

Sayyid Ahmad Khan in Historical Perspective

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The *Sirat-i-Faridiyat*, written and published by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan in Agra in 1896, two years before his death, is one of the most important historical documents that relates to Sir Sayyid's family background. Excerpts and certain anecdotes from it, as C. Shackel points out, can be found in two of Sir Sayyid's biographies written by Altaf Husain Hali and Lieut-Colonel G.F.I. Graham, namely *The Hayat-i-Jawed* and *The Life and Work of Syed Ahmed Khan* respectively.¹

The *Sirat-i-Faridiyat* on the one hand reflects Sir Sayyid's strong awareness of the history of his family background because it was written when he was very old. On the other hand, the *Sirat* describes "the author's own picture of his mother, uncles and grandfather".²

Sir Sayyid's father, Sayyid Muhammad Muttaqi Khan b-Jawad al-Daula Jawad 'Ali Khan had a very close relationship with the Mughal Emperor at that time; the Emperor Akbar Shah. The intimate relationship between Sayyid Muhammad Muttaqi Khan with the King can be proved when the latter sometimes used to call him "Brother Muttaqi".

The friendship between them began since Akbar Shah was a prince. Therefore, when he succeeded his predecessor, Shah 'Alam, as a King of the Mughal Empire, he strongly wished his beloved friend to serve under his reign.³ But Sayyid Muhammad Muttaqi Khan was a man of different temperament.⁴ He requested to be excused or forgiven from accepting the King's offer.⁵ Instead, he told the Emperor Akbar Shah to appoint his father-in-law, Khwaja Farid al-Din replacing him. He told the Emperor about his father-in-law's success as an attache, and then when the ambassador of the Government of India (under the East India Company's rule) to Iran was ill, Khwaja Farid al-Din took over the charge of the Embassy. Sayyid Muhammad Muttaqi Khan also advised the King to appoint his father-in-law *wazir* or a minister. The King accepted his advice.

Sayyid Muhammad Muttaqi, as J.M.S. Baljon says, was not a man of the world. Therefore, his interest was very much concerned with derwish orders rather than state affairs.⁶ He followed a Sufi sect

of Shah Ghulam 'Ali, the great Sufi of Delhi who expressed the new type of Sufism introduced by Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind.⁷ Graham describes Sayyid Muhammad Muttaqi Khan as a recluse and when his father, Jawad al-Daula 'Alī Khan, Sir Sayyid's grandfather, died, Sayyid Muttaqi refused all titles from the Emperor.⁸

The relationship between Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's family with the Mughal Kings was not new, for as we know, his grandfather, Jawad al-Daula 'Alī Khan served under the reign of the Mughal Emperor, Alamgir II. It is said that from his father's side, Sayyid Ahmad Khan was descended from the Prophet Muhammad in the 36th degree.⁹ His family background from his paternal side goes back to his great-great-grandfather, Sayyid Hadi, a native of Herat, Afghanistan. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's ancestors escaped from the Umayyad's oppression moved to Damghān (Persia) and then settled down in Herat (Afghanistan).¹⁰ It was possibly during the time of Shah Jahan's rule (1628–1666) that Sir Sayyid's family moved and settled down in India and attained important posts.¹¹

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's maternal grandfather, Khwāja Farid al-Din Ahmad Khan Bahadur was a descendant of Hadrat Khwāja Yūsuf Hamdani, one of the great Sufis whose *laqab* or title was Abū Ya'qūb.¹²

Khwāja Farid al-Din Ahmad was born in Delhi in A.H. 1161/A.D. 1747 and his father was Khwāja Ashraf. He had a great interest in the mathematical sciences. He had five children, one of them was Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's mother, 'Aziz al-Nisā Begam.¹³

During the time of the Marquess of Wellesley as Governor-General in Calcutta, Khwāja Farid al-Din served as a Superintendent for the College in Calcutta in 1791.¹⁴ In 1799 he was appointed attache to Persia by the Governor-General Lord Wellesley. Later on, when he returned to Calcutta, he was appointed Political Officer at the Court of Ava (Burma).¹⁵ In 1815, Khwāja Farid al-Din served as *wazīr* or prime minister under the Emperor Akbar Shah II. He was honoured by the King with the titles of Dabir al-Daula Amin al-Mulk Muṣliḥ-Jang.¹⁶ After he resigned from his office,¹⁷ Maharaja Ranjit Singh invited him to Lahore to serve under him. Following the advice of his eldest daughter, Sir Sayyid's mother, he declined the offer. She said to him:

God has given you sufficient means to live in as much comfort and ease as you wish: even were you to receive more than this, it could produce no corresponding increase in your easy circumstances. It is not a good plan for you to go to Lahore and administer Maharaja Ranjit Singh's dominions while we are all living under British sovereignty. Who knows what may happen, what changes of fortune there may be, or what sort of difficulties may present themselves? Besides, you are now weak and your health is poor, and I do not wish to go there.¹⁸

He died in 1828.

SIR SAYYID AHMAD KHAN

In this aristocratic and religious family, Sir Sayyid was born on the 17th October, 1817, at Delhi.¹⁹ His family background as mentioned above, especially from his maternal side played an important role in Sir Sayyid's later life. In fact, from his maternal side, Sir Sayyid inherited the great versatility that he showed in his life.²⁰ In the house of his maternal grandfather, Khwajad Farid al-Din, Sir Sayyid was born and grew up. Therefore, it is not surprising that in his historical writing of his family background, his maternal grandfather and his mother, 'Aziz al-Nisā Begam, received long biographies from him. As a matter of fact, the *Sirat-i-Faridiyat* derives its name from the word 'Farid', his maternal grandfather's name. This is, of course, enough evidence to show remarkable influences of his grandfather and his mother on his life. Since his father was a recluse, therefore, his mother was solely responsible for his education.²¹

Remembering those days that passed away while his mother was still alive, Sir Sayyid mentions in the *Sirat* the effectiveness of his mother's advice to him that made him to remember. Sir Sayyid says:

I remember that someone to whom I had been of benefit served me very ill, when all the evidence I needed for him to be severely punished by a "court-martial" came into my possession. I was led astray by my baser instincts into being prepared to exact my revenge. When my late mother heard of this, she said to me, "There is nothing better you can do than to forgive him. If you must have his wickedness punished by a judge, then it is the height of folly to want to snatch your enemy from the clutches of the mighty, powerful and greatest of Judges, who punishes the deeds of all, and to give him into the hands of the feeble and impotent judges of this world. So, if you have decided on hostility and revenge, leave him to the hands of the mighty Judge."²²

This advice, as Sir Sayyid himself acknowledges, affected his feelings so much that "now I do not wish God to revenge me on him in the world to come,"²³ says Sir Sayyid.

