

SAYYID JAMAL AL-DIN AFGHANI (1838-1897)
A BIOGRAPHICAL REVIEW

By

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The ethnic background of Sayyid Jamal al-Din Afghani has been unclear. While in Afghanistan in 1860s when he first emerged in the limelight of history, he was believed to be an Ottoman subject, whereas a few years later in the Ottoman capital Istanbul, he was said to be an Afghan. To one of his associates he confided of his Azeri Turkish origin but to most of the people he was known to be either an Iranian or an Afghan.¹ As a natural extension of the prevalent confusion about Jamal al-Din's nationality, some writers have expressed doubts about his sectarian affiliations, despite a general consensus that he belonged to the majority Sunni faith. The on-going controversy about his ethnic origin notwithstanding documentary evidence suggests that Jamal al-Din was an Iranian, but he preferred to be known as an Afghan for his spiritual kinship and identification with freedom-loving Afghans and for his keenness to stay above the Shia-Sunni polemics. Archival record in London and Tehran, his acute perception of the contemporary political situation in Iran and friendship with leading figures there, combined with his inveterate hostility towards his fellow Persian monarch, Nasir-u-Din Shah, tends to confirm his Iranian origin.

According to his nephew, Sayyid Lutfullah Asadabadi, Jamal al-Din was born in the month of Shaban 1274/October-November 1838, in the large village of Asadabad near Hamdan (Iran). His parents were said to have migrated to Hamdan from Maragha (Soviet Azerbaijan) sometime before his birth. His father, Sayyid Safdar was a descendant of Sayyid Ali al-Tirmizi, a lineal successor of the fourth Caliph, Ali Ibn Abu Talib (35-40 A.H.). A farmer with modest income and liberal views, he was said to be attached to Shaikh Murtaza Ansari, A Shia mujtahid then living in Ottoman Iraq and to a controversial Shia "alim" Shaikh Ahmad Ahsai. Jamal al-Din's mother Sakina Begum, a relation of his father, was a daughter of another religious dignitary, Qadi Sharfuddin al-Hussaini.² Both of his parents belonged to eminent religious circles which enabled Jamal al-Din to have good grounding in traditional learning.

According to Iranian sources, Jamal al-Din received his early education in his home-town and was quick to learn Arabic and Quran with all its exegesis. Sometime in 1264 A.H. (1847/48) when he was about 10

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years old, his father decided to quit Asadabad for Qazvin in order to escape the tumult and disputation then prevailing amongst the Sayyids of Asadabad. Recognizing Jamal al-Din's aptitude for studies he took him to Qazvin and two years later to Tehran where they stayed as guest of a leading scholar and mujtahid of the metropolis Aga Sayyid Sadiq Tabatabai. Later, in 1266 A.H. (1849-50), they left for the holy Shiite shrine cities of Ottoman Iraq and visited a leading Shia mujtahid Shaikh Murtaza Ansari in Najaf. The latter was impressed with Jamal al-Din's intelligence and accepted him as his student for four years during which he bore all his expenses. At the end of the period, he awarded to Jamal al-Din the "Ijazeh" or certificate of advance knowledge. By the age of 16, Jamal al-Din had received a thorough grounding in the traditional Islamic disciplines as well as in Islamic philosophy and Sufism. He also gained some knowledge of various esoteric subjects, such as mystical alphabets, numerical combinations and esoteric treatises.³

Jamal al-Din's academic achievements and unorthodox behaviour caused an uproar among the Ulema of the shrine cities, of whom some favoured while others opposed him, primarily because of his study and advocacy of philosophy. Jamal al-Din's interest in Shaikhism, (founded by Shaikh Ahmad Ahsai, 1753-1826) which involved a combination of rationalist philosophy and mysticism; as well as Babilism (founded by Sayyid Ali Muhammad of Shiraz in 1844), both of which were regarded heretical by the traditionalists, influenced Jamal al-Din and probably affected his own propensities to innovate. This apparently generated lot of commotion and hostility towards him. In view of similar troubles in his later life, the religious disputation in Najaf in which he was presumably involved, made his stay in the city potentially troublesome. According to one account Shaikh Murtaza Ansari sensing the danger, sent Jamal al-Din to India sometime in 1270 A.H. (1853-54). Other sources indicate that he left for India two or three years later.⁴

Jamal al-Din's first stay in India around 1857-58 was a period of great political upheaval and nationalist uprising branded by the British as the "Indian Mutiny", in which leading Muslims played a primary role. Apparently it was his experience in India that set Jamal al-Din on the path of strong opposition to British imperial rule in Muslim lands which characterised an anti-British stance throughout his life.

While in India, he gained some mastery over Western sciences and also excelled in the study of various religions. It gave him a mystical Sufi streak which was well reflected in an autobiographical note written during his stay in Herat in the fall of 1866, which says that he wasted years in the study of traditional sciences, frequented Ulema in different lands

who were all captives of inadequate doctrines. After expressing his disappointment with men of every religion he thanked God for saving him from the world of shadows and added: Today I have chosen for company the Prophet (peace be upon him) and his companions.⁵

The years 1859-64 seem to be most puzzling for Jamal al-Din's biographers. Nikki Keddie without any recorded evidence believes that he stayed in India upto 1861 and thereafter made a leisurely trip to Iran via Makkah Mukarramah, Iraq and possibly Istanbul. Some material in the documents published by the Tehran University suggest his stops in Istanbul and Baghdad during these years. Afghani's nephew Lutfullah claims that he took about two and a half years enroute from India to Makkah Mukarramah and then on his return to Iran via Karbala and Najaf. A British orientalist W.S. Blunt, who knew Jamal al-Din personally, claimed that he received a part of his education at Bukhara. This might have taken place during these years. Jamal al-Din's desire at a later date to go to Bukhara and the belief that he was in Russia before coming to Afghanistan in 1866, as recorded in British documents, indicate that he had widely travelled during these years. An autobiographical fragment written by Jamal al-Din while in Afghanistan also suggests that he had visited many countries with different religions in 1860s.⁶

The chronology of his activities given in the afore-mentioned documents show that Jamal al-Din went from Asadabad to Tehran in mid-December 1865 and stayed there till the late spring of 1866. His life-long servant Abu Turab probably joined him there during that period. After a brief stay in Tehran, Jamal al-Din left for Mashhad from where he went to Herat in October 1866.⁷

