burial were in progress, when at the instigation of the hypocrites, who were waiting for this opportunity, the Ansars, *i.e.*, the Musalmans belonging to Medina, assembled in a meeting in order to elect for their leadership, some one from among themselves, in opposition to the Mahajirs (the people of Mecca who had emigrated to Medina with the Prophet) and they had actually chosen, Saad-bin-Obada, the head of the Beni Khazraj, when Omar got an inkling of this, and before the meeting was broken up, he hastened to the spot accompanied by Abu Bakr. On the way Abu Obaida-bin-Jarrah and several others of the Mahajirs joined them. It is needless to give the details of the dispute which took place at the meeting hall, certain it is, that as Beni Ans, another tribe of Medina, did not look with favour on the election of Saad-bin-Obada, being the head of their rival tribe, the Beni Khazraj. It was with the support of the Beni Ans, that the Mahajirs carried the day and it was settled that the future head of the Muslim community should be from the Quresh. The next point for decision was, which of the Quresh was best fitted for this distinction. Abu Bakr pointed to Omar or Abu Obaida. But Omar said that Abu Obaida, had a better claim than himself as the Prophet had given him the title of Amin (Trustee or Trustworthy). Abu Obaida, in his turn declared Abu Bakr to be the fitted man for the place and Omar seconded the proposal, with the result that all the Mahajirs and Ansars who were present agreed upon Abu Bakr and they all saluted him as their future Amir.

If some one should assert that the Prophet had given any directions in the matter of his succession, he would have to acknowledge at the same time, that the influence of the teaching and company of the Holy Prophet had been so feeble and transitory as to be eradicated from the hearts of his followers, immediately after his leaving this world. The Ansars of Medina, who had opened their hospitable doors to the founder of Islam, and his persecuted followers, who having made over one half of their belongings to their Meccan guests, had given the world a glorious and unique example of fraternity, and who shed their blood like water and spent their money without stint for the defence of the Prophet and his religion, were actuated in all this by motives of selfishness, which were laid bare at the time of the Prophet's death. Further he should have to admit, that Abu Bakr the Truthful, who had since his conversion followed the Prophet like a shadow; Omar the Farooq (one who separates truth from falsehood) and Abdu Abaida the trustworthy were either ignorant of any such directions given by the Prophet, which is an impossibility or they purposely suppressed them which to say the least is a grave offence. In all the speeches made at the meeting for election, none of the speakers from both parties made any reference to any directions given by the Prophet.

The election of Omar, Usman, and Ali, can be described in a few words. Abu Bakr made a will just before his death, that his mantle should fall upon the shoulders of Omar. When this news got afloat, some of the companions of the Prophet, presented themselves before Abu Bakr and objected to this nomination on the ground that Omar was a man of a harsh and uncompromising temper. But Abu Bakr did not yield to this reasoning and declared that Omar was the fittest person for the onerous task.

When Omar was stabbed by an enemy and there was no hope of his life, he named six persons, including Ali and

Usman to elect one from among themselves. The other four subsequently withdrew their names and the question remained between Ali and Usman, of whom Usman was finally elected. After the murder of Usman, Ali was made the Amir.

In the light of these facts every one can easily understand that the so-called traditions attributed to the Holy Prophet that he had given directions to the effect that the Amirs should be out of the Quresh Tribe or that he had fixed the order in which four Amirs succeeded one another, are all spurious; and they were forged long after these events had taken place. For had any such directions been given by the Prophet the Ansars of Medina would never have dared to elect an Amir from among themselves, the election of Abu Bakr would have passed off unquestioned, nobody would have objected to the nomination of Omar, and Omar would not have named six persons as likely candidates for the post of Amir after him.

Similarly the statements that the founder of Islam laid the foundation of a republic, is without any historical basis. The Quran and the traditions do not contain any directions for the Muslims to set up any government nor any instructions as regards the constitution of the government to be established. This much is true, no doubt, that the equality and fraternity, which Islam had created among its followers, had infused a democratic spirit among them and as long as that spirit had endured, the only form of government possible among Musalmans, would have been a republic.

At this place I wish it to be borne in mind that the verse of the Quran quoted above, namely —

“Those of you who have believed and who do virtuous deeds, have the Lord’s promise, that He shall grant them dominion over the land.”

is of general application, which holds true in the case of Musalmans at all times. Another verse in the Quran is still more general in its application, in which righteousness alone is predicated as the means for the attainment of dominion. The verse runs thus:—

“And we have written in the Zaboor, after detailing the rules of piety, that our righteous servants shall inherit the land.”

The two years of the Khilafat of Abu Bakr were taken up in quelling the disturbances caused by the rise of the false Prophets and by the refusal of some of the people to pay the Zakat. The Musalmans called him by the title of Khalifa, and he did not object to being thus styled. But when Omar, who alone of all others, deserves to be called the founder of the Arabian empire, who during his ten years' rule succeeded in bringing the two mighty empires of those days at the feet of Islam; who combined in his person all the qualities of a pious and great ruler and a conquerer, being very far-seeing and prudent, when this great Omar stepped into the shoes of Abu Bakr, some suspicion arose in his mind as to the possible consequences of the continuance of the title of Khalifa. He decided to drop it and bade the Musalmans to address him as Amir-ul-Mominin (chief of the faithful), and as long as he lived continued to be called by this title. Nothing can be more definite and enlightening as to the true import of the word Khalifa, than this act of Omar. Usman and Ali followed the example of Omar in being called Amir-ul-Mominin.

Usman, the third Khailfa, was of Beni Omayyah extraction. It was generally believed that Ali had the undisputed right to be the next Khalifa after him, and the descendants of Omayyah were scheming to found a kingdom of their

own family. The old Khalifa Usman, unconsciously helped them in their plot by allowing them to accumulate money and gather strength. The result was that when, after Usman's murder, Ali became the Khalifa, Moawiya, the head of the Beni Omayyas, broke into open revolt. A battle was fought, in which Moawiya, by a ruse, turned his defeat into a draw, and in the meantime Ali was murdered. There remained Hassan and Husain, the two sons of Ali, and the grandsons of the Prophet by his daughter Fatima, to contest Moawiya's claim to the throne. A compromise was entered into by the parties by which it was agreed that after the death of Moawiya the Khilafat shall revert to the house of Ali. Imam Hassan was poisoned during Moawiya's lifetime and on his death Imam Husain was alive and he was the rightful claimant for the Khilafat. But it had no longer remained the question of right, but had rather become one of might. Moawiya had before his death cancelled his compact with the sons of Ali by nominating his son Yezid to succeed him. Imam Husain was invited by the people of Kufa, the then largest military station in Arabia, who promised allegiance to him against Yezid. But the Kufees betrayed him as they had done his father Ali and was left by himself with a number of the members of the Prophet's family to oppose a large army which Yezid had sent against him. The issue was obvious, and in spite of the great bravery and heroism with which Imam Husain and his companions fought, the unequal fight was soon over, and the Prophet's family including Imam Husain was slaughtered in the field of Karbala, and the Beni Umiya's were left undisturbed to rule over the country for over a century.