Furthermore, he points out that he well remembers the way that his mother taught him lessons. Sir Sayyid received his early education at home from his mother until he was twelve years old. If he had learned something from his mother during the day, he had to repeat it to her at night.²⁴ She taught him some lessons on the *Gulistan* and she also listened to him while he was reading the elementary Persian books.²⁵ She kept with her a scourge, being made up of three thongs of plaited thread and a wooden handle to punish him with, but she never beat him although she was angry with him many times.²⁶

It is clear that Sayyid Ahmad was educated in traditional ways, he learned Qur'an, studied Persian and Arabic. He did not show

any success in his study of those subjects. As a result, he left them without finishing them.²⁷ He also did not learn English.²⁸

When he was eleven or twelve years old, Sayyid Ahmad slapped an old servant. Consequently, his mother punished him by not allowing him to stay in the house. Throw him out of the house, and let him go where he pleases. He's not fit to live at home, said his mother. Sayyid Ahmad took refuge at his aunt's house which was not far away from his house for three days. Then, his aunt went to see his mother asking her to forgive him. She replied that she would forgive him if the servant forgave him. Therefore, Sayyid Ahmad went to see the servant asking his forgiveness and it was granted. This event also affected Sayyid Ahmad's feeling that made him conclude

a good mother is better than a thousand teachers.²⁹

Sayyid Ahmad's mother, as his father, was a religious woman, following the Sufi sect of Hadrat Shah Ghulam 'Ali. The family of his mother were followers of the great Sufi at that time, Shah 'Abd. al 'Aziz and his family. As a result, if some members of the family had troubles, they came to Shah Abd. al 'Aziz and his family to get a charm in order to protect them from some illnesses. But his mother did not believe in this sort of faith. It happened that, when Sayyid Ahmad's sons, Sayyid Hamid and Sayyid Mahmud, were given charms to wear by other members of the family, there was a tradition that these children should not eat egg or chicken, (according to their belief, if they took those things, some catastrophic event would happen to them). Sayyid Ahmad's mother thought that the above belief was not in accord with the faith in God. Therefore, when she ate with the boys, she used to give them some egg dish or chicken curry or chicken pilau.³⁰ His mother's religious attitude had also some influence on his later religious thought. He was in favour of his mother's view as he points out:

Even now, when my religious views are founded upon rational principles, I find in my mother's beliefs no element that might be denominated infidel or heretical, with the single exception of her belief that the dead receive the reward of 'bodily worship' (*'ibādat-e badanī*), that is, of reading the Holy Qur'ān and bestowing alms or of reciting prayers for the dead and distributing food.

I believe in neither of these practices – I do not believe in the acting by proxy (*niyābat*) involved in 'bodily worship', nor in that involved in 'worship by wealth' (*'ibādat-e mālī*), except when the deceased has in his life-time given in trust to someone some of his property for a charitable purpose.³¹

Sayyid Ahmad, although did not show any remarkable progress in his study of Arabic and Persian, also studied other subjects such as mathematics, and his uncle also taught him some basic texts in arithmetic and some propositions of Euclid on astronomy.³² Obviously, in his childhood, Sayyid Ahmad had no great interest in his studies. Therefore, in January 1837, he gave up his studies.³³

Some writers, such as Shan Muhammad divide the periods of Sir Sayyid's life into four. The first period of his life is between 1817 and 1837. Shan Muhammad regards these twenty years as not very important.³⁴ It is not known why Sayyid Ahmad was not interested in his study. Possibly his easy life made him less serious in his study.

The second period of Sir Sayyid's life spanned the years from 1837 to 1857. His father, Sayyid Muhammad Muttaqi Khan died in 1838 that forced Sir Sayyid to seek employment to support his family. Now, after his father's death, life for Sayyid Ahmad was not as easy as it had been. He was no longer a small child who had no fear and grief. His father's death, as Baljon says, gave him better direction.³⁵ Accordingly, Sayyid Ahmad was employed with the British service as Shiristehdar of the Criminal Department in the office of Sadr Amin at Delhi. In January, 1839, he was appointed *Naib Munshi* or deputy reader in the Commissioner's Office at Agra, Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Hamilton. Later on, in December 1841, he became *munsif* or sub-Judge of Fatehpur Sikri for ten years. In January 1846, he was moved to Delhi.³⁶

Within this second period of his life, his interest in academic works began to flourish. It is not known why his attitude towards education changed so fast to a positive one. Possibly his service with the East India Company, his intellectual intercourse with British officers and his increasing awareness of the importance of education were among the factors that changed his mind towards education. Considering the post he held in his service with the East India Company, one can say that this gave him a great opportunity to develop his talent in academic works and literature. Among his works in this period are:

1. *Jilā al-qulūb bi dhikr al-Mahābb* (*Polishing of the Hearts by Remembering the Beloved*), 1841.
2. *Tuhfat-i Hasan* (*The Gift to Hasan*), 1844, Nūr al-Hasan was Sir Sayyid's teacher in Agra in the early 1884s [?]
3. *Tadhkirah-i ahl-i Dihlī* (*Biography of the People of Delhi*, contained in the fourth chapter of the first edition of *Athār al-Sanādīd*), 1846.
4. *Kalimat al-Haqq* (*The True Discourse*), 1849.
5. *Rāh-i sunnah dar radd-i bid'ah* (*The Path of the Sunnah in Rejection of Innovation*), 1850.
6. *Namīqah dar bayān-i mas'alah-i tasawwur-i Shaikh*. (*A Letter Explaining the Teacher of tasawwur-i Shaikh*), 1852.
7. *Āghāz-i tarjumah-i Kimiyā-i sa'ādah*. (*Beginning of the translation of al-Ghazālī's famous The Elixir of Happiness*), 1853.
8. *Āthār al-Sanādīd*, 1852 (Second Edition – revised edition).
9. *Ā'in-i Akbarī*. (No date was given).³⁷

The last two works, namely *Āthār al-Sanādīd* and *Ā'in-ī Akbarī* are not religious works compared with the rest of the above works. Historically, these two works are very important for modern historians, for the *Āthār al-Sanādīd* describes the history of the old buildings and monuments and peoples of Delhi. The *Ā'in-ī-Akbarī*, edited by Sayyid Ahmad in 1856 is concerned with “the administration report and statistical return of the government of the great Mughal Emperor Akbar.”³⁸

Jilā' al-Qulūb bi dhikr al-Mahbub (*Polishing of the Hearts by Remembering the Beloved*) is the biography of the Prophet Muhammad. This tract was written to be used as a handbook for *maulud* recitations.³⁹ *Jilā' al-Qulūb* was written in three languages: Arabic, Persian and Urdu. It begins with:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
الحمد لله رب العالمين والصلوة والسلام على سيدنا محمد خاتم المرسلين [المرسلين] واله
[وآله] الطيبين الطاهرين واصحابه نجوم الدين - افضل الاذكار ذكر النبي صلى الله
عليه وسلم . . .

Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds, and blessings and peace upon our *sayid* (leader) Muhammad, the Seal of the messengers and upon his family; the good and pure ones and upon the Companions, the stars of religion! The best of all remembrances is the remembrance of the Prophet. ..