During his two years sojourn in Afghanistar (October 1866 - December 1868), the country was in a state of turmoil because of the fratricidal war for succession to the Afghan throne. The war had broken out between the sons and grand-sons of Amir Dost Muhammad Khan after the death of the latter in 1866. The heir-designate, Sher Ali Khan, was defeated by his half-brother Azam Khan in May 1866 and again in January 1867 near Kandhar. Azam Khan stayed for seven months in Kandhar where Jamal al-Din was residing at that time. It was perhaps during that period that Jamal al-Din forged friendly contacts with him. In September 1867, Azam Khan left for Kabul and succeeded his brother Afzal Khan after the death of the latter in October 1867. Jamal al-Din also went to Kabul via Ghazni during the same month and became the chief adviser to the Amir with a monthly subsistence allowances of Rs.200/.⁸ However, there was little or no time for the Amir to introduce any reforms that might assure him public loyalty. During his short rule, Azam Khan was preoccupied

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with the question of retaining his throne against the ever threatening Sher Ali, and was sending unsuccessful feelers for both British and Russian aid. The British news reporters and agents in Afghanistan accused Jamal al-Din of being a secret Russian agent who advised the Amir to follow an anti-British policy. The British Indian Representatives in Kabul believed that it was at the advice of Jamal al-Din that the British request for opening of the Khyber Pass for trade was turned down. The exclusive influence that Jamal al-Din came to have with the Amir was the first of many such relations indicating the enormous persuasive and even charismatic powers of his personality and discourse.

However, by the summer of 1868, Azam Khan's fortunes took a sharp turn for the worse. Sher Ali recaptured Kandhar in June and took Kabul in September, re-establishing himself as Amir. Jamal al-Din tried in vain to win the favour of the new Amir and regain, as much as he could, of his former position and influence. A few of the letters written by Jamal al-Din to the Amir for this purpose only made Sher Ali suspicious of him and led to his expulsion from the country via Kandhar on December 11, 1868. Jamal al-Din's expulsion from Afghanistan was a natural result of his association with the fallen Amir and for his anti-British posture, particularly in view of the new Amir's British support.⁹

Jamal al-Din reached India in the beginning of 1869 (1285 A.H.). It was not clear whether he wanted to stay in India or was just on his way to Makkah Mukarramah for Hajj, but the treatment of the Indian government during his one month's stay there was of close supervision and surveillance. He was not allowed to meet the Ulema, nor they were permitted to approach him. It was, evidently, on account of his political alignments and the anxiety of the British Indian government to show their support for Sher Ali's rule at Kabul. Jamal al-Din was, therefore, sent to Suez on one of the government ships, from where he proceeded to Cairo in July 1869.¹⁰

During his brief stay in Egypt Jamal al-Din received wide attention from learned people. Muhammad Abduh, the well-known Egyptian reformer, who was a student at that time met Jamal al-Din at his residence in Khan al-Khalil quarters and was deeply impressed by his learning and philosophic outlook. Jamal al-Din was invited by the Syrian students of al-Azhar to deliver lectures, through whom he disseminated his political ideas. He held conversations with the teachers and intellectuals of al-Azhar, and delivered lectures to a chosen few at his own lodgings.¹¹ The circumstances of his departure from Cairo are not clear. It appears that after 40 days of his stay there he found it more fruitful to go to a place where he could preach his ideas with more freedom and effectiveness. He left for Istanbul in the last months of 1869.

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Jamal al-Din was well received in Istanbul. He resided in Sultan Fateh quarters and his host was one Ismail Bey Vehbi, Inspector at the Ottoman Mint. Soon after his arrival he met Ali Pasa, the Prime Minister, who treated him with respect. Other members of the government had also similar feelings for Jamal al-Din, who was soon admitted to the educational circles of the Ottoman metropolis. He was invited in the inauguration ceremonies of Darulfunun, the precursor of Istanbul University, where he delivered a speech in Arabic in February 1870. Jamal al-Din began to deliver lectures on religion and society in Ayasofya and Sultan Ahmet mosques. Within a few months of his stay in Istanbul, he became prominent enough to be made a member of the Council of Education in August 1870.¹²

The increasing popularity of Jamal al-Din created different reactions in various circles of Istanbul. The intellectuals found a scholar in him, the constitutionalists a staunch supporter of law and limited authority, the Softas and reactionary religious circles an innovator dangerous for the traditional Islam. Jamal al-Din earned the hostility of the Shaikh-al-Islam, Hasan Fahmi by proposing that the education should be made more liberal by detaching it from the obscurantist religious administration. This suggestion touched upon the purse and threatened the influence of the Shaikh-al-Islam. Modernization of education was a popular theme with the Ottoman reformers advocating Westernisation for the regeneration of Muslim society and the Softas had been familiar with it. But the appeal of Jamal al-Din - a Muslim alim had religious connotations which threatened the established religious pattern of the Ottoman society. This is also on record that the two persons did not like each other either. Jamal al-Din once related to one of his friends at Petersburg that when he reached Istanbul, he went to a gathering where Shaikh-al-Islam was also present. He approached the presiding chair, and seated nearby, disregarding the presence of Shaikh, which offended the latter. He looked for an opportunity to attack the Bohemian which came easily in hand during Jamal al-Din's public lecture at Darulfunun.¹³

Darulfunun had began a series of public conferences in the month of Ramazan 1286 (1869), which were recommenced in Ramazan 1287 (Nov-Dec. 1870 A.D.). In the series of lectures, Jamal al-Din was requested by Tahsin Efendi, the Director of Darulfunun, to deliver a lecture on "the nature and encouragement to industries". Jamal al-Din at first hesitated and requested to be excused on the ground that his knowledge of Turkish was poor, but, when much insisted, he agreed. The talk was prepared in Turkish and an advance copy was submitted to Safvet Pasa, the Minister of Public Instruction, Shirwanizade the Minister of Police and to Munif Bey, President of the Council of Education. The conference was largely attended by the ministers, men of letters and other prominent citizens. Jamal al-Din in his address compared the body politic to a living organism

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with the prophetic or philosophic faculty as its soul. While the former, he said, is immaculate and faultless, the latter may go astray and fall into error. This created a great furor as the Softas alleged that Jamal al-Din has classed the Prophet's office as an art or craft, and the Prophet as an 'artificer' and 'craftsman'. The Shaikh-al-Islam accused him of revolutionary idea and disbelief and declared him a heretic. Jamal al-Din took up the challenge and replied with vigour. A heated controversy started in the press and on the pulpit. The Shaikh-al-Islam was holding a privileged position, only next to that of the Grand Vazir and it was customary to consult him on all religious as well as political matters of importance. Halil Efendi, the Ders Vekili wrote a book titled 'Es-Suyuful - Kavati' revealing the mind and scathing wrath of Shaikh-al-Islam. Jamal al-Din refused to sit silently and insisted upon defending himself. This made the situation highly inflammatory. As a consequence of the controversy, the holding of public lectures in Darulfunun was stopped and Tahsin Efendi relieved of his job.¹⁴