Muawiya during his reign contented himself with being called Amir, and is known in history as Amir Muawiya. The man who was the first to drop the title of Amir and

to deliberately and intentionally assume that of Khalifa, was no other than the notorious Yezid, the son of Muawiya, the man, of all others whose name receives a tribute of curses from every Musalman during the first ten days of the Islamic year, and shall probably continue to receive the same as long as there is a Musalman living in the world. This was the man who had the descendants of the Prophet slaughtered under circumstances of such barbarous cruelty and heartless savagery that the memory of the events will be shockingly painful to Musalmans for all times. This was the man who strained every nerve to make the Beni Hashams extinct from the face of the earth, and did not feel any compunction in murdering in cold blood the little children of the House of the Prophet. This was the ordinance and sacred injunctions of Islam without any hesitation, shed innocent blood in Mecca and Medina, desecrated the Kaaba, and at Medina, turned the Prophet's mosque into a stable, undermined the foundation of Islam and destroyed forever the democratic principles on which the Muslim empire was founded.

Could this man be "Khalifa" of the grandfather of those wronged martyrs whose cries of anguish are still echoing from the plains of Karbala. Could he be the true successor of Abu Bakr, Omar and Ali, and could the title of Khalifa, which he assumed be a source of honour to any Musalman after him.

There is no question that the Beni Omayyas produced pious and God fearing rulers like Omar-bin-Abdulaziz and mighty potentates like Walid, whose dominions extended to the heart of India on one side and the middle of France on the other; but then "Khalifa" became another name for an absolute and despotic monarchy, which was acquired from motives

of personal ambition and for personal aggrandisement, and Islam was an indefinite and incidental factor in it.

The end of the power of Beni Omayya was brought about by the combined efforts of the Beni Fatima (descendants of Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet married to Ali) and Beni Abbas (descendants of Abbas, an uncle of the Prophet), who under the pretence evenging the martyrs of Karbala continued to work to this end for more than a century. The Beni Abbas recognised the right of the Beni Fatima to the so-called Khilafat and helped them to gain their object. But when the Beni Omayyas had been got rid of, the treatment meted out by the Beni Abbas, was in no way better than that dealt out to them by the Beni Omayyas. All those who stood between them and the throne were swept away with the sword and the Khilafat of the Beni Abbas was firmly established, which gave to the world such magnificent rulers as the Khalifas Haroon and Mamoon. Now if the Beni Omayyas are liable to censure because they dipped their hands in the blood of the Beni Fatima, the Beni Abbas, too do not show any cleaner hands in this respect. In order to gain their ends they too regarded the blood of the Prophet's progeny as lawful as the Beni Omayyas has done. From the above it is clear as day that all these things were done from worldly motives and to achieve worldly object and had no connection with religion.

When the Beni Abbas had thoroughly crushed the Beni Omayyas, they began to hunt down the unfortunate members of that family until they were satisfied that none had escaped their relentless sword. But one youth Abdul Rahman by name, who was a grandson of Hisham, slipped through their hands and finding his way into Spain took possession of that country and founded an independent kingdom, the rulers of which wielded the sceptre for hundreds of years under the name of Khalifas. Similarly other dynasties which came into power

after them in Spain made use of the same epithet. The only relation that existed between the Khilafat of Spain and that of the Abbasides (Beni Abbas) at Baghdad was one of rivalry and antagonism, such as naturally exists between two kingdoms. In the time of Muqtadir, when the Abbaside Khilafat had become decrepit, a new kingdom of the Beni Fatima or the decendants of Ali sprang up in Africa. The sovereigns of this line too styled themselves Khalifas. This shows that three independent Khilafats existed in the Muslim world at one and the same time. Three Khalifas ruled in their respective kingdoms, none of whom recognised the others superiority, rather they were the enemies of each other, and wielded complete authority over their own subjects. The plain conclusion from this is that Khilafat means only kingdom, and every Muslim ruler if he wishes can adopt the title of Khalifa.

The Khilafat of Beni Fatima, established in Africa in 909 A.D., which had existed in a precarious condition for a long time, received its final death blow from the hands of the famous Salah-ud-din, the conquerer of Jerusalem, and Egypt again came under the spiritual sway of the Abbaside Khilafat of Baghdad. All these Khilafats, which were established in different parts of the world, bore a close resemblance to one another in one respect and that was, that as long as they produced rulers who possessed intrinsic ability and personal aptitude all power remained centered in their hands, but when effeminate, profligate and weak Khalifas came to the throne, people of different nationalities became possessed of the real power. The Khalifas remained only symbols of piety and holiness who mostly lived a life of retirement and did not interfere in matters of State. This might have been due to faith or some political necessity, but the fact remains that these kings ruled under the suzerainty of the nominal Khalifas, who were like puppets in their hands, and changes of ruling dynas-

ties did not affect the existence of the Khilafat. The Khilafat of the Abbasides continued thus for centuries and if closely looked at present a close resemblance to the Popedom in Europe.

About the middle of thirteenth century (656 Hijri) the Abbasi Khilafat at Baghdad came to a bloody end. The Tartar hosts of Hulakoe, not only carried fire and sword through Baghdad and Islamic lands, but according to trustworthy accounts, put to sword about eleven millions of Musalmans. All the members of the Abbaside dynasty were swept away in this whirlwind of slaughter.

The destructive deluge of the Tartars was at last beaten back by the Egyptian Prince Malik Zahir, who belonged to the dynasty of Mamluks, who had come to power after the decline of the line of Sultan Salah-ud-din. Sorely beaten the Tartars had to flee from Asia minor and peace was once more restored in that part of the world. The belief in the institution of Khilafat had by this time got such a firm hold upon the Muslim mind, that Malik Zahir felt the necessity of searching for a Khalifa. As the Tartars had killed every one belonging to the Abbaside family it was a difficult matter to find one bearing that name, and it was after a long search that he lighted upon a person named Ahmad. Having satisfied himself that he was of the Abbaside origin, we installed him as a Khalifa, the ceremony, it is said, costing him a million gold pieces. After a few days the new Khalifa was killed while fighting against the Tartars and need was felt for another person to fill the vacant place. A diligent search brought another man bearing the same name, who succeeded in tracing his lineage to the Abbasides and was installed in the office of the Khalifa.

The new line of the Abbaside Khilafat continued to exist in Egypt until the time when the Turkish Sultan, Selim, secured this office for himself.

As the Musalmans of the Sunni sect believed that it was essential for the Khalifa to be a Qureshi, therefore the Khilafat even though it was quite a shadow, remained in the Qureshis, till it was wrested from them by Sultan Selim.

The Abbaside Khilafat of Baghdad lasted from 740 to 1259 A. D. and there were thirty seven Khalifas who held this office during this period. From 1261 to 1517 another eighteen Khalifas of the same dynasty kept the name of the Abbasides alive in Egypt. The Abbasides had preference over the Omayydes, because the latter had disgusted the generality of Musalmans with the means they had used in obtaining the Khilafat. The Khalifas of the Beni Fatima, were Shias of the Ismaili type and were not popular among the the Musalmans as the majority of them followed Hanfi Law which was a creation of the house of Abbas.