The *Risalah* ends with another praise to the Prophet Muhammad:

”اللهم [اللهم] صلى [صل] على روح النبي المطهر
شفيح الورى فى يوم بعث ومحشر
بشير نذير سيد القوم جملة
رسول كريم خير ذات وجوهر
وما مثله فى الناس من صلب آدم
بخلق عظيم ثم ذات معطر
اذا نار نورك فى خلق آدم
خير الملائكة جملة مكبر
اذا لاح بالانوار وجه محمد
فلم يبق نور ما لتجم منور
سقى معشر الابرار من حوض كوثر
شربا طهورا خاليا عن مكدر
عليك صلوة الله يا سيد الورى
عليك سلام الله يا خير منظر.“

Oh God, blessing be upon the pure spirit of the Prophet,
 The intercessor of mankind on the day of the rising and judgement,
 The bringer of good news and warner, the lord of all people.
 The generous Apostle, [messenger] of good character and nature.
 Who is like him among the people, the progeny of Adam,
 His disposition grand and full of fragrance?
 When your light shines upon the descendants of Adam
 Even the good angels are altogether proud.
 When the face of Muhammad shines in light
 There remains no light that could illuminate a star.
 He has given drink to the company of the pious from the basin of *Kauthar*
 [“The Pond of Abundance” in Paradise]
 Praise be to you, O Lord of the world
 Peace be upon you, O best of vision.⁴⁰

Within this period, Sayyid Ahmad wrote mainly on religions or theological issues following traditional lines. *Jilā' al-Qulūb*, *Tadhkirat-i ahl-i-Dihli*, and *Kalimat al-Haqq* are presented in such a way that reflect his strong commitment to and understanding of Islamic teachings. *Tadhkirat-i ahl-i-Dihli* was written, as we understand from its main point, to show that thousands of Delhi's inhabitants followed the *tariqah-i sunnat-i Muhammadi* or the Way of the Prophet Muhammad.⁴¹ *Kalimat-i-al-Haqq* is also devoted by Sayyid Ahmad to praise the Prophet Muhammad and his *tariqat* where the Prophet is regarded as the one true *pir* or teacher.⁴²

Looking at the whole of Sayyid Ahmad's writings in general until 1857, one cannot deny that he was interested in history. *Āthar al-Sanādīd* is one work that supports this argument. The rest of his works at this stage, such as *Jilā' al-Qulūb bi dhikr al-Mahbub* and *Tadhkirat-i-ahl-i-Dihli*, although they are not considered as historical works, were written on historical lines. *Jilā' al-Qulūb* deals with the history of the Prophet Muhammad's birth, how he became a prophet and a messenger of God, his miracles and his farewell pilgrimage. *Tadhkirat-i-ahl-i-Dihli* is concerned with the history of the people in Delhi.

The third period of his life began with two important events: the outbreak of the 1857 Mutiny against the British and the death of his mother. This period started from 1857 to 1877.⁴³ During the outbreak of 1857, Sayyid Ahmad was a “Sadr-amin” or sub-Judge in Bijnore.⁴⁴ He played a remarkable role in saving the lives of many Europeans during the Mutiny. He strongly believed that British rule would remain in India and therefore, no power could uproot it from India.⁴⁵ Sayyid Ahmad showed his loyalty to the British government in this critical time. He was in charge of the district of Bijnor

for some time on behalf of the British without any military help.⁴⁶ In the *Sīrat-i-Farīdīyat*, Sayyid Ahmad describes that during this great revolt, his mother, the children and his relatives were in Delhi while he was at Bijnor. His mother had great confidence that the British would come back to restore the order. She said to people:

The British will soon return. You all stay quietly at home: the British will do nothing to those who take no part in the disturbances.⁴⁷

Sayyid Ahmad soon went to Delhi to find out his mother.⁴⁸ According to him, his mother strongly believed that the British would not harm any one who was not involved in or took part in the rebellion. Therefore, when Delhi nearly fell; many peoples left the city but she with her sister remained in Delhi believing the British would not harm the innocent people. But as Sayyid Ahmad adds, his mother's belief proved to be wrong because when the soldiers came, the whole house was looted. As a result, she and her sister lived in the small room that was occupied by her servant, Zaiban. When Sayyid Ahmad arrived at his mother's house, he learned that she was without food and water for several days. When she saw Sayyid Ahmad she said:

Why are you here? People are being killed here. Go away? We shall suffer what we must.

He replied:

Set your mind at rest; no one will kill me. I have on me letters from all the officials, and have just been with the British officers in the Fort and the Governor of Delhi.⁴⁹

It was very fortunate for Sayyid Ahmad's mother and her sister because he arrived home while they were in great trouble. After giving them water which he got from the Fort, he took them to Meerut, and his mother died there in 1857. For Sayyid Ahmad, the year 1857 was very important. The great Mutiny of that year taught him many lessons. He remained loyal to the British because he believed that the British rule would continue and there was no other political power which could rule the country.⁵⁰ Sayyid Ahmad did everything he could in helping the British in that crucial time in the history of India. His effort and support during the mutiny had been acknowledged by the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West provinces, Sir John Strachey, who said on the 11th December, 1880, at Aligarh:

No man ever gave nobler proofs of conspicuous courage and loyalty to the British Government than were given by him in 1857: no language that I could use would be worthy of the devotion he showed.⁵¹

Due to his remarkable services to the British Government especially during the mutiny of 1857, he was given an estate that once belonged to Mir Sadiq Ali and Mir Rustam Ali who supported the rebellion against the British. But he did not want to accept because he did not intend to stay in India.⁵² In any case, the British government awarded him and his eldest son a political pension of Rs. 200 *per mensem*.⁵³

The failure of the mutiny of 1857 brought the end of the Mughal Empire in India. Muslims were accused of acting as engineers of the rebellion against the British authority. The *wahhabi* movement was also said to be responsible for the mutiny. Through the revolt, Muslims also were accused of trying to restore the Muslim power in India. The social, educational and political situation of the Muslims before the mutiny were other factors that helped the mutiny develop. Due to their opposition to British rule, the Muslims did not take Western education and there were few Muslims entering the service of the British government.⁵⁴ As a result of the mutiny also, Muslims suffered much more than the Hindus although the latter also took part in the abortive rebellion.

Sayyid Ahmad had witnessed the collapse of Muslim power in India and the decadence and backwardness of the Muslims politically, educationally and economically. All these situations worried him and made him intend to leave the country. He thought how difficult it would be to regenerate the spirit of the Muslim society. But finally he put off his intention of leaving because it would not help to solve Muslim problems. He had to face reality. At that time, Sayyid Ahmad was really in a dilemma. His great sympathy to the Muslims after the mutiny and his loyalty to the British government were in balance. In other words, his sympathy to his Muslim people did not put off his loyalty to the British, just as his loyalty to the British did not reduce his sympathy to the Muslims.

He analysed the great event of 1857 that totally separated the Muslims from the British administration. At this stage Sayyid Ahmad stood between Muslim prejudice towards the British as well as British prejudice towards the Muslims. He appeared and played a role of reconciliation between the Muslims and the British. The relation between the Muslims and the British reached its lowest point after the mutiny. But Sayyid Ahmad wanted to keep a warm relationship with both of them. More than that, he strongly attempted to diminish the prejudices that arose between these two sides. This was indeed not an easy task. After the mutiny of 1857, Sayyid Ahmad wrote several books concerning politics and theology. The great mutiny inspired him to find out the roots of the revolt. On the other hand, he also wanted to prove that the Muslims were loyal subjects to the British

rule. As a result, he published two works. First he wrote in 1858 a tract called *Asbāb-i Baghāwat-i Hind* or “The Causes of the Indian Revolt”. Then, a few years later, he published at Meerut another work called *An Account of the Loyal Mahomedans of India* in 1860–61.