In addition to the strong reactions of the Softas, the political convictions of Jamal al-Din might have made the authorities suspicious about him. His hot temper, independence loving spirit and leanings towards the Ottoman reform movement made the authorities uncomfortable of his presence. Accordingly, an order was issued from 'makam-i-Sadarat' stating that he should leave Istanbul for sometime for public peace and tranquillity. Thereupon Jamal al-Din left Istanbul in early 1871.¹⁵

Jamal al-Din again started his wanderings. He reached Cairo on 22 March 1871, perhaps with the intention to go to India. Soon after his arrival he met Riyad Pasha, the Prime Minister of Egypt, who was greatly impressed by his scholarly erudition. He persuaded Jamal al-Din to stay on in Egypt, and obtained for him a monthly allowance of one thousand piasters. This allowance was granted by the Egyptian government for no specific services, but just to honour an illustrious visitor. His presence in the Egyptian capital attracted students and intellectuals alike and his residence in the 'Jews quarters' of Cairo soon turned into a meeting place for the learned and a class room for the students. Occasionally on Fridays he used to visit al-Azhar, but apparently not for teaching purposes.¹⁶

The popularity of Jamal al-Din continued to increase in Egypt. Sitting whole day long in his house, he expounded to his enthusiastic audience, some of the most advanced text books on various branches of Muslim theology, philosophy, jurisprudence astronomy and mysticism. In the evenings he used to go out to coffee-houses near Ataba Square, or in the "Posta Coffee House" and Matatya Coffee House around Uzbakiya Park, where a big gathering used to wait for him with minds full of

questions. Every question was answered by him with masterly analysis and an uninterrupted flow of language which profoundly affected the enquiring minds. Almost all conceivable subjects were discussed in these gatherings. In his lectures, he stressed the need to re-interpret Islam in the light of advancing knowledge and changing times. He condemned 'taqlid' and advocated a resort to 'Ijtihad' in order to conform to the emerging needs of the "ummah".¹⁷ Early in the morning at dawn Jamal al-Din used to pay for the drinks the audience had taken and go back to his house for rest.

The most significant contribution made by Jamal al-Din in Egypt was, perhaps, in the development of Arabic press. He helped mediemen to start newspapers, journals; establish printing presses and encouraged young intellectuals to write. Those who benefited from him included: Yakub Sanu (Abu Nadhara Zarqa), Adib Ishaq and Salim al-Naqqash (Misir), Mikhail al-Sayyid (al-Wattan), Salim al-Anhourri (Mirat al-Sharq). Jamal al-Din himself wrote in some of these newspapers. Besides his encouragement to journalism, he was aware of the importance of training potential writers to use pen with diligence, teaching them the art of literary expression and helping them to write essays and articles on various subjects. The most prominent among his pupils were the famous reformer-theologian Muhammad Abduh, the fiery orator-journalist Abd Allah al-Nadim, the prominent nationalist politician Saad Zaghlul Pasha, Abd al-Salam al-Muwaylihi, leader of opposition in the Egyptian Chamber of Deputies, and the nationalist poet-writer Adib Ishaq.¹⁸

While in Cairo Jamal al-Din was equally active on social and political spectrums. He laid the foundations of a nationalist party by establishing a group known as "al-Hizb al-Watani" which dedicated itself to the promotion of religious rectitude, conversion to Islam and humanitarianism. One of his disciples, Yakub Sanu founded two secret societies: Mehfal al-Taquddum (The Circle of Progress) in 1872 and Jamiyyat Muhibbi al-Ilm (Society of the lovers of knowledge) in 1875. These two literary societies soon developed political leanings presumably under the influence of Jamal al-Din. During his stay in Egypt, Jamal al-Din was also attracted by Free-masonry.¹⁹ Contemporary sources concur in stating that he joined Free-masonry out of purely political considerations. The documents indicate that Jamal al-Din and a group of his followers first joined an Italian Lodge in Alexandria. It is not known as to who initiated him but he soon discovered with anger and disappointment the fruitless working of the Masonic Lodge as it avoided all kinds of political discussion and refused to move against the prevailing tyranny. He was expelled from it presumably in 1876 because of his attempts to politicise it. Thereafter he joined Star of the East Lodge which was affiliated with the United Grand Lodge of England under the influence of British Vice Consul in Cairo, Ralph Borg.

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In January 1878 he was elected its chairman and according to one account initiated Crown Prince Tawfik into the Lodge. Its membership reached 300, which included many leaders of the nationalist movement of 1878-1882. Apparently differences cropped-up over the future political pattern of Egypt after the anticipated removal of Khedive Ismail. A large number of members favoured Prince Said Halim against the wishes of Jamal al-Din, who left the Lodge and himself established a 'nationalist lodge' which was affiliated with the French Grand Orient. This Lodge was well organised into various departments and many of the thinkers and intellectuals were its members.²⁰

Jamal al-Din's religious views and political activities were tolerated during Ismail's reign for various reasons. His quarrel at Istanbul may have pleased Ismail. Presumably, like Ottoman statesmen Ali Pasha and Fuad Pasha, the Khedive intended to exploit his teachings in his long war with the European Consuls; or may be that Ismail, by virtue of Jamal al-Din's reputation in Istanbul, was seeking his support to reform and liberalise the religious institutions. Still more, his potential for creating trouble against the autocratic rule was not fully realised. Whatsoever may be said about the Khedive's indulgence, Jamal al-Din regarded Ismail's authoritarian rule as contrary to the spirit of Islam and plans were discussed as to how he could be removed. The heir-apparent Muhammad Tawfik Pasha, who was under the potent influence of Jamal al-Din had promised that on his succession he would govern the country strictly on constitutional lines. Therefore, when Tawfik Pasha ascended the throne on deposition of Ismail in 1879, Jamal al-Din and the Egyptian nationalistic circles greeted the change. To their dismay, the new Khedive proved to be extremely weak and fickle. He forgot his promises made to the constitutionalists within a month after assuming power; dismissed Prime Minister Sharif Pasha, a close friend and protector of Jamal al-Din; and fearing grave repercussions for his refusal to accept the constitutional plan of the nationalists, and perhaps under the pressure of British Consul General Vivian, issued an order for the expulsion of Jamal al-Din. The latter was arrested in August 1879 and quietly, without any trial sent on a ship from Suez to Karachi.²¹