Some people make a distinction between kingdom pure and simple, and Khilafat by declaring that Khilafat is that kingdom, which has the control of the two sacred places, Mecca and Medina, and which performs the duty of protecting them. But this contention too is not borne out by historical evidence.

I have stated above, that there was a time in the Muslim history, when three Khilafats existed simultaneously, namely the Abbasides at Baghdad, the Fatemites in Egypt and the Omayydes in Spain. When the Abbasides wrested the power from the Omayydes, the sacred places passed into their possession. But in the fourth century (Hijri) the Fatimites of Egypt obtained possession of them and it remained with them till the sixth century when Salah-ud-din seized them and restored them to the Abbasides of Baghdad. The Khalifas of Baghdad continued to be styled Khalifas, in spite of the fact that they had not the control and were not the protectors of the holy places during nearly three centuries. The Muslim kingdom

of Spain enjoyed always the title of Khilafat, although the sacred cities were never included in their dominions. Moreover there were times when the sacred places of Islam, were not under any of the Khalifas, because now and then some independent Arab Chiefs established their power over them. But the Khilafats still continued to be called Khilafats.

In a discussion about the Khilafat another question naturally arises, whether a Khalifa, ought to be such a person as should act upon the ordinances of Islam, should conform to the law and should strive to attain to the ideal afforded by the character of the Holy Prophet. If we fix any such standard, then the history of the Khalifas becomes a strange puzzle. After the four rightly guided Khalifas, Omar-bin-Abdulaziz of the Omayyides of Damascus is likened to them, and of the Omayyides of Spain, Hisham, son of Abdul Rahman I, is called the second Omar-bin Abdulaziz. We need not restrict the number of good rulers and may freely admit that the one hundred and eighteen Muslim dynasties which have up to this time ruled in the world have produced good as well as bad rulers as has always been the case in this world, and those who were called Khalifas were in no sense better than those who were not so-called.

Muslim lawyers have always shown great readiness to issue Fatwas according to the exigencies of the time. When there were three Khilafats at one and the same time, they gave Fatwa of their legality. When a non-Qureshite dynasty established their power in Spain, the learned gave the usual Fatwa that to be a Qureshi was not an indispensable condition for a Khalifa. When men of dissolute lives became Khalifas, the theologians again rose to the situation and declared that the Khalifa, need not be just, or innocent or the best of men, and if he was wanting

in any of these virtues he could not be deposed. The qualifications of a Khalifa were declared to be the following:—(1) he must be a free man, (2) he must be of age, (3) he must be sane, and (4) he must have the ability to manage the state affairs. Character was altogether excluded from the qualifications of the Khalifa. Akbar, the Moghul Emperor, who wished to invent a new religion and pretended to apostleship, received from the theologians the title of the "Just Imam."

We must leave out of account these timeserver theologians, who depended on kings for their livelihood and were ever ready to do their bidding, and ponder over the question independently and dispassionately whether such people as were slaves of their own evil passions and on account of their dissolute lives were instrumental in bringing discredit on Islam, were in any sense worthy of being called the Khalifas of the exalted founder of this great religion. Judged by this criterion they are not even worthy of being called Musalmans, let alone their title to the Khilafat.

It is impossible in the short space at my disposal to give full account of these so-called Khalifas. I will contest myself with giving a few events from the life of the Turkish Sultan who was the first to claim this title. Selim was the first to adopt the title of Khalifa. I will relate a few facts regarding his personal history before stating the way in which he secured the Khilafat.

In 1511, he twice led an army against his father and having dethroned him in 1512, he occupied the throne and ruled for eight years. He was very brave and warlike. He was the first of the Osmanli Sultans who had his beard shaved. His eyes were large and his face was awe-inspiring. As he was famous for his statesmanship and proficiency in the arts of war, so he was notorious for his cruelty and bloodthirstiness.

Friend and foe without distinction fell victim to his mad wrath. It was a common curse in his time "May God make you the Vizier of Selim." Those who were so unfortunate as to be appointed to this post, never enjoyed it for more than a month or two and then were executed. Whenever any one received the order of appointment, he at once began to make preparations for the journey to the next world and made his will. As soon as he was established on the throne, he caused his two brothers and five nephews, some of them quite young, to be murdered in cold blood, and turned a deaf ear to their supplications for mercy.

His predecessors had mostly been occupied in the conquest of Europe, but Selim let Europe alone and gave the Christians of Spain ample opportunity to drive the Musalmans out of that country. He paid no attention to the applications of the unfortunate Spanish Muslims for help, and devoted all his energy to the devastation of the two most power Musalman States of his day.

The first kingdom to attract his attention was the Persian, which at that time was ruled over by Shah Ismail Safwi. Selim hated him firstly because he was a Shia, and secondly because he had given refuge to one of his brothers and three of his nephews. At first Selim had to deal with the Shias of his own dominions. By means of his spies, he had a list of those who were suspected to be Shias prepared, and out of seventy thousand suspects, he had forty thousand slaughtered in cold blood, while the remaining thirty thousand were imprisoned for life. After this he led his armies against Shah Ismail and fought several battles in which lakhs of Muslims lost their lives.

In the first battle Shah Ismail was defeated and Selim put all the male prisoners to the sword, but spared the

woman and children. Among the female captives was the favorite queen of Shah Ismail. Ismail sent four envoys with very rich presents entreating the conqueror to restore to him his wife. But Selim took the envoys prisoners and to add insult to injury, gave the queen in marriage to a soldier named Jafar. Ismail sued several times for peace but every time received his answer from the mouth of the cannon.

Having humbled Persia; the Sultan turned his attention to Egypt and annihilated the magnificent kingdom built up by the energy of the Mamluks.

When the Ayubia kingdom founded by Sultan Salah-ud-din, after his conquest of Egypt, and so-called after his father Ayub, declined and fell, the Mamluks who were the slaves of the house of Ayub rose to power. The first Mamluk king sat on the throne in 1264 A. D. The Mamluks established their fame as great warriors and founded a mighty kingdom which lasted off and on for six hundred years. It was the Mamluks who hurled back with tremendous slaughter the Tartar hordes under Hulaku, who after ravaging the Muslim kingdoms of Central Asia and Baghdad were advancing like a destructive hurricane towards the west. It was they who revived the Abbaside Khilafat in Egypt.