In the *Asbāb-i-Baghāwat-i-Hind*, Sayyid Ahmad thought five factors that were responsible for the rise of the rebellion:

1. Ignorance on the part of the people: by which I mean misapprehension of the intentions of Government.
2. The passing of such laws and regulations and forms of procedure as jarred with the established customs and practice of Hindustan, and the introduction of such as were in themselves objectionable.
3. Ignorance on the part of the Government of the condition of the people; of their modes of thought and of life; and of the grievances through which their hearts [they] were becoming estranged.
4. The neglect on the part of our rulers of such points as were essential to the good Government of Hindustan.
5. The bad management and disaffection of the army ⁵⁵

In the *Asbāb-i-Baghāwat-i-Hind*, Sayyid Ahmad frankly but politely criticised the British government which, according to him, did not understand the culture and the way of thinking of the peoples. He believed that the rebellion was not because of economic problems. He says in the *Asbab*:

I do not say that Government has made no attempt to acquaint itself with the characteristics, and economy of the country. I am well aware that serious efforts have been made ... But I do say that Government has not succeeded in acquainting itself with the daily habits, the modes of thought and of life, the likes, and dislikes, and the prejudices of the people. Our Government never knew what troubles each succeeding sun might bring with it to its subjects, or what sorrow might fall upon them with the night. Yet day by day troubles and anxieties were increasing upon them. Secret causes of complaint were rankling in their breasts. Little by little a cloud was gathering strength, which finally burst over us in all its violence.⁵⁶

Sayyid Ahmad’s view as cited above is constructive. Neither British officials nor his European friends expressed their opposition to his idea. His idea concerning the causes of the mutiny reflects the view of, at least, some people – if not all of them – who were involved in the rebellion. In his essay entitled *The Loyal Mohammedans of India*, Sayyid Ahmad tried to convince the Muslims that it is not against Islam to obey or become loyal to a non-Muslim ruler. On the other hand, he also attempted to convince the British that the Muslims were loyal subjects of the British. In order to convince all of them, Sayyid Ahmad had to refer to the history of the Prophet Muhammad and the beginning of his mission. He had referred to Quranic verses which

relate to the basis for a warm relationship between Muslims and Christians. The Qur'an says in the passage which Sayyid Ahmad referred to:

لتجدن اشد الناس عداوة للذين آمنوا اليهود والذين اشركوا ولتجدن اقربهم مودة للذين آمنوا الذين قالوا انا نصري. ذلك بأن منهم قسيسين ورهبانا وانهم. لا يستكبرون.

Thou shalt surely find the most violent of all men in enmity against the true believers to be the Jew and the idolators, and thou shalt surely find those among to be the most inclinable to entertain friendship for the true believers, who say, 'we are Christian' This cometh to pass because there are priests and monks among them and because they are not elated with pride.⁵⁷

To his Muslim countrymen, Sayyid Ahmad points out in his *The Loyal Mohammedans of India* that the Christians are like them. They are people who believe in the revelation from heaven, in the prophets and pay a great respect to the word of God in their Holy Book.

"It was therefore needful and proper," says Sayyid Ahmad, "that where the blood of Christians was spilt, there should also have mingled with it that of Mohammedans; and those who shrunk from manifesting such devotedness, and sided with the rebels willfully disobeyed the injunctions of religion, besides proving themselves ungrateful to their salt, and thereby incurring the severe displeasure of Government, a fact that is patent to every peasant."⁵⁸

Furthermore, Sayyid Ahmad describes how the Ethiopian Christian King called Najashi protected Muslims who sought refuge in his country from the oppression of the *Kuffār* or the idolatrous people of Mecca.⁵⁹

All these historical facts and Qur'anic verses were used by Sayyid Ahmad in order to reconcile the Muslims and the British. This is a crucial role played by him in a very critical period of Muslim-British relationship. According to Aziz Ahmad and G.E. von Grunebaum, the mutiny of 1857–1858 is a sign of the end of Muslim attitudes of resistance to the British. Instead, the Indo-Muslim elite began to realise that it was only

a workable *modus vivendi* with the British rulers in India and in assimilating at least certain practical elements of the dominant Western civilization,

that could guarantee economic and social survival of Muslims in India.⁶⁰ There is no doubt that Sayyid Ahmad appeared as a leading figure amongst Indian Muslims at that time in restoring close ties between the Muslims and the British. He was among those Muslim elites who saw a reconciliation policy as the best way for Muslim survival in India. Sayyid Ahmad realised that educationally, the Hindu community was far more advanced than Muslims. Educatio-

nal campaigns and reformation led by the Hindu elite such as Rammohun Roy had not been in vain. Rammohun was older than Sayyid Ahmad. Therefore, it is possible that Sayyid Ahmad had a knowledge concerning Rammohun's educational intercourse with Christian missionaries in promoting Western education to his Hindu countrymen.

Sayyid Ahmad also knew, as Rammohun did, the importance of Western Science and education to the Muslims. There is no evidence to prove that Sayyid Ahmad was influenced by Rammohun Roy in his positive attitude towards Western education. But one thing was clear, that due to the failure of the mutiny and the establishment of the British rule in India, Muslims in one way or another had to come closer to the West and study Western learning. They could not isolate themselves from Western civilization.

Due to his reinterpretation of Muslim theology and his strong support of the British rule in India, Sayyid Ahmad faced "a conservative challenge in religion and a pan-Islamic challenge in politics."⁶¹ But for Sayyid Ahmad those challenges could not change his thinking and attitude.

Analysing his works throughout the period of twenty years, 1857–1877, one can see some effects on his works as a result of his intellectual intercourse with Western education and Christianity. Apart from his *Asbāb Baghāwat-i-Hind* and *An Account of the Loyal Mahomedans of India*, some other works were also published within this period. The most important works relating to Muslim-Christian dialogue are *Tabyīn al-Kalam Fī Tafṣīr al-Taurat wa-al-Injīl 'alā Millat-i-al-Islām*, *The Mohamedan Commentary on the Holy Bible*, published in three volumes: volume I in 1862, volume II in 1865 and volume III in 1887; *Ahkām-i ta'ām ahl-i Kitāb* first published in 1866 and *A Series of Essays on the Life of Mohammed and subjects subsidiary thereto*, published in London in 1870.