On reaching Karachi in September 1879 Jamal al-Din was interrogated harshly by the British authorities. Later he moved to Bombay from where he went to the princely State of Hyderabad in Southern India. While in Hyderabad he developed friendship with eminent figures like Syed Ali Bilgrami and Nawab Rasul Jang. Impressed by his learning and accomplishments, the Chief Minister of Hyderabad, Sir Salar Jang invited him to join the State Service but he declined. In the course of his two years stay in Hyderabad he wrote articles in Persian, published in the local journal "Maullim-i-Shafiq" wherein he supported the establishment of an Urdu

University in Hyderabad. Two of these articles were significant in content and style. In one of these he explained the absurdity of dividing learning into Eastern and Western branches; while in the second, discussing human faith and beliefs, he was sharply critical of the religious ideas of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. He also wrote a small book in Persian titled "Haqiqat-i-Mazhab-i-Naychhari va bayan-i-hal-i-Naychariyyun", which was lithographed in 1881 (1298 A.H.).²²

In Hyderabad he was not allowed to work peacefully because of the political developments in Egypt. The nationalist uprising under Arabi Pasha in early 1880s had much in common with the ideas preached by Jamal al-Din, and it may be said that the latter had his share of influence over the young Egyptian movement, which precipitated a nationalist uprising, curbed by the British at the battle of Tal al-Kabir. Jamal al-Din was promptly transferred to Calcutta by the British, where he was detained and kept under surveillance at the house of a friend, Haji Mirza Abdul Karim Shirazi until the situation returned to normalcy in Egypt. During the period, Jamal al-Din continued his intellectual pursuits. In a lecture delivered on 8 November 1882 in Albert Hall, Calcutta he criticised the ignorant Ulema for disseminating false ideas in the minds of the people and expressed his surprise at the division of learning into two branches: Islamic and Christian, whereas he stressed that learning was indivisible.²³

Jamal al-Din was allowed to leave India in November 1882. On his way to London, he stopped briefly at Port Said from where he sent short notes to Sharif Pasha and Abdullah Fikri and a long letter to Riyad Pasha, asking for the return of his books and possessions as well as the arrears of his monthly stipend. These were to be collected by his confidant Abu Turab and sent to him. In early January he reached London and during his brief stay there published an article critical of the British Policy in Eastern countries in a local newspaper "al-Nahle". After a few days stay Jamal al-Din crossed the Channel and reached Paris on 19 January 1883, where a large number of Egyptian political refugees were residing at that time.

Soon after his arrival in Paris, Jamal al-Din resumed his journalistic activities. One of his disciples, James Sanu published his article titled "al-Sharq va al-Sharqiyyun" in his Arabic newspaper "Abu Naddare Zarka" on 9 February 1883. Jamal al-Din also wrote in another newspaper "al-Basir" edited by a Maronite, Khalil Ghanim. He was quick to attract the attention of French intellectual circles and journalists. His articles were published by some of the influential papers like La Justice and L'Intransigeant on Turkey, Russian and British policies in the East, and the influence and importance of Mahdi in the Sudan. Besides writing perceptive articles on the political situation in the East, Jamal al-Din countered the contention of a leading French orientalist, Ernest Renan that Islam has retarded the progress of

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sciences, which he had articulated in his talk at Sarbonne. His address published in the "Journal de Debats" on March 29, 1883 caused heated controversy in the French metropolis. In order to dispel such a wrong impression, Jamal al-Din replied in the same journal of 18 May 1883 in a mild and methodical manner which was criticised by some as 'compromise with Renan'.²⁴ Jamal al-Din gave no reply to Renan when the latter published an answer to his contentions on May 19, 1883. It appears that Jamal al-Din avoided indulgence in a fruitless discussion and debate which could only generate further controversy and bring harm to his political objectives.

On 13th March 1884 Jamal al-Din published from Paris the first number of an Arabic magazine "al-Urwat al-Wuthqa" with the assistance of his disciple, Muhammad Abduh, on behalf of a society of the same name. It was financed by local Muslim emigres, sympathizers from Egypt, South Asia, Tunisia and Britain. The aim of its publication was to infuse a spirit of unity among the people of the East, and to make them conscious of their sad plight. The tone of the magazine was anti-British and its language had a flow and precision which greatly affected the minds of its readers. Some 900 copies of the magazine were sent free to various parts of the Muslim world which included 551 to Egypt; 114 to Beirut and 88 to Istanbul besides an unknown number of copies sent to India, Iran and Afghanistan. The British were quick to realise the impact of its writings on the people under their direct or indirect rule. Being in Arabic with numerous articles and news about Egypt, the Egyptian government banned its entry into the country sometime in May 1884.²⁵ The British government applied similar means to stop its entry into India, and finally it came to a close with its 18th issue published on 16 October 1884. The magazine could not survive long because of the imposition of ban on its entry into Egypt and India and perhaps due to financial difficulties.

By that time Jamal al-Din had acquired some knowledge of French, and gained a good degree of influence and popularity. Some British statesmen, impressed by his knowledge and hopeful of utilising his influence in the East, invited him to London through the good offices of his friend, W.S. Blunt. Jamal al-Din went to London on 22nd July, 1885 at an unofficial invitation of the British government and next day met Randolph Churchill, the then Secretary of State for India for discussing the British policy and the general situation in the East. A week later Jamal al-Din met another British statesman Drummond Wolff who sought his assistance in reaching a settlement with the Ottoman Sultan on Sudan and Egypt. He accepted a request to accompany Wolff to Istanbul to work for a Turco-Persian-Afghan entente with British support against Russia on the condition that this subject would be tied up with the British evacuation of Egypt. However, Wolff showed a last minute reluctance to include Jamal al-Din in his mission because of doubts about

his usefulness which led to Wolff's hesitation in identifying himself on such a sensitive errand with a person known in the Porte for his Arab sympathies. Annoyed and disgusted with the machinations of the British Foreign Office, Jamal al-Din threatened to go to Moscow and St. Petersburg and work for an alliance between Russia, Turkey and Afghanistan against Britain. However, he changed his mind later and left London in the Spring of 1886 for Iran, reaching Bushire in May 1886.²⁶