The real motive of Selim in invading Egypt was to secure the Khilafat, while the ostensible cause he gave out was the sympathy of the Egyptians with Persia. Selim got the much coveted Khilafat after wading through a river of Muslim blood. The Mamluks who had once inflicted a defeat on his father, fought with such determined bravery that the Sultan was thunderstruck, and it was his good fortune which saved his life on the battle field. Sirdar Tooman Bey, the Chief of the Mamluks, had vowed that

he would either slay Selim or capture him alive. Accordingly he cut his way to the heart of the Turkish army where Selim had taken his stand, but he mistook Sanan Pasha for Selim, and having slain him returned safe to his own lines. At last Tooman Bey, through the treachery of his two officers who gave information of his designs to Selim and through the prejudice of the Mamluks that they regarded it as cowardly to make use of cannon and guns, while the chief strength of Selim lay in these arms, was defeated and fled. Selim advanced upon Cairo where the battle raged for three days longer. At last he made a proclamation that he would spare the lives of those who would lay down their arms. At this the fighting ceased and eight hundred Mamluk chiefs surrendered their arms and came into the Turkish camp. Selim had them murdered and gave orders for a general massacre in which fifty thousand persons lost their lives and Muhammad the last Khalifa of the Abbaside house who lived in Cairo, was compelled in a state of great helplessness to make over the emblems of the Khilafat to Selim, and he handed over to him, the standard, the sword and the turban, which were supposed to be the relics of the Prophet, but of which there is no mention in the lives of the first four Khalifas. It was in this way that the qualifications for the Khilafat were transferred to the Sultans of Turkey.

What I have written of Selim is not solely characteristic of him. Most of the kings who have called themselves Khalifas, have, impelled by land hunger made an equally free use of the sword. The opponents of Islam do say and will say that Islam teaches bloodshed, rapine and disregard of treaties and contracts, and that these kings acted in this way because they were Musalmans. But I ask my Muslim brethren, "Is this true! Is this the teachings of Islam, was this the example set by the Holy Prophet, and can the Divine origin of Islam be proved by persisting

in calling these kings the exemplars and representatives of Islam? Or should we with the poet on behalf of these Musalman kings.

اسلام بذات خود ندارد عیب
هر عیبی که هست در مسلمانان است

“Islam is free from all kinds of blemishes all the blemishes are to be found in that distorted Islam which we profess.”



The Revolution in Arabia, the claims and conduct of the Turks.

A few weeks ago, I published a pamphlet "Haqiqat-i-Khilafat" (The truth about the Khilafat) in which I put together a few articles, written by the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in 1897, on that subject of vast importance to the Muslim world—the claims to the Khilafat. I had added to these articles, some fifty pages of explanatory notes, in which besides presenting a brief review of the subject matter of the articles, I discussed the political situation at that time, and its bearing on the subject. At the time of publishing my pamphlet I had no idea, that events in Arabia, which are, however, in no way unexpected, would, in the very near future, bring the question of the so-called Khilafat into prominence.

The effect upon the minds of the Musalmans of India, of the news, that the Sharif of Mecca had announced his independence may be embodied in a few words. The illiterate Muslim public showed complete ignorance of, and indifference to, the significance of the news, while the majority of the educated Musalmans, although they kept an open mind on the matter, failed to analyze the real nature of the revolution. Both parties, however, are perfectly satisfied when the cause and effects of the event are placed before them in a true light. Some of the enlightened Musalmans have given expressions to their satisfaction at the event, and their feeling is that this uprising in Arabia will solve for all time the vexed question of the Khilafat.

A protest has, however, been raised by one of the Maulvies of Lucknow, who seemingly has failed to grasp the true significance of the Arabian revolution, which, in his opinion, has greatly perturbed the minds of the Muslim community in India. Following him a few Muslims of Lucknow have raised

their voices in condemnation of the Arabs as rebels and enemies of Islam and have passed a resolution to the effect that the Arab revolt endangers the sanctity and safety of the sacred places of Islam.

Let us examine the sentiments of our sensitive brethren of Lucknow and their resolution. Do they really mean to assert that the Arabs are enemies of Islam because they have renounced their allegiance such as it was to the Turks who have lent our sacred religion to the Germany to be one of its weapons wherewith to gain an infamous supremacy in the world? Are the Arabs guilty because they refuse to be identified with a nation who side with our empire's enemies and tacitly concur in their inhumanity and utter depravity?

If the Arabs are enemies of Islam because they have endangered the sanctity and safety of our holy places, let us see how far the accusation is true. As regards the sanctity of Mecca and Medina it is difficult to imagine how it can be endangered. If these holy places derived their sanctity from being under the domination of Turkey, then, with the elimination of Turkish control, undoubtedly their sanctity would disappear. But if they derive their sacredness from their connection with Abraham the first and with Muhammad the last and greatest of the Prophets, then their sanctity will remain undiminished. In the past, attempts were made to desecrate the sacred places of Islam. For instance, Yazid, son of Muawiya, turned the Masjid of the Prophet into a stable, levelled the sacred tombs and pulled down the Kaaba. Yet in the minds of all true believers those places still remain as sacred as before, and will remain so despite the condemnation of the Arabs by certain misguided and biased Musalmans, who seem to overlook that the Sharif of Mecca is the direct descendant of the Prophet and that the Arabs are his kith and kin.

So far as the safety of the sacred places in Arabia is concerned, every Musalman has only to remember that God himself

has provided for this. He has ordained that Mecca and Medina should be situated in a country containing nothing which would tempt the ruthless invader. It is a country barren and inhospitable with not a sign of mineral wealth or any other worldly attraction. If in the distant past this part of Arabia was ever invaded, it was for the purpose only of chastising its ruler and in later times its possession has been sought by Muslim ruling dynasties, so that they might obtain thereby the privileges of the so-called Khilafat, and thus be able to wield those privileges for their temporal advantage.

The Arabs have been styled the enemies of Islam because they have freed themselves from the Turkish domination, but is it not more correct to say that Turkey has practically by her own conduct compelled the Arabs to disconnect their country from Turkey?

We need not discuss whether Turkey before the war was capable of defending the safety of the holy places, although the Muslamans of Lucknow would have not such a bad memory as to forget the threatened bombardment of Jedda and Yembo by the Italians during their invasion of Tripoly and the intervention of Great Britain to stop them from the sacrilege of the holy land. But after Turkey joined in the Great War to whom did they entrust the safety of the holy places. There is no difficulty in answering this question if events leading to the participation of Turkey in the War are scrutinised.

The Turkish Military Party led by Anwar Pasha compelled Turkey against the inclinations of the Sultan, the Prime Minister, the Sheikh-ul-Islam, several other Ministers and the heir apparent to the Turkish throne, to join Germany. The Turkish heir apparent, who was the ablest statesman in the country, was subsequently murdered because of his peaceful and moderate policy. When Turkey was precipitated into the War, she withdrew from Arabia the heavy garrison which

she had been compelled to keep there for the purpose of overawing the Arabs and left the Arabs practically free to do as they listed. It is a well-known fact that the Arabs have never been conciliatory to the Turkish domination and the Turks never succeeded in gaining their confidence. During the four hundred years of the Turkish control of the Hedjaz, the Arabs have never missed the opportunity of struggling against and throwing aside the Turkish Yoke whenever one presented itself. Turkey, therefore, by weakening her Military strength in that part, virtually invited the present revolution in Arabia.