It is interesting to learn how Sayyid Ahmad became interested in extending his religious exploration into another faith, namely Christianity. During his time, a theological controversy had already arisen between his teacher, Maulana Nūr al-Hassan (d. 1868) and a Christian missionary stationed at Agra since 1835, named Carl Gottlieb Pfander, (d. 1869). The controversy between them took place in the late 1830s and the early 1840s.⁶² Among Pfander's works are the *Mizan-ul-Haqq* (Balance of Truth), *Miftāh-ul-Asrār* (Key to mysteries) and *Tariq-ul-Hyāt* (Way of Salvation).⁶³ As a result of his study of Islam, Pfander was involved in a religious controversy with Muslims, among them Nur al-Hasan himself and Sayyid Ahmad's friends: Maulwi Imam Shahid, Maulwi Ghulām Jilani and Maulwi Muh Shāfi.⁶⁴ A controversy also arose between

Pfander and Sayyid Ali Hassan, another Muslim scholar who wrote a tract called *Kitāb al-Istf̄sar* (Book of Questions). According to William Muir, the first four “Questions” in the book deal with the rejection of the doctrine of Trinity. The next ten criticise the truth and authority of the Bible. The fifteenth question is devoted to show the greatness of the Prophet Muhammad’s miracles. The Bible as the author says, is in favour of the Prophet Muhammad’s prophecies rather than Christ. Chapter sixteen in this book deals with this question. The seventeenth and the eighteenth chapters discuss challenges and obstacles faced by all prophets including the Prophet Muhammad and the beauties and excellencies of Islam respectively. Accordingly, Pfander wrote and published in 1847 an article called *Hall ul-Ishkal* (Solution of Difficulties) as a reply to *Kashf ul-Astār* and *Kitāb-i-Istf̄sar*.⁶⁵ The *Kitāb-i-Istf̄sar* ended Pfander’s theological controversy with Muslim scholars.⁶⁶ Apart from the Pfander-Hassan controversy, a theological debate also arose between the Anglican missionary Joseph Wolff and another Muslim scholar Maulānā Muhammad Ishāq Muhaddith Diḥlawī, a grandson of Shah ‘Abd al-Aziz in the early 1830s.⁶⁷

All the controversies that arose between Muslim and Christian scholars inspired Sayyid Ahmad and William Muir (1819–1905) to open a new field of controversy. The theological misunderstanding that arose between these two figures was probably not due to Sayyid Ahmad’s interpretation of Jesus but to Muir’s interpretation of the Prophet Muḥammad. It is not known how far previous theological debates that occurred between Muslim and Christian scholars influenced Sayyid Ahmad to devote his study to Christian Scriptures. But one thing is clear, that in the *Tabyīn al-Kalām fi Taf̄sīr al-Taurat wa-al-Injīl ‘alā millat al-Islām*, he adopted a moderate view and attitude (but still Islamic) in his study of Christian and Jewish scriptures. Unlike Sayyid Ali Hassan’s *Kitāb al-Istf̄sar* (Book of Questions), the *Tabyīn al-Kalām* is not offensive in its interpretation of Judaeo-Christian scriptures. It is rather a sympathetic Muslim interpretation of Biblical scriptures. The efforts initiated by Sayyid Ahmad in his writing on Biblical commentary are very rare in the Islamic history of Muslim study of the Judaeo-Christian scriptures “from a sympathetic Muslim point of view. It marks also the beginnings of religious pluralism in Islamic India.”⁶⁸ At this stage we see how Sayyid Ahmad extended his role as a mediator between the Muslims and the British rule. The *Tabyīn al-Kalām* in one way or another reflects his great respect for the Judaeo-Christian holy books. Appraising the moderate attitude adopted by him in a wider context, one can say that it is not against the teachings of Islam. For Muslims also have to believe other prophets sent by God before the Prophet

Muhammad and books revealed by Him before the Qur'ān. The six pillars of Islamic Faith (اركان الإيمان) are concerned with these subjects. It is possibly due to this reason (beside other reasons) that influenced him to adopt such a moderate view and attitude as mentioned above. By working of Judaeo-Christian scriptures, Sayyid Ahmad was able to use intelligibly several works published by Christian and Jewish scholars at that time. Among them are:

1. Thomas Hartwell Horne, *An Introduction to the critical study knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*.
2. Thomas Scott, *The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments*.
3. Nathaniel Lardner, *The works of Nathaniel Lardner*.
4. George and Mant R. D'Oyly, *The Holy Bible*.
5. Patrick Lowth, *A Critical Commentary and Paraphrase on the Old and New Testament, and the Apocrypha*.
6. John William Colenso, *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined*.
7. John Eadie, *A Biblical Cyclopaedia or Dictionary of Eastern Antiquities*.
8. Anon. Ecce Homo, or *A Critical Inquiry into the History of Jesus Christ, being a Rational Analysis of the Gospels*.
9. William Muir, *Masih Kalisa Kī tarikh*.
10. Johann Lorenz von Mosheim, *An Ecclesiastical History, Ancient and Modern from the Birth of Christ to the Beginning of the Present Century*.
11. Solomon ben Isaak Rashi, *Commentary of the Pentateuch*.⁶⁹

Furthermore, Sayyid Ahmad wrote an article called *Aḥkām-i-ṭa'ām ahl-i-Kitāb* concerning Muslims eating food with Christians or people of the Book. As the *Tabyīn al-Kalam, Aḥkām-i-ṭa'ām ahl-i-Kitāb* is also not offensive to the Christians. For the tract explains that it is lawful for the Muslims to eat with the peoples of the Book. Sayyid Ahmad bases his argument regarding the above subject on the Holy Qur'ān, Sura *Al-mā'idat*, verse 5:

اليواحلّ لكم الطيبات وطعام الذين اوتوا الكتاب حلّ لكم وطعامكم حلّ لهم.

This day are ye allowed to eat such things as are good and the food of those to whom Scriptures were given is also allowed as lawful unto you and your food is allowed as lawful unto them.

It is the purpose of Sayyid Ahmad in writing this article to remove misunderstanding that arose among the Muslims relating to this

matter. While he was busy in writing and publishing those books, he did not forget the progress of his Muslim countrymen especially in education. This is the field to which Sayyid Ahmad devoted much of his time. He believed of education.

That it may remove prejudices, soften asperities, and substitute a rational conviction of the benefits of our Government; that it may unite the people and their rulers in sympathy; and that the differences which separate them may be gradually lessened and ultimately annihilated.⁷⁰

According to Graham, Sayyid Ahmad's motto was "Educate, educate, educate." He once said to Graham:

All the socio-political diseases of India may be cured by this treatment. Cure the root, and the tree will flourish.⁷¹

For him, progress in education was one of the factors that could bring a change in society. Like Rammohun Roy, Sayyid Ahmad believed that non-religious subjects such as Geography, the Modern Arts and Sciences and History were very important to his people. Therefore, in 1858, he opened a school at Moradabad concentrating on the study of Modern History.⁷²

The traditional subjects such as Logic, Philosophy, Arabic Literature and Religion as already enjoyed by the Muslims were inadequate for them in facing challenges of the age. He was deeply concerned with the educational progress of his Muslim countrymen and co-religionists before and after the mutiny of 1857.⁷³ To promote the spirit of education among his people, he took the initiative in establishing The Translation Society. The Society which is also known as The Scientific Society of Aligarh was set up on the 9th January, 1864, at Ghazipore. He was very anxious to make his co-religionists accept English education. He saw that through mastering English language, they could study subjects like Political Economy, Geography, History and Natural Sciences and master them. It was the purpose of the foundation of the Scientific Society to translate into Urdu English books which are concerned with those subjects. Therefore, people could get benefit from them. Concerning the backwardness of his people, he prescribed for them a remedy:

The reason why we are all so backward nowadays, is that whilst we are learned in and benefited by the philosophy, sciences, and arts of antiquity, we are almost entirely ignorant of those of modern times, which the youth of the present age seems so much to admire...

Now, as we are not likely to become proficient in German, French, & c., as we have all their learned works in the English tongue, and as Hindustan is now governed by the English, I think it is very clear that English is the language to which we ought to devote our attention.⁷⁴

He hoped that religious prejudices would not hinder the Muslims in learning other languages including English. We learned Persian, he said, and yet no religious prejudice prevented us from studying that language.