While in Bushire, Jamal al-Din received an invitation in August 1886 from the Iranian Minister of Press and Publications, Muhammad Hasan Khan, inviting him on behalf of the Shah, to visit Tehran. A substantial amount of 1000 Tumans was also sent with the invitation. On his way to Tehran, Jamal al-Din stayed for a few days in Isfahan where he was introduced to Prince Zill as-Sultan, the eldest and most influential son of the Shah. The Prince was deeply impressed and was believed to have financed his activities during Jamal al-Din's early stay in Iran as well as on his trip to Russia. On reaching Tehran, the Press Minister Itimad-as Saltaneh called on Jamal al-Din on 28 December 1886 and a few days later the Shah gave him an audience. Abbas Mirza Mulk Ara, a relative of the Shah records that during the meeting Jamal al-Din, who described himself as a sharp sword in the Shah's hands, pleaded that he should be given important work, suggesting utilization of his services against foreign vested interests. The Shah was frightened and repelled by his manner of speech.²⁷ Jamal al-Din himself was disgusted with the then prevailing political atmosphere and administrative corruption in Iran and could not resist expressing his forthright condemnation of the system which made him unpopular with the bureaucracy and the Shah. After a few months of stay he was advised to leave the country for a 'change of air'.²⁸

An Iranian delegation headed by Amin az-Zarb, the host of Jamal al-Din in Tehran, was leaving for Russia in April 1887 to seek assistance for rail-road building in northern Iran. Jamal al-Din was asked to join the delegation, and, according to one account, his participation in the delegation was aimed at cultivating the Russian leaders in order to promote the succession to the throne of Zill-as-Sultan, the eldest son of Nasir-ud-Din Shah, who reportedly provided financial assistance during Jamal al-Din's stay in Russia. He was also said to have received money from Amin az-Zarb, a client of the Grand Vazir, Amin as-Sultan, which indicated that the latter was also trying to utilise Jamal al-Din's good offices to influence the Russians in his favour.²⁹ Some Persian and British accounts suggest that Jamal al-Din was invited to Moscow by Katkov, the Russian chauvinist publisher and editor of Moscow Gazette. However, by the time of his arrival in Moscow in May 1887, Katkov was dead. Therefore, Jamal al-Din moved to St. Petersburg where he met M. Pobedonostsev, the Proctor of the Holy Synod in Russia

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and the Tsar's tutor, who was a prominent sympathiser and friend of the late Katkov. While in St. Petersburg, Jamal al-Din collaborated with Dalip Singh, the last Sikh ruler of Lahore deposed by the British, in issuing manifestos datelined Moscow, signed on behalf of the Executive of the Indian Liberation Society and printed and distributed with Fenian help in Paris. Jamal al-Din was also believed to have made abortive efforts to obtain an office from the Russian government in Central Asia in order to propagate the unity of Islam. He was also reportedly active in the formation of an Islamic League and the publications of a pro-Russian Arabic-Persian newspaper and pleaded with the Russian government for allowing its Muslim subjects to print the Holy Quran and other religious literature.³⁰

During his two years stay in Russia, Jamal al-Din was said to have developed good relations with M. de Giers, the Russian Prime Minister as well as other high ranking officials. Many of his articles appeared in Russian newspapers and were read with interest, especially those critical of the Shah of Iran for his pro-British policies. It was largely due to his criticism of the Shah that when the latter visited St. Petersburg in the Summer of 1889, he refused to see Jamal al-Din and the Iranian Embassy there usually adopted a hostile attitude towards him. Jamal al-Din became more vehement in his writings against the Shah and the latter realising its harmful impact on Russo-Iran relations, decided to invite Jamal al-Din back to Tehran, during an audience granted to him at Munich on 19 August 1889. However, before his coming to Iran, the Amin-as-Sultan wanted to avail of Jamal al-Din's influence in Russia by asking him to visit that country in order to dispel Russian anger at his pro-British policies. He was reportedly asked to convey Amin-as-Sultanah's willingness to cancel concessions granted to the British, such as that of the Bank, the opening and management of Karun River and virtually all mining rights in Iran, if only the Russians could show an easy way to do so. Jamal al-Din was again in Russia, presumably to promote the Amin-as-Sultan's cause. For this purpose, he was believed to have met the Russian Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Giers, General Obruchev in the Ministry of War, General Rikhter in the Ministry of the Royal Court and other influential persons, such as General Igntiev, Madam Novikov, who were sympathetic to him. After two months of stay in St. Petersburg, he left for Iran with the belief that his mission had been a success.³¹

Jamal al-Din reached Tehran on 20th October 1889 and was well received by the government. It appeared that the Shah, forgetting his earlier displeasure towards the reformer, was becoming increasingly conscious of the need to introduce certain reforms in the country. It was in such a state of mind that he granted an audience to Jamal al-Din in January 1890 and discussed with him matters relating to the construction of rail-road in Iran. For a time rumours were rife in the capital about Jamal al-Din's appointment

as Minister of Press.³² Encouraged by the Shah's attention, Jamal al-Din began to plead the cause of his numerous friends for dispensation of orderly justice in the country. However, the Grand Vazir (Amin-as-Sultan) fearful of his growing popularity and influence, convinced the Shah that the introduction of a planned orderly justice would reduce the absolute power of the monarch and such a reform would be rather premature for Iran. Sensing a shift in Shah's attitude, Jamal al-Din convened secret meetings with leading intellectuals and enlightened mujtahids to put forth his ideas of reforms. Jamal al-Din's considerable following, his eloquence and criticism of autocratic rule in Iran made the government increasingly hostile towards him. Realising the futility of his continued stay in Iran, he asked for permission to return to Europe which was refused with some discourtesy.³³

The attitude of the Shah and his court brought Jamal al-Din in open criticism of the tyranny and injustice of the Shah's government. Alarmed at his activities, the Shah ordered on 11 July 1890 for his removal to the city of Qum. However, Jamal al-Din pre-empted the royal decree by taking refuge at the shrine of Shah Abdul Azim in the vicinity of Tehran, from where he denounced the Shah in speech and writings, and advocated his deposition. Jamal al-Din gathered around him a large number of disciples, which included one Mirza Riza of Kirman, who later on killed Nasir ud-Din Shah. Hundreds of leaflets were distributed in the mosques and madrassahs of Tehran and some sent to prominent ulema, exhorting them to stand-up against the autocratic rule in the country. The Shah also received highly abusive letters, accusing him of surrendering national interests to the British. The Shah was convinced of Jamal al-Din's hand in these writings. The government, greatly perturbed at his increasing influence and the visit of a large number of prominent persons to Jamal al-Din at Shah Abdul Azim, decided to deport him from Iran. However, as a Muslim "alim", it was against the prevailing practice to use force to dislodge him from the sanctuary. Therefore, Ali Asghar Khan, the Minister of Police, contrived to declare Jamal al-Din as a Christian Armenian and sent 20 royal guards into the sanctuary, who carried him off with much violence. Sick and feverish, Jamal al-Din was driven out in chains under the escort of cavalymen, in the bitter cold and snow of January on a very arduous journey to Kermanshah and from there onwards to the Turkish post of Khaniqain, on the Iranian border and expelled to Ottoman Iraq. The Iranian government's mal-treatment of Jamal al-Din caused great indignation amongst the Sayyid's admirers in Iran and made him a life-long enemy of the Shah.³⁴