It is a question now, whether the Turkish Military Party who are the real rulers of Turkey, will desire to recover the Hedjaz and whether it will have sufficient value at all in their estimation to make it worthy of recovery and retention. It is generally known that Turkey never derived any material benefit whatever from their dominion over Hedjaz. In fact the nominal possession of that country annually cost Turkey crores of rupees in bribes and otherwise. This heavy expenditure was borne by the Turks, either that they might reap the fruits of it in the world to come, or that would be compensated in this world by purchasing the sympathies and aid of every Muslim community in their hour of need. In this latter expectation they have been utterly disappointed. Germany hoped and Turkey believed, that when the call was sounded from the so-called Khilafat every Musalman would rise to help the Turks. But the Muslims outside Turkey were neither so foolish, nor so ignorant of their religious duties so as to allow themselves to be led away by the Turkish military party and German intriguers. Of the two conjectured objects of Turkish expenditure in the Hedjaz, there only remains the hope of spiritual reward and it is to be seen whether or not Turkey is willing to spend her money as before for that purpose.

Those people who are pleased to call the Arabs rebels,

perhaps are unaware that the Turks have never claimed to be the rulers of the Holy Land, nor have they ever treated the inhabitants of those parts as subjects, and the Arabs would in fact never have borne such treatment. The Sultans of Turkey have always taken pride in calling themselves the servants of sacred Mecca and Holy Medina. No taxes were ever levied on those cities, but on the other hand, enormous sums, as we have already stated were paid out from Turkish treasury as salaries, stipends, presents, etc. The Government of the Hedjaz and the holy cities was entirely in the hands of the Sharif who was paid 12,00,000 Karash per annum as a subsidy. The Turkish representative called Wali has always been liable to transfer if he incurred the displeasure of the Sharif. According to M. Mahboob Alam, no less than 10 to 12 Walies were transferred in a period of two years, because they did not please the Sharif.

Therefore it would be absurd to call the Sharif a rebel, although it may be said that the Sharif has not acted wisely in asserting his independence and thus deprived himself and many others of the monetary advantages which they received from the Turks. But the Sharif's answer to this is, that whatever he has done, has been for the purpose of upholding the sanctity of the holy cities and for protecting and saving them from those dangers which the Turks had created.

Previous to the War, Turkey had no enemies amongst the big Powers and the Turkish dominions were safe. But when Turkey joined in the War, the Arab opinion must necessarily have been that any part of the Turkish dominions was liable to be invaded by her enemies and this view must have been strengthened by the invasions of Gallopoli, Armenia and Mesopotamia. It is known that when Anwar Pasha, visited Mecca, some time ago, the Sharif told him "You are an ignorant person and you are dragging Turkey downwards to its ruina-

tion." The Sharif has therefore achieved the separation of Hedjaz from Turkey so as to remove it from any danger of a hostile action and being included in the ruin of Turkey.

The Sharif in declaring the independence of the Hedjaz has acted for the best in the light of his own understanding and if his act can be attributed to a good motive, no one has a right to use strong language in condemnation of it. Apart from the question as to whether Turkey or the Arabs have the power to protect the Hedjaz, the whole world knows, and the Muslim gentlemen of Lucknow, who like good Musalmans are feeling anxiety for the safety of the holy cities, must also know, that our sacred land is being protected by the greatest Muslim power in the world for the sake of her eighty million Musalman subjects, or in other words the eight crore Muslim subjects of the British Empire are responsible for the safety of the Hedjaz. It is to be hoped that Musalmans have not degenerated to the extent and lost their sense of fairness that they are unable to feel grateful to those who have acted in a noble spirit towards them and have done good to them. It is neither loyal nor honest to increase the difficulties of the Government at the present time by publishing false views and thereby misleading the Musalman public. It does not require any deep thinking to come to the conclusion that it is abject disloyalty to sympathise with Turkey, even under any cloak as long as she is fighting against our Empire, and it is disloyalty all the same to condemn Arabs, under any excuse, who are in their present position the enemies of our enemies and therefore our friends.

Turkey is under such a deep debt of obligation to Great Britain, that it is impossible for her to repay, in fact she owes her very existence to the British Government. It is fairly well-known that in 1855 Britain and France saved Turkey from Russia. Again in 1878 when the Russians, after conquering Plevna and Shibka, had arrived almost under the

walls of Constantinople, England intervened and saved her from utter annihilation. But it is not so generally known that Hedjaz itself where the two holy cities are situated, as well as, Syria, Asia Minor and the suzerainty over Egypt are the gifts of Great Britain to Turkey. The Wahabis in Arabia, having inaugurated a secret movement in 1750, A. D. created an organisation hostile to Turkey and gradually attained to so much power, that in 1803 they easily secured the possession of the holy Mecca and the blessed Medina. The Turkish forces sent to punish the Wahabis were one after the other defeated and the safety of Acre, Damascus, and Baghdad was imperilled. When the Turks had failed in retrieving the conquered territory and the sacred places, Muhammad Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, and the founder of its present ruling dynasty undertook the campaign against the Wahabis in 1811, and after a series of bloody battles succeeded in breaking their power in 1815. Muhammad Ali who then professed obedience to the Porte, sent the keys of Mecca and Medina to the Sultan, but Egyptian forces were appointed to guard the holy cities. Muhammad Ali, an Albanian by birth, having begun his career as an ordinary soldier attained to the Pashalit of Egypt. His ambition did not stop there, and in 1831 he found an excuse to renounce his allegiance to the Turkish Government, sent an army under his son Ibrahim to invade Syria. Ibrahim captured Acre and amascus and after defeating Muhammad Pasha and Husain Pasha, at Homs and Baylon respectively, became the absolute master of the whole of Syria. He then advanced towards Asia Minor. The Turks sent strong forces under Wazir Rashid Pasha to check the progress of Ibrahim, but they were defeated at Konia in 1832 and Ibrahim reached within a hundred miles of Constantinople, to save which the Sultan had to beg Russia for assistance.

In 1839, the Turks made a final attempt to get back

the lost territory from the Egyptians and a large army was despatched against them under Hafiz Pasha, a general of high repute. But this Turkish army met with no better fate and was defeated by Ibrahim at Nazib in 1839, which broke the Turkish Military power. At this critical juncture England came forward to help Turkey and sent an English fleet to Bairut under Stopford and Napier. This brought the turn of the Egyptian forces to be defeated and expelled out of Turkish territory, and Muhammad Ali was compelled to sign the Treaty of London in 1841, by which Hedjaz, Syria, and Asia Minor, an area of one hundred thousand square miles, were ceded to Turkey, and Egypt became her vassal, promising to pay a tribute.

England having saved Turkey and restored it to power in 1840 and afterwards in 1855 and 1878 had a right to expect Turkish friendliness during the present war and that should have been the dictates of a true Islamic spirit. The British Foreign Secretary used every effort to induce the Turks to remain neutral, but Anwar Pasha against all counsels plunged his country into the war against the allies.