How, then, can any religious objection be raised against our learning and perfecting ourselves in English? he added.⁷⁵

When he was transferred from Ghazipore to Aligarh in April 1864, the Scientific Society became weak. Therefore, he decided to move its office from Ghazipore to Aligarh. Under his direction, the Society successfully translated and published in Urdu many works which were written in English.⁷⁶ Among them are:

Rollin's Ancient History of Egypt
 Scott Burn's Modern Farming
 William Senior's Political Economy
 Harris's Electricity
 Wilkinson's Geography, compiled from various English works
 Selections from Mill's Political Economy
 Todhunter's Trigonometry
 Todhunter's Algebra for Beginners
 Todhunter's Euclid
 Barnard Smith's Arithmethic for schools
 Galbraith's Plain Trigonometry

and many others.⁷⁷

In 1866, the Scientific Society took another step by publishing a weekly paper called *The Aligarh Institute Gazette*. It was a bilingual paper, using both Urdu and English. Sayyid Ahmad was fully in charge of the paper, writing most of its editorial. Therefore, the paper survived as long as Sayyid Ahmad lived.⁷⁸ As a result of his great contribution in education, the Viceroy Lord Lawrence awarded him a gold medal and a copy of Macaulay's works in November, 1866.⁷⁹ There is no doubt that he had a great interest in introducing and popularising Western education to his people. He decided to send his son, Sayyid Mahmud to pursue his studies in Cambridge University. He also intended to join him in England to study the educational system at the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford. He planned to establish a university in India following Cambridge-Oxford models.

On the 10th April, 1869, Sayyid Ahmad and his two sons, Sayyid Mahmud and Sayyid Hamid left India for England. On their arrival in England, they stayed in a house at Mecklenburg Square, London. Several of his English friends who had been in India, had returned to England. He was fortunate to meet Lord Lawrence, Lord Stanley of Alderly, Carlyle, Sir John William Kaye, the Duke of Argyll (then

Secretary of State for India), Colonel Graham himself and many other well known figures at that time. The Duke of Argyll introduced him to the Marquis of Lorne. He was invested by the former with the insignia of Companion of the Star of India.⁸⁰

In England, Sayyid Ahmad visited Cambridge and Oxford Universities and studied the British educational system. He also frequently went to the India Office Library doing his research for his writings as he had planned before he came to London. His main purpose was to reply to Sir William Muir's work on the *Life of Mahomet* (the Prophet Muhammad). Muir's work on the Prophet's life was first published in the *Calcutta Review*, January–June 1853, concerning three main points: The Qur'ān, Tradition and Earliest Biographers of Mahomet.⁸¹ The above subjects had been repeated in the first volume of the new edition of the *Life of Mohamet*.⁸² In London, Sayyid Ahmad wrote *Essays on the Life of Mohammed* in order to reply to Muir's the *Life of Mohamet*.

According to Graham, towards the end of 1870, Sayyid Ahmad came back from England after being there for about seventeen months. He then continued his service with the government of India as a native judge at Benares.⁸³ In 1872, Sayyid Ahmad was again involved in a controversy with the Hon. W.W. Hunter as a result of the latter's work on Indian Muslims. Hunter wrote a book called *The Indian Musalmans* questioning the loyalty of the Muslims to the British rule.⁸⁴ As already mentioned, Sayyid Ahmad appeared in the history of Muslim Indians as a figure who anxiously attempted to promote a good relationship and good understanding between the Muslims and the British in India. Therefore, he regarded the publication of Hunter's work on Indian Muslims as not helpful in achieving this purpose. Consequently, he replied to Hunter's work by publishing his book called *Syed Ahmad Bahadoor. C.S.I., on Dr. Hunter's "Our Indian Mussulmans— are they bound in conscience to rebel againts the Queen?"*⁸⁵

Apart from this controversy, Sayyid Ahmad also started a periodical called the *Tahdhib al-Akhlaq* in order to reform the Muslim Community in India. The periodical ceased and resumed several times: Its first period was from December 1870–September 1876, its second period from April 1879–July 1881 and its third period from April 1894 to February 1897. The periodical was concerned with the religious and social life of Muslims.⁸⁶ The *Tahdhib al-Akhlaq* became a voice of Sayyid Ahmad to his people; He said:

The aim of this periodical is that the Muslims of India should be persuaded to adopt the best kind of civilisation so that the contempt with which the civilised people look upon them should be removed and they may join the comity of civilised people . . . It is true that religion plays a great part in making a people civilised. There are, no doubt, some religions which stand in the way of progress. It is our aim to judge where Islam stands in this regard.⁸⁷

Along with the appearance of *Tahdhib al-Akhlaq*, Sayyid Ahmad also set up the *Committee Khwastagar Taraqī-i-Musalmanan-i-Hindustan* or “The Committee for the Better Diffusion and Advancement of Learning among the Muhammadans of India” on 26th December, 1870, at Benaras.⁸⁸ In 1875, The Muhammadan Anglo Oriental College was established, indicating the first important reaction of the Muslims in India to the challenge of the modern age, and preparing them intellectually and otherwise to deal with “the process of social change and to take a fresh stock of their medieval heritage.”⁸⁹ Some Muslim ‘*ulamā*’ did not agree with his educational scheme. But more than that, they disagreed on religious grounds with Sayyid Ahmad’s new interpretation of the Qur’ān. He believed that Commentary on the Qur’ān must be made in the light of the nineteenth century rationalism,

not caring for tradition and the Canon Law and rejecting all that was in conflict with reason and nature, and taking the Qur’ān as *the* only decisive law for his religious views.⁹⁰

This affected his interpretation of Jesus and his view on the concept of miracles in Islamic theology.

Sayyid Ahmad started writing *Tafsīr al-Qur’ān* (commentary on the Qur’ān) in 1876, the year he retired from his service to the government of India. As a result, controversy arose between him and those ‘*ulamā*’.

In the fourth period of his life (1877–1898), Sayyid Ahmad devoted much of his time to writing the *Tafsīr al-Qur’ān*. Seven volumes of his new interpretation of the Qur’ān were published. Apart from that he also published *Tahrīr fī uṣūl al-Tafsīr* (Principles of Exegesis), in 1892.⁹¹ Within this period also, he wrote many articles relating to the political survival of Muslims in India, his opposition to the establishment of the All India National Congress and religious and educational essays. It is also known that Sayyid Ahmad did continue his writing on Christian theology, a subject that he was interested in for a long time. He wrote several other articles relating to the birth of Hadrat ‘Isā (Christ); his death and his miracles.⁹² It was in this period that he was knighted (1888). He was also honoured by the University of Edinburgh with the degree of LL.D.⁹³

It is clear that his long life gave him opportunities to do something for his people. His works, especially in education, politics and religion reflect his strong determination to bring a change to his co-religionists. The opposition and criticism that he received from his opponents did not weaken his ambition. In the very last period of his life, Sir Sayyid was very sad due to his son, Sayyid Mahmud’s sudden illness. He hoped that his gifted son would continue his educational

ambitions that he could not fulfil during his life time. His son's sad decline occurred in 1897. As a result, Sir Sayyid was very shocked and therefore, he kept silent for a long time. One day his old friend, Zainul Abidin, asked him why he was like that. He, thus, replied:

The time is near when I shall have to be silent forever. I am preparing myself for that.⁹⁴

Sir Sayyid fell ill on the 24th March, 1898. In the last moments of his life, he still uttered some Qur'anic verses and repeated them unceasingly. On 27th March, 1898, Sir Sayyid passed away. He was buried in the northern precincts of the College Mosque,⁹⁵ a place that he loved so much!