Jamal al-Din was not allowed to stay in Baghdad, a city close to the Iranian frontier, and was forced to move to Basra in March 1891 under the pressure of the Iranian government. While in Basra, he wrote an impassioned letter to Mirza Hassan Shirazi, the chief mujtahid of Samarra, urging him to take remedial measures to rectify the deteriorating conditions

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in Iran as a result of the grant of numerous economic concessions and monopolies to foreign interests, notably the award of tobacco concession to a British company which, he said, was no less than squandering of money on the enemies of Islam, and he sharply criticised the Shah for being responsible for ruining the country. His moving appeal, prompted the mujtahid to issue his historic 'fatwa' which declared that: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Forgiving; Today the use of tunbaku (tobacco) in whatever fashion, is reckoned as war against the Imam of the Age (may God hasten his glad advent)".³⁵ The 'fatwa', coupled with the despatches of Jamal al-Din from Basra highly critical of the Shah's policies, brought into motion forces which overwhelmed despotism in Iran.

During his stay in Basra, the Ottoman Governor Izzet Pasha was deeply impressed by Jamal al-Din's knowledge and personality. Convinced of his usefulness to the Ottoman Empire, he suggested to the home government to extend an invitation to Jamal al-Din. However, the latter, impatient and full of anger against the Shah, decided to leave for England.³⁶ Jamal al-Din left Iraq and reached London in September 1891, where he met the well known British orientalist E.G. Browne at an Iranian leader, Prince Malkum Khan's house. In the course of his conversation, Jamal al-Din said that there was no hope of reforms in Iran until six or seven heads, including those of Nasir ud-Din Shah and Amin as-Sultanah, were cut off. He also addressed several meetings in London and wrote sundry articles on the reign of terror in Persia, attacking the Shah's character and even his sanity with great vehemence. During February-July 1892, he published his anti-Shah tirade in a bilingual Arabic-English magazine 'Dia-ul-Khafikain', which he helped to establish. The Iranian Ambassador in London requested him to stop his imprecations and incitement to the people against the Shah of Iran, which he refused with unusual severeness.³⁷

While in London, Jamal al-Din received an invitation from Sultan Abdul Hamid-II to visit Turkey, and settle down permanently in Istanbul. The invitation was first conveyed to him by the Ottoman Ambassador in London and repeated by Abu al-Huda, the chief religious confidante of the Sultan in his letter of 15 February 1892. Jamal al-Din was reluctant in the beginning because of his sad experiences in Iran but after meeting Rustam Pasha, the Ottoman Ambassador in London, he agreed to go on the condition that he will be free to leave Istanbul at his pleasure.³⁸

The aims of Sultan Abdul Hamid-II for inviting Jamal al-Din to Istanbul remained a matter of speculation because of the non-availability of archival material. It appears that the Sultan wanted Jamal al-Din to settle down in Istanbul both for enhancing his imperial prestige and in order to dissociate him from Blunt's machinations for the revival of an Arab Caliphate. The Sultan was apparently eager to use Jamal al-Din's influence and prestige

In various Muslim lands for his pan-Islamic propaganda objectives. This could help him internally by strengthening his hands at home against the growing opposition of the constitutionalists, and in the international politics by a greater display of his prerogatives as the Caliph of Islam. Jamal al-Din as a confirmed anti-imperialist had different things in his mind. He hoped to create a united Muslim front through the power and prestige of the Caliph, and, thereby, realise his pan-Islamic revivalist ideas, with which he was romantically attached.³⁹

Jamal al-Din was well received in Istanbul, where a beautiful furnished mansion was provided to him at Nishantash near Yildiz Palace. A monthly allowance of 75 Turkish Liras in gold was granted to him with other princely privileges. On hearing of his arrival, the Iranian Ambassador in Istanbul approached the Ottoman Grand Vazir on instructions from Tehran and asked him for the imprisonment of Jamal al-Din because of his anti-Shah activities. He was informed that being a royal guest, he could not be imprisoned but was assured that he would not be allowed to write anything against the Shah or his government.⁴⁰

In the first years of his final stay in Istanbul, Jamal al-Din had friendly contacts with Sultan's three chief confidants: Sheikh Abu al-Huda, Sheikh Zafir and Ahmad A'sad - all leaders of Sufi Orders. He was also well received by liberal Ottoman circles and gathered around him a large number of Iranians residing in the Ottoman metropolis. These included: Mirza Aqa Khan Kirmani, a writer and editor of the Persian newspaper "Akhtar", poets and writers, Afzal al-Mulk Kirmani and his brother Shaikh Ahmad Ruhi; Shaikh al-Rais, a radical from the then ruling Qajar family of Iran; Mirza Hasan Khan Khabir al-Mulk the Iranian Consul-General in Istanbul and many Iranian exiles. Jamal al-Din's Arab followers in Istanbul included young Syrian students Abd al-Qadir al-Maghribi, Muhammad al-Mukhzumi, Shakib Arslan and the Egyptian nationalist writer Abdullah al-Nadim. The last one was invited to Istanbul by the Ottoman government at the instance of Jamal al-Din and was appointed in the Press Bureau. The Sultan, enchanted by the personality of Jamal al-Din, employed him in his pan-Islamic propaganda projects. Active for the realisation of his scheme of Islamic unity, Jamal al-Din despatched about 400 letters to the Iranian ulema and mujtahids, as well as to prominent Muslims elsewhere, exhorting them to recognise the Ottoman Sultan as the Caliph of Islam. The Sultan was shrewd to provide him the necessary facilities, including an easy audience with him, as was evidenced by W.S.Blunt. Within six months nearly 200 Arab and Iranian Shia ulema responded favourably to his call which immensely pleased the Sultan.⁴¹

However, It was not long that differences and consequent coolness began to appear between Jamal al-Din and the Sultan. A conflict between the two was inevitable because of the clash of personalities and differences