Britain from her past knowledge and the exhibition of Turkish strength in recent times, had no reason to be afraid of Turkish Military Power, her anxiety arose from the fact that she had a vast number of Muslim subjects and had also Muslim neighbours. The basis of the danger which she feared was that weapon of fictitious Khilafat which the Turks were ready to use for the sake of Germany as a means of coercing all Muslim to their aid. But by the favor of God Almighty, the Muslim mind has not lost its equilibrium and the Musalmans remained steady in their loyalty and fidelity to their own Government.

The Germans had so strongly taken hold of the Turkish

mind and had so bewitched them by vast promises, that the Turks in direct violation of the true and real spirit of Islam did not hesitate to attempt to drag the whole Muslim world into disgrace and ruination. If the so-called Khilafat has any meaning, and the Turks have a claim to the sympathy and obedience of the Musalmans, surely they owe them some duty in return, of not misguiding them at least, and if there existed such a duty, the Turks have performed it with the utmost dishonesty in joining Germans in this war and inducing the Muslim world to side with them. The young Turks declared war against England, Russia and France, which govern the destinies of millions of Musalmans, and have identified themselves with Germany which cannot probably claim even a single Musalman among her subjects. The counsel of the Muslims of India to the Turks not to participate in the war was rejected by them with contempt. If the pernicious endeavours of the Turks to lure away the Muslims of other countries had succeeded, there would have been no place for the Musalmans in the world. If the Turks follow the same Islam which was preached by the Holy Prophet of Arabia, they have certainly violated the ethical principles of that religion. The Turks should certainly have known the God's command in the Holy Quran :—

وان استغفر لكم في الدين فاعلمكم النصر الاعلى قوم بينكم وبينهم ميثاق -
سورة انفال — ع ٩٠

Translation.

And if they ask your help in the religion, it would be your duty to help them, except against such people, between whom and yourself there shall be a compact subsisting.

Quran Chapter 8, verse 72.

The young Turks for their personal gain have engaged to help a Christian Government which is fighting against her

co-religionists to satisfy its worldly ambitions and this has no concern with Islam.

The Turks have openly violated one of the fundamental principles of Islam by trying to stir up the Muslims of India, Egypt, Russia, France, Persia, and Afghanistan against their rightful Governments. If their misguided endeavours had succeeded in undermining the loyalty of the people of those parts of the country from which the armies are drawn, those people would have been the chief sufferers and it is in those parts that the extent of danger could be realised and not in Lucknow or Dehli.

To save the Musalmans from a recurrence of a similar mischievous action by the Turks, the only course is that, which has presented itself, to deny them the claim to the so called Khilafat, and entrust to the Arabs the safe keeping of the Holy cities, which is in reality their birth right. The Muslims should direct their united efforts, with a view to enable the Sharif of Mecca to consolidate his independence and compel the Turks by all possible means to disconnect themselves from Arabia. This is in no way to the advantage of European Powers, but is sure to be conducive to the interests of their Muslim subjects, who will gain clear of critical positions in which they have been placed and are again liable to be placed by the antagonism of the Turks to the various Powers of the world.

The Indian Muslims may claim to be superior beings than the Musalmans of Egypt, but it is an undeniable fact that the latter are in a better position to gauge the present situation in Arabia. The Egyptian Muslims have given expression to their entire satisfaction at the declaration of independence by the Arabs and are anxious to see, that independence assured. The principal upholders of the ac-

tion of the Arabs, is that section of the Egyptian Musalmans, who are the followers of the late Sheikh Muhammad Abdo, the great Egyptian Reformer, whose position in Egypt was similar to that which was held by the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in India. The Muslims in India may possibly be surprised on hearing that the Sultan's nephew, Prince Sahab-ud-din is one of the staunch supporters of the Arab's emancipation.

The description of the Arabs as rebels and enemies of Islam has been amplified by some good and pious Musalmans of Dehli, who think to have performed their duty by calling the Arabs, an ignorant and wretched nation. This is certainly a news and the Muslim world has yet to learn that such is the case. The Musalmans have believed so far, that the nation which had the honour of producing the noblest man of the world, the greatest of all Prophets was more noble than any other nation of the world. If that nation has been reduced to an abject and ignorant condition, how has this come to pass? The Turks who have been governing the destinies of the Arabs for the last four centuries are in the best position to answer this question. The Turks have deliberately all along striven to deprive the Arabs of all education and keep them out of touch with civilisation, knowing that the political awakening of Arabia, would mean the end of their claims to the guardianship of the Holy cities and consequently of their claims to the Khilafat.

The Arabs are said to be ignorant, but it is not clear whether the criterion is the Indian Musalmans or the Turks who perhaps are considered to have led the world in pursuit of knowledge and to be a most enlightened nation. The Arabs may be deemed ignorant at this stage of their history, but it is an undeniable fact, that in the past they

derived their fame not only through their great conquests, but were known as great champions of science and learning throughout the world. They made Baghdad, Cairo, Cordova, Granada, and other places the great centres of science, arts and literature, they spread culture and gave impetus to civilisation, and in fact they were the pioneers of enlightenment who laid the foundation of modern Europe. What have the Muslims of India done in their times in this line. They have done nothing which might challenge competition with the intellectual achievements of the Arabs. The Tartars and the Turks whose forefathers after extirpating the Abbaside Khilafat at Baghdad had utterly destroyed all those precious and valuable treasures of knowledge, enlightenment and art—the result of the hard and strenuous efforts of intellect for centuries, and slaughtered the learned and enlightened philosophers and artisans, leaving not a single one of them alive. These Tartars, Moghuls or the Turks, even after their conversion to Islam, never made any marked progress in arts and science, and the descendants of the Indian or Central Asian Musalmans have no right to condemn the Arabs as ignorant, whose forefathers have left such a brilliant record behind them.

If a comparison is to be made between the Arabs and other Muslim Communities of the world, it should be in their respective services to the cause of Islam. If a Muslim attaches some value to his religion, and considers it a great blessing and divine favor, as he should, he does not stand in need of being told from what hands he has got it. The blessed souls of the Sublime Prophet, the Great Siddiq, the Glorious Farooq, the Noble Murtaza, and the Martyrs of Karbala, must be wondering at those Musalmans, who are airing their vanity and conceit by calling the Arabs, the enemies of Islam, ignorant, wretched and despicable people, in as much as, the Arabs have earned these titles for attempting

to do the same work, which was one of the chief objects of the Great Prophet's life and those of his successors, and which they had successfully accomplished, i.e., the unity and independence of Arabia. If the Arabs are the enemies of Islam, and the Turks have been its champions, some person, with a better knowledge of the Turkish history, would be wanted to tell us of the great deeds performed by the Turks in the service of Islam. So far as we know, the only service, the Turks, not unlike the majority of other ruling Muslim tribes, have rendered to Islam is, that they have degraded this noble religion in the eyes of the non-Muslim world by governing in direct violation of the principles of Islam. Their deeds are regarded by the strangers as the outcome of the teachings of Islam, and it has given a hard task to the exponents of Islam to convince the non-Muslims that Islam is not responsible for such acts. The attachment of the Turks to Islam has been put to test, when once and only once during their past history they were called upon to help their Muslim brethren in great distress and trouble. Towards the close of the fifteenth century of the Christian era, when the Arabian rule in Spain had tottered down and the Musalmans were being massacred in that country, the only terms offered for saving their lives being either to leave the country or adopt Christianity, at that critical time the Arabs of Spain appealed to the Turks and begged them for help, but they paid no heed and turned a deaf ear to their appeal, although the Turks were at that time in the zenith of their power and their naval supremacy was undisputed. The result was that in the country which the Arabs had governed for seven hundred years not a single Muslim was left towards the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Even in the recent time the services rendered by the