NOTES

1. C. Shackel, "English Translation of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's "Sirat-e-Faridiya", in *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, October, 1972, vol. 46, p. 307. The original *Sirat-i-Faridiyat* in Urdu was published by Matba'-i-Mufid-i-'am. It was repeated in *Maqalat-i-Sir Sayyid*, vol. 16, pp. 634-695, ed. M. Ismail Panipati. Lahore: Majlis-i taraqqi-i adab, 1965.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, p. 319.
4. Bashir Ahmad Dar, *Religious Thought of Sayyid Ahmad Khan*. Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture. 2nd ed. 1971, p. 1.
5. *Sirat-e-Faridiya*, *op. cit.*, p. 319. It is not known why Sayyid Muhammad Muttaqi Khan did not accept the King's offer. Possibly, he had no interest in politics and administration.
6. J.M.S. Baljon Jr., *The Reforms and Religious Ideas of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan*. Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Reprinted (Fourth Edition?) 1970, p.3. It is likely that this is one of the reasons which made him turn down Akhbar Shah's offer. See also B.A. Dar. *Religious Thought*, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
7. B.A. Dar, *Religious Thought*, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
8. G.F.I. Graham, *The Life and Work of Syed Ahmed Khan*. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and sons, n.d. preface dated Jan.6, 1885, p. 2.
9. Baljon. *op. cit.*, p. 3.
10. Baljon, *ibid.* It is not known why the Umayyads oppressed Sir Sayyid's ancestors that made them flee to Damghan in Persia. But since they had the family title 'Sayyid', it is possible they supported 'Ali's sons, Hasan and Husain in their political conflict and struggle with the Umayyads. The supporters of 'Ali bin Abi Talib, the fourth Caliph of Islam are called *Shi'ah*.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Sirat-e-Faridiya*, *op. cit.*, p.308.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 330.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 312. See also B.A. Dar, *Religious Thought*, p. 1.
15. Graham, *The Life*, *op. cit.*, p. 2. See also Dar, *Religious Thought*, p. 2.
16. *Sirat-e-Faridiya* in *Islamic Culture*, p. 319.
17. Sir Sayyid did not mention why his grandfather resigned from his post forever in the second time. He did resign for the first time when he received complaints from princes, royal ladies and courtiers as a result of his financial policy of cutting off some of their allowances. He was also accused of looting the copper of

the Divan-e 'Ām. Sir Sayyid's father, Sayyid Muhammad Muttaqī Khan strongly defended him. He was recalled by the King to continue his service and therefore, he returned to Delhi from Calcutta in 1819. See *the Sirat*, pp. 319–321.

18. *The Sirat*, *ibid.*, p. 323.
19. Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
20. Altaf Husain Hali, *Hayat-i-Javid* (Delhi, 1939), part 11, p. 3. Quoted from B.A. Dar, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
21. Dar, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
22. *The Sirat in Islamic Culture*, *op. cit.*, p. 330.
23. *Ibid.*
24. Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
25. *The Sirat, Islamic Culture*, *op. cit.*, p. 330.
26. *Ibid.*
27. B.A. Dar, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
28. Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
29. *The Sirat*, *op. cit.*, p. 331.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 332–333.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 333.
32. M.Hadi Hussain, *Syed Ahmed Khan. Pioneer of Muslim Resurgence*. Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1st.ed., 1970, p. 7. The study of Euclid's propositions was quite popular in India at that time.
33. Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
34. Shan Muhammad, *Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. A Political Biography*. Meerut: Meenakshi Prakashan, 1969, p. 41. Although Shan Muhammad considers this first period as not very important in Sayyid Ahmad's life, but at least this period became a turning point for him in gathering experiences of life.
35. Baljon, *op. cit.*, pp. 5–6, Baljon does not clarify why the death of Sayyid Ahmad's father gave him better direction. Possibly his father's death made him more responsible towards his family than before.
36. Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 7. Sayyid Ahmad's relatives did not agree his decision to enter the service of the East India Company, possibly they thought it was not good for him to serve under the East India Company while he was closely connected with the Mughal Court. See Baljon. *op. cit.*, p. 6. Baljon is right in his comment that Sayyid Ahmad was not the first who served with the East India Company, for his grandfather Khwaja Farid-al-Din and his uncle, Khalil Ullah Khan had joined the Company's service before him. (His above uncle helped him to enter the service). See Baljon, *Ibid.*, footnote.
37. Christian W Troll, 1978, *Sayyid Ahmad Khan. A Reinterpretation of Muslim Theology*. New Delhi, Bombay, Bangalore, Calcutta, Kanpur: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., p. 36.
38. Baljon, *op. cit.*, p. 8. The famous French Orientalist, M. Garcin de Tassy translated the *Āthār al-Sanādīd* into French in 1861. See B.A. Dar, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
39. B.A. Dar, *Religious Thought*, *ibid.*, p. 4. *Maulud* means the birth day of the Prophet Muhammad. Muslims celebrate 12 *Rabi 'al-awwal* every year as the date of his birthday. In the *maulud* occasion, normally the history of his life and his struggle for the spread of Islam is recited.
40. M. Ismail Panipati (ed.), 1962 *Maqalat-i-Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan*. Lahore: Majlis Taraqī Adab, vol. V11, 1st. ed., Oct., pp. 6 and 29. The above translation is based on C.W. Troll's translation in *Sayyid Ahmad Khan. A Reinterpretation of Muslim Theology*, *op. cit.*, pp. 223–234.
41. *Athar* (1st. ed.) p. 14 / *Maqalat-i-Sir Sayyid*, vol. XV1, p. 312. Quoted in Troll, *ibid.*, p. 44.
42. Troll, *ibid.*, p. 45.