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in their political convictions. Jamal al-Din by virtue of his bold frankness and hot temper, and Sultan Abdul Hamid-II by his suspicious nature, made a gulf of difference which became unbridgeable with the passage of time. The charges of irreligion against Jamal al-Din, emanating primarily from his chief religious confidant and astronomer Abu al-Huda may have affected the Sultan's mind, who was also apprehensive of Jamal al-Din's association with Sayyid Abdallah of the Hajaz, the scion of one of the two contending families for the Sharifate of the Holy Cities of Mecca and Madina, who was on bad terms with the Sultan.⁴² Jamal al-Din was placed under surveillance. The suspicions of the Sultan turned into fear, when Jamal al-Din had a meeting with the young Khedive Abbas-II Hilmi of Egypt, who was visiting Istanbul in the summer of 1895. The news of his meeting with the Khedive was immediately conveyed to the Sultan by the secret service and the enemies of Jamal al-Din, with the addition that the latter was conspiring to transfer the Caliphate to Egypt. However, Jamal al-Din was soon cleared of this accusation, but he continued to live under surveillance, as the Sultan was always suspicious of his activities.⁴³

Tired of his forced inactivity and close watch by Sultan's spy-network, Jamal al-Din made determined but unsuccessful efforts during 1895 and afterwards to leave the Ottoman empire. His petition to the Sultan requesting for permission to leave the country, preserved in the Yildiz collection, perhaps belongs to that period. In a letter to the British Embassy in Istanbul dated 19 October 1895 he claimed to be an Afghan, implying his desire for British protection. The British Consulate General in Istanbul, without knowing his antecedents, issued him a pass describing him as a "Gentleman resident at Cabul", entitling their consular protection. However, he could not leave the Ottoman capital for unknown reasons. Once again, after the assassination of Nasir ud-Din Shah on 1st May 1896, he asked for British Embassy's help to escape from Istanbul, but the Sultan heard of it and persuaded him successfully not to seek foreign protection and, thereby, impair the dignity of the Caliph.⁴⁴ There were some good reasons for the Sultan's fear of Jamal al-Din. Highly critical of Shah Nasir ud-Din of Iran, Jamal al-Din was asked by the Sultan to discontinue his attacks as the Iranian Ambassador had requested for it many times. To that, Jamal al-Din replied, "In obedience to the commands of the Caliph of the Age, I forgive the Shah of Persia".⁴⁵ But he could keep his word only for a few days and began his denunciation of the Shah once again, which alarmed the Sultan and made him all the more suspicious of Jamal al-Din.

In such a climate of fear and suspicion, the assassination of Nasir ud-Din Shah by a disciple of Jamal al-Din on latter's behest, created new tensions. The Iranian government immediately demanded the arrest and deportation of all the suspects to Tehran to face the trial. However, Jamal al-Din's

friends like Izzet Bey and Munif Pasha exercised their influence in protecting him. Convinced of the complicity of Jamal al-Din in the murder, the Iranian Ambassador in Istanbul met the Ottoman Grand Vazir in the fall of 1896 and told him: "I affirm to you, unofficially, that in case you refuse the extradition of Jamal, the Iranian government will be constrained to break-off diplomatic relations".⁴⁶ Jamal al-Din, however, claiming to be an Afghan, was considered to be under British protection. Therefore, the Turkish government informed the British government about the extradition claims of the Iranians, but received the reply that they considered Jamal al-Din of Iranian descent and, therefore, to have no claim of British protection. The Sultan, thereupon, consented to the extradition. Nevertheless, nothing happened; Jamal al-Din continued to live as the Sultan's guest in the apartment assigned to him. All that was done after repeated reminders of the Iranian government was a trial of Jamal al-Din in the Yildiz Palace where he was found not guilty of the Iranian charges. His acquittal by no means relieved him as he was forced to live in a sort of 'gilded prison'.⁴⁷

The trial, questioning, correspondence between the Turkish and Iranian governments for his extradition; the suspicions and fears of the Sultan and the machinations of his enemies pained Jamal al-Din deeply. In a letter, written to one of his friends, whose name was not disclosed, Jamal al-Din recounted his disappointments and confinement, contrary to all promises given to him. In moments of deep frustration, he contracted cancer in his jaw, which soon spread to his neck. One of the doctors of the Palace, Iskander Pasha Kanburzade operated with no success. Another Iraqi dentist, who was employed as a secret agent, was called upon to examine his teeth and it was believed by some that he was responsible for making the treatment unsuccessful. He was most probably bribed by Abu al-Huda, whose enmity towards Jamal al-Din was well known. The disease proved fatal and Jamal al-Din died on March 9, 1897.

The circumstances of Jamal al-Din's demise had been a subject of un-resolved controversy. Some of his biographers variously blamed the Royal Court of Iran, Sultan Abdul Hamid-II or his courtier Abu al-Huda for his death. There was little doubt that Jamal al-Din had turned many people his enemies, who hated him for his vehement temper or all-inclusive mission; but there had been no conclusive evidence to prove that his demise was the result of a conspiracy. However, the Ottoman government was very sensitive on the subject as was evident from the fact that his Secretary George Cotchy was promptly arrested and all his papers were quickly seized. Moreover, the Ottoman government ordered all newspapers not to publish the details of Jamal al-Din's illness and death, and all Arabic newspapers printed in Syria or coming from Egypt which carried the news were confiscated.⁴⁹ He was buried with solemnity in the Sheikhs cemetery of

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Istanbul, with very few of his friends attending the funeral. The place of his burial remained obscure till 1926, when it was discovered and constructed into a marble tomb by one of his American admirers, Charles. Crane.

At the end of 1944 the Afghan government persuaded the Turkish Republic to hand over the remains of Jamal al-Din. The request was conceded amid protests of the Iranian authorities.⁵⁰ On January 2, 1945 his remains were buried with official honours in a newly constructed mausoleum near Ali Abad in the suburbs of Kabul.