Arabs to the cause of Islam have no parallel in the records of any other Muslim community in the world. The poor Arab traders who had no Governments or wealthy communities to back them with money or give them encouragement, have confounded the united efforts of the Christian Missionaries of Europe and America, by converting the inhabitants of a great part of Africa to Islam. The Christian Missionaries have been constrained to admit that they cannot successfully compete with the Arabs in the propagation and spread of religion. This is the true spirit of Islam which the Arabs possess in the same degree as they did thirteen hundred years before and which no other Muslim community or ruling tribe including the Turks, have displayed with all the advantages they had at their command. Preaching of Islam and its propagation was the chief duty imposed by Islam on every Muslim but none has come up to the Arabs in its performance, in the old days or in recent times. If this is the enmity to Islam, we wish Islam had many more such enemies.

One grave defect that has always existed in the education of the Musalmans, has been that they have been denied the study of their own history, a subject which the Arabs brought into existence with all its perfections. It was considered a sin to study history in former days and every learned Maulvi was quite innocent of it, and in the present day school courses Islamic history has got no place. If the Muslims had been conversant with their national history, they would have welcomed the news of the present awakening of the Arabs. The degeneration of the various Muslim communities have generally reached the stage, at which the progress of nations has always stopped, and this has been through luxury and dissipation. The only exception to this rule are the Arabs in Arabia. Mutasim, the second son of Khalif Haroon, who succeeded his brother Mamoon at Baghdad got so tired of the equality of treatment by, and the

fearless behaviour of his own people, the Arabs, that he committed a grave political blunder by the point of view of the Arabs, by formation of a large standing army composed of Turks and other foreigners. He removed the seat of Government from Baghdad to Samarah, where he went to live with his favorite corps. The Arabs got so disgusted at this conduct of the Arabian Khalif that they began to renounce their close connections with the Government and returning to their own territories resumed their former mode of living. The descendants of these Arabs are in the same condition as they were at the time of the advent of the Holy Prophet. High resoluteness, bravery, courage, and the tractableness of body and mind are in the same condition as they were at the time of their first awakening. The Arabs have already proved that they are capable of attaining to the highest stages of human development if they are properly educated and trained, and they would again prove themselves responsive to highest and noblest ideals and aspirations. Progress of the Arabs and the proper arrangements for their education form a problem, which should equally absorb the interests of the whole Islamic world. The present day Arabs, who are considered to be ignorant, illiterate and idle, would become a most useful instrument of Islam, if they are properly cared for.

If the Arabs are able to maintain their independence, which there is every reason to hope they shall, their chief duty at the present time will be to make suitable arrangements for the pilgrims. The Sharif of Mecca was hithertofore responsible for the proper management of the pilgrims, and if there was any complaint, the blame was laid on his shoulders. In fact a system of double Government prevailed with regard to the arrangements for pilgrims, and therefore the complaints could not be properly dealt with. No body could ask the Sharif to give explanations and the Turks turned deaf ears to all com-

plaints. If the fault lay with the Sharif, the Turks should have been able to put the things right. If they could not reform the irregularities in the Sharif's administration and impose restrictions upon his independent actions, the Turkish suzeranty over Arabia had no meaning. The Sharif, who is responsible for this revolution in Arabia, is bound to make proper arrangements for the pilgrims. The Musalmans all over the world, through proper channels, should compel the Sharif to organise a managing body, consisting of the representatives of the Musalmans of all the countries, and act with their assistance. He has in fact expressed his willingness to do so. The development of this organisation should naturally be the prime object of the Sharif's Government. He must feel the necessity of finding out some source of income, as he will no longer enjoy the bounties of the Turkish Government. The only means of improving his financial conditions lies in the increase of the number of pilgrims and nothing but the satisfactory arrangements for their convenience will attract the larger numbers.

The Musalmans, who for their political regeneration are depending upon the existing Muslim Powers, as the means, are building their castles in the air and simply betraying their lack of intelligence and deep-thinking. History will repeat itself and the rise of the Musalmans will take place in the same manner as it did in the fourteenth century of the Christian era. The Turks and the Tartars, who had then brought about the fall of the Muslim Kingdoms, established them again by their own conversion to Islam. If the Islam succeeded in exhibiting the same miracle again, the future Muslim Powers will grow out of civilised and enlightened nations of the world. Those people who regard this as a utopian idea, have a weak faith, and don't seriously believe in the reality of Islam as the faith, exhibiting the highest, and noblest, principles of truth, justice, purity and morality and capable of satisfying in full, the legitimate yearnings of humanity. Modern high education is the chief require-