43. Shan Muhammad, *Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. A Political Biography*, *op. cit.*, p. 41, Sayyid Ahmad's mother died at Meerut on 1st. Rabi' ll, A.H. 1274 (19th. November, 1857). See Sir Sayyid, *Sirat-i-Faridiyat*. C. Shakel, (tr.), *op. cit.*, p. 336.
44. Baljon, *op. cit.*, (footnote), p.9.
45. Shan Mohammad, (ed.), 1972, *Writing and Speeches of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan*, Bombay: Nachiketa Publications Limited, p. 2.
46. R.C. Majumdar, 1963, *The Sepoy Muntiny and the Revolt of 1857*. Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 2nd ed., p. 129.
47. *The Sirat*, *op. cit.*, p. 334.
48. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 214.
49. *The Sirat*, *op. cit.*, p. 335.
50. Shan Muhammad, *Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. A Political Biography*. *op. cit.*, p. 48, (footnote). (Quotation from Hali, *op. cit.*, Pt. 1, p. 62.)
51. Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
52. Muhammad, *Sir Syed*, *op. cit.*, p. 48. It is also said that he refused to accept the estate due to the fact that he did not want "to quench his thirst with blood of a Muslim" See *Hayat-i-Javid*, Pt. 1, p. 69. Quoted from Muhammad, *Sir Syed*, *op. cit.*, p. 48 (footnote).
53. Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
54. Mohammad, *Writings and Speeches*, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
55. Syed Ahmed Khan Bahadur. 1873, *The Causes of the Indian Revolt*. Translated by his two European friends [Sir Auckland Colvin and G.F.I. Graham]. Benares: Medical Hall Press, See also Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
56. Syed Ahmed Khan, *The Causes*, *ibid.*, p. 13.
57. *The Holy Qur'an, Sura al-Ma'idat* verse 82. See Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *The Loyal Mohammedans of India*. Quoted from Shan Mohammad, *Writings and Speeches*, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
58. Mohammad, *Writings and Speeches*, *ibid.*, p. 36.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
60. Aziz Ahmad and G.E. von Grunebaum (eds.), 1970, *Muslim Self-Statement in India and Pakistan 1857-1968*. Wiesbaden: o. Harrassowitz, p. 3.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
62. C.W. Troll, *Sayyid Ahmad Khan. A Reinterpretation of Muslim Theology*, *op. cit.*, p. 39. Pfander arrived at Calcutta from Persia by 1838. His work called *Mizan al-Haqq* was known in the eastern Islamic world at that time. After staying for two years in Calcutta and Benares, he went to Agra in December, 1841, and joined the Church Missionary Society's missionaries who were stationed there. See Troll, *ibid.*, p.61
63. Sir William Muir, 1897, *The Mohammedan Controversy and other Indian Articles*. Edinburgh: T & T Clerk, p. 20.
64. Troll, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
65. Muir, *The Mohammedan Controversy*, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-90 and p. 96. *Kash ul-Astar* was written by the Shi'ite divine of Lucknow named Sayyid Muh Hadi. See Troll, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
66. Muir. *ibid.*, pp. 96-97. It is not known why Pfander stopped his religious controversy with Muslims.
67. Troll, *op. cit.*, p. 61. Maulana Dihlawi emigrated to Mecca in 1841 and died in 1846. *Ibid.*
68. Ahmad and Von Grunebaum (eds), *op. cit.*, p. 4. They do not explain what they mean by "religious pluralism in Islamic India"
69. Troll, *op. cit.*, pp. 354-355. Apart from the Islamic sources referred to by Sayyid Ahmad in his writing on *Tabyin al-Kalam fi Tafsir al-Taurat wa al-Injil 'ala Millat al-Islam*, the following works also become major references for him in exploring

his knowledge on Biblical study

1. Thomas Hartwell Horne, *An Introduction to the critical study and knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*.
2. Thomas Scott (1747–1821):
 - (a) *The Force of Truth: An Authentic Narrative*, 1779.
 - (b) *Essays on the most important subjects in Religion, & C.*, 1793.
 - (c) *Sermons on Select Subjects, & C.*, 1797, 8 vols. and others.
3. Nathaniel Lardner: *The works of Nathaniel Lardner*
4. George D'Oyly (1778–1846) and Richard Mant (1776–1848): *The Holy Bible*.
5. Patrick Lowth [Simon Patrick 1626–1707 and William Lowth]: A Critical commentary and paraphrase on the Old and New Testament and the Apocrypha.
6. John William Colenso (1814–1883):
 - (a) *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*,
 - (b) *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined*.
7. John Eadie (1810–1876):
 - (a) *A Concordance* 1839.
 - (b) *Biblical Cyclopaedia* 1848
 - (c) *An Analytical Concordance to the Holy Scripture*, 1856
 - (d) *An Ecclesiastical Encyclopaedia*, 1861.
 - (e) *The Divine Love*, 1855.
 - (f) *Paul The Preacher*, 1859.
8. Sir John Robert Seeley: *Ecce Homo*. (A new edition of Seeley's *Ecce Homo* was published in 1969).
9. Sir William Muir: *The Life of Mahomet*, 4 vols.
10. Johann Lorentz von Mosheim, 1694/5–1755: *Institutiones Historiae Ecclesiasticae Antiquae et Recentioris*. This book was translated by Archibald Maclaine into English as *An Ecclesiastical History, ancient and modern, from the birth of Christ to the beginning of the present century*, in 5 vols. (1755).
11. Solomon Bar Isaac Rashi (1040–1105): *The commentary on the Pentateuch*.
70. Graham, *op. cit.* p. 70.
71. *Ibid.*
72. *Ibid.*
73. *Ibid.*, pp. 69–70.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 74. The above speech was delivered by Sayyid Ahmad before the Muhammadan Literary Society at Calcutta on the 6th. of October, 1863. See Shan Muhammad, *A Political Biography, op. cit.*, p. 51 (Footnote).
75. *Ibid.*
76. Muhammad, *A Political Biography, op. cit.*, pp. 51–52.
77. Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 83.
78. Hussain, *Syed Ahmed Khan, op. cit.*, p. 54.
79. Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
80. Graham, *ibid.*, pp. 98–99.
81. See *The Calcutta Review*, 1853, vol. xix, January–June 1853. Calcutta: The Proprietor, pp. 1–80.
82. Muir, 1861, *The life of Mahomet with Introductory Chapters on the original sources for the Biography of Mahomet, and on the pre-Islamite History of Arabia*. London: Smith, Elder and Co., vol. 1, pp. 1–cv. The work has four volumes in which all of them were published in 1861 by the same publisher.
83. Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 194.
84. See W W Hunter, 1872, *The Indian Musalmans*. London: Trubner and Company, second edition.

85. Syed Ahmed Bahadoor, C.S.I., on Dr Hunter's "Our Indian Mussulmans—are they bound in conscience to rebel against the Queen?" Compiled by a Mahomedan. London: Henry S. King & Co., 1872.
86. Muhammad, *A Political Biography*, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
87. Hali, *op. cit.*, Pt. 11, p. 168. Quoted from Dar, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
88. Muhammad, *A Political Biography*, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
89. S.K Bhatnagar, 1969, *History of the M.A.O College, Aligarh*. New York: Asia Publishing House, no page. (Quoted from Bhatnagar's of Abdul Aleem, vice-chancellor, Aligarh Muslim University's foreword to the book. The College became a Muslim University in 1920. See Muhammad, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
90. Muhammad, *op. cit.*, p. 77.
91. Sayyid Ahmad, 1892, *Tahrir Fī Usūl al-Tafsīr*. Agra: Dar Matba' Mufid 'am, See the translation of *the Principles of Exegesis* into English by Muhammad D. Rahbar in *Muslim World*, 46 (April and October, 1956). See also Aziz Ahmad & G.E. von Grunebaum (eds), *op. cit.*, pp. 25–42.
92. See *Maqalāt-i-Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, M. Ismail Panipati (ed). 1963, Lahore: Majlis-i-Taraqi Adab, vol. 14, pp. 311–373.
93. Muhammad, *A Political Biography*, *op. cit.*, p. 42. As already mentioned, Sir Sayyid was involved in a controversy with Sir William Muir as the result of the latter's work on *the Life of Mahomet*. Ironically, Sir Sayyid was conferred with LL.D. by Edinburgh University of which Sir Muir became the Principal.
94. Hussain, *op. cit.*, p. 250.
95. Muhammad, *A Political Biography*, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

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