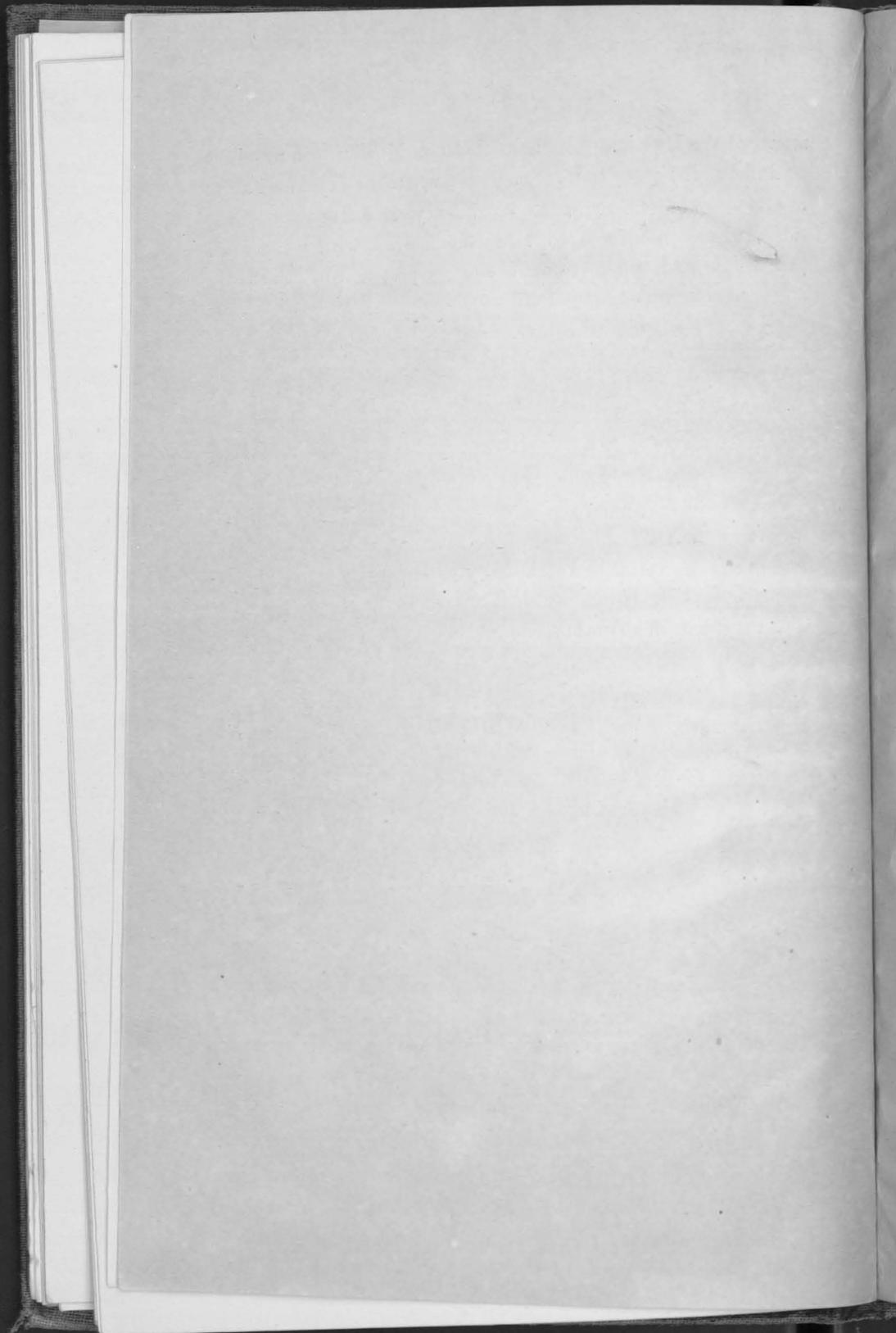
ment of the Musalmans to help the non-Muslim communities to find out the true Islam. The time when the Muslims had to use their swords to attain to ascendancy is fortunately gone, the Muslims now have to arm themselves with weapons of knowledge and enlightenment and by propagating the Holy Message of Islam ought to fulfil the Divine Will and the objects of the true Islamic teachings. At the end of this war the Europeans shall naturally feel a tendency to discover the causes of this woeful and wonderful phenomenon in the history of the world. The discovery might lead to its one real great cause, that is the absence of spirituality among the majority of Europeans. The remedy they would find in the teachings of Islam, the religion whose chief and fundamental object was to combine the whole of humanity into one homogeneous whole, and establish a universal brotherhood by making them the worshippers of one God. Humanity shall never get rid of these calamities, till it has in all enthusiasm and sincerity of spirit embraced Islam.

RAWALIPNDI, }
22nd July, 1916. }

SIRAJ-UD-DIN AHMED,

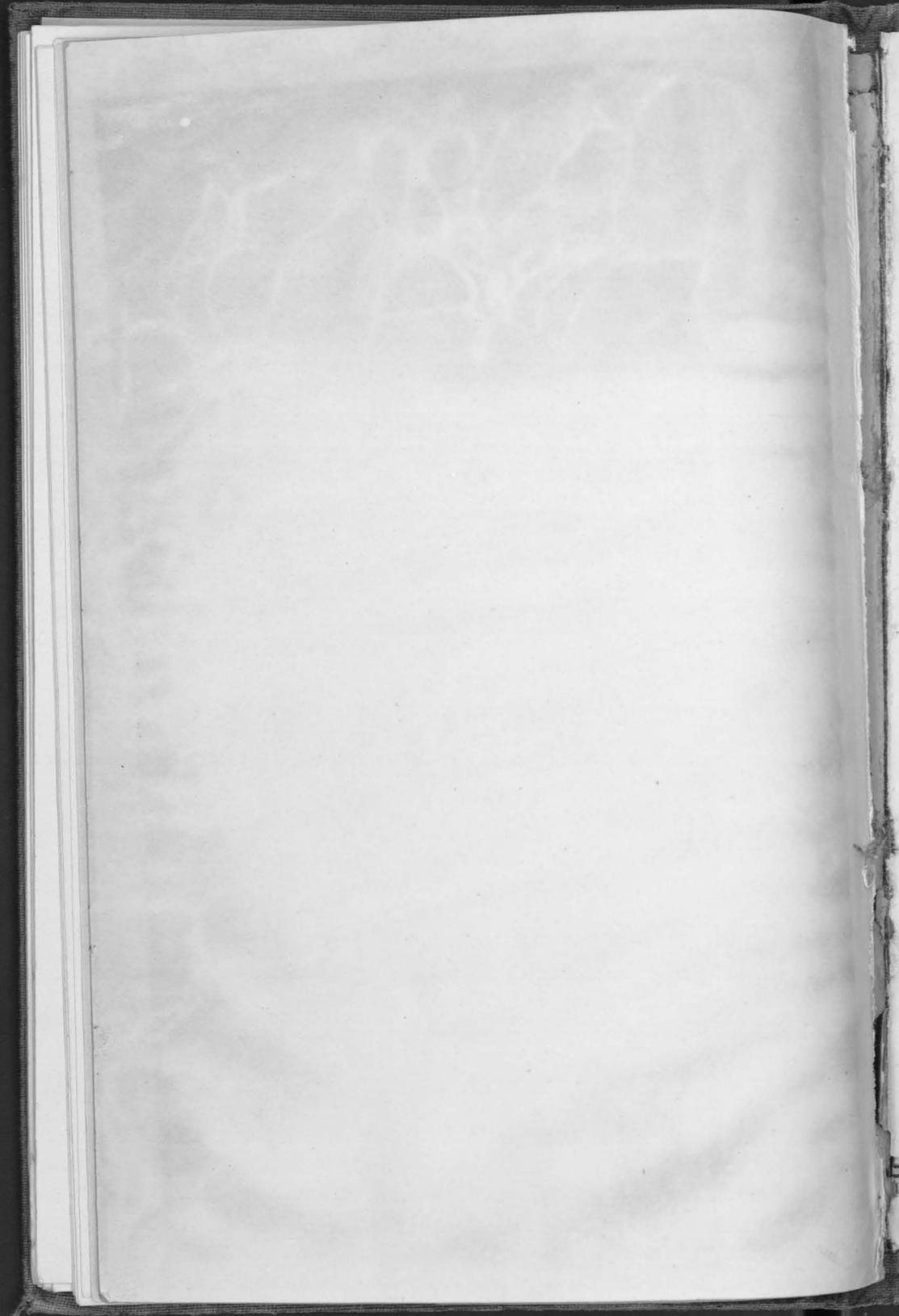
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