NOTES

1. The traditional biographical accounts of Jamal al-Din mention Asadabad in the Kunar province of Afghanistan as his place of birth. His father, Sayyid Safdar was said to be in disfavour with the Amir of Kabul, therefore, their ancestral lands were confiscated and the family was forced to shift to Kabul during the childhood of Jamal al-Din where the latter received his early education. This was believed to have happened during the period 1263-1271 A.H. (Muhammad Abd al-Quddus Qasimi, Mazamin-i Jamal al-Din Afghani, Lahore, n.d., p.16). However overwhelming evidence, including personal papers and books of Jamal al-Din and collection of the Iranian Majlis Library, Tehran conclusively prove that the story is unfounded. Please see Documents inedits concernant, Seyyed Jamal al-Din Afghani, compiled by Iraj Afshar and Asghar Mahdavi, Tehran, 1963, (henceforth referred as "Documents"); Nikki R. Keddie, Sayyid Jamal al-Din "Al-Afghani": A Political Biography, California, 1972, pp. 10-12. 427-433; Ahmed Agaoglu, "Siyasiyat: Turk Aleml", Turk Yurdu, Vol.1, No. 7,9 February 1327, p. 201; Sifat Allah Khan Jamali, Asnad va Madarik dar barayl Irani al-asl budan-i Sayyid Jamal al-Din Asadabad, Tehran n.d., p. 14; Edward G.Browne, The Persian Revolution of 1905-1909, Cambridge, 1910, p.40; Qazi Muhammad Abd al-Ghaffar, Athar-i-Jamal al-Din Afghani, Delhi, 1940, pp.2-20.
2. Mirza Lutf Allah Khan Asadabad,i,Sharh-i-Hal va Athar-i Sayyid Jamal al-Din Asadabad Berlin, 1926, p.7.
3. Documents, op.cit., pp.100-101; Keddie, op.cit., p.16.
4. Asadabadi, op.cit., pp.21-22; Keddie, op.cit., pp.16-17
5. Keddie, op.cit., pp.37-38.
6. Documents, op.cit., p.15 Keddie,op.cit., pp.24-33; Asadabadi, op.cit., pp. 22-23; Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, My diaries, 1 -1888-1900, London, 1919, p.100.
7. Documents, op.cit., p.156; Keddie, op.cit., p.37.
8. Cabul Precis 1863-74, Simla, 1866, 1874, quoted by Keddie, op.cit., p.41.
9. Cabul Diary, Calcutta, 1869, pp.55, 65, 139 quoted by Keddie, op.cit. pp.48-50.
10. Browne, op.cit., p.6; Asadabadi, op.cit., p.24.
11. Ibrahim Alauddin Govsa, Cemaluddin Afghani, Istanbul, 1927, p.5; Mustafa Abd al-Raziq, Muhammad Abduh, Cairo n.d., p.51.
12. Daily Takvim-i-Vekayi, Istanbul, 22 Zilqada, 1286 and 26 Jamadi I, 1287; Mahmud Cevad Ibnul-Seyh Nafi, Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti Tarihee-i-Teskilat ve Icrati. vol.1, Istanbul, 1338, p.114; Osman Kesikloglu, "Cemaladdin Efgani", A.U.Ilahiyat Fakultasi Dergisi, Vol.X. Ankara, 1962, pp.96-97; Mehmed Ali Ayni, Darulfunun Tarihi, Istanbul, 1927, p.27; Mehmet Zeki Pakalin, Son Sadrazamlar ve Basvekilleri, Vol.4, Istanbul 1944, pp.150-151; Ali Canib Yontem, "Cemalud-Din

- Afghani", Hayat, Vol.3, No. 77, May 17, 1928, Ankara, p.4.
13. Govsa, op.cit., p.6; Yontem op.cit., p.4.
 14. Takvim-i Vekayi, 1 Rajab 1287; Keskioglu, op.cit., pp.92-93; Daily Hakaykul-Vekayi, Istanbul, No.84, 29 Shaban 1287 and No. 146, 5 Zilqada 1287; Daily Basir, Istanbul, No.222, 30 Shaban 1287; Mehmed Akif Ersoy, "Cemalud-Din Afghani", Sirati Mustakin, Vol.4, No. 90, Istanbul, 1328, p. 207; Osman Nuri Ergin, Turkiye Maarif Tarihi, Vol.2, Istanbul, 1940, pp.466-468; Pakalin, op.cit., pp.141,143,146, 148-149; Govsa, op.cit., p.7; Yontem op.cit., pp.5-6; Ayni, op.cit., p.28; Ahmed Halli al-Fauzi al-Fillbevi, al-Sayyuful-Kavati (Turkish translation by Hayruddin Fezvi), Istanbul, 1872, pp.19-20.
 15. Govsa, op.cit., pp.8-9.
 16. Asadabadi, op.cit., p.26; Qasimi, op.cit., p.28; Muhammad Rashid Rida, Tarikh al-Ustadh al-Imam al-Shaykh Muhammad Abduh, Vol.I, Cairo, 1350, p.44; Abu al-Ala Muhammad Ismail Godehri, "Muslah-i Sharq batl-i hurriyat Sayyid Jamal al-Din Afghani", Moqam-i Jamal al-Din Afghani, Karachi, 1949, pp.69-70.
 17. Rida, op.cit., pp.44-45.
 18. A.Albert Kudsi-Zadeh, The legacy of Sayyid Jamal al-Din al Afghani in Egypt, Indiana University, 1968, (unpublished Ph.D thesis) pp.138-140.
 19. According to one account, Jamal al-Din joined a masonic lodge for the first time while he was in the Ottoman capital, Istanbul (see R.H.Davison, Reform in the Ottoman Empire, New Jersey, 1963).
 20. Ahmad Amin, Zuama al-Islah fi al-asr al-hadith, Cairo, 1948, pp.64, 69-70, 73-74; Browne, op.cit., p.8; Hans Kohn, A History of Nationalism in the East (English translation by M.M.Green), Hartcourt, 1929, pp.179-270; Charles C.Adams, Islam and Modernism in Egypt, London, 1933, pp.2, 33, 220, 221, 227, Qasimi, op.cit., pp.29-31; Kudsi-Zadeh, op.cit., pp.82, 132, 144, 148, Keddie, op.cit., p.100; Documents, op.cit., pp.24-25, 57; 62; 71; Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, Seeret History of the English Occupation of Egypt, London, 1907, pp.104, 491, Robert Federmann, "Scheikh Djemaleddin el-Afghan: Ein Lebensbild aus dem Orient", Beilage zur allgemeinen Zeitung, No.144, Munch: 24 Jüne 1896, pp.1-4.
 21. Rida, op.cit., p.77; Browne, op.cit., pp.8, 23, Qasimi, op.cit., p.35; Blunt, Seeret History, op.cit., pp.124-125, 489.
 22. Abd al-Ghaffar, op.cit., p.123; Qasimi, op.cit., pp.37-38.
 23. Murtaza Mudarisi Chahardihi (Edit.), Ara va muta'iqdat-i Sayyid Jamal al-Din Afghani, Tehran, 1337 HS, pp.151-159; Asadabadi, op.cit., pp.88-96; Browne, op.cit., p.8.
 24. Ahmed Amin, op.cit., p.89.
 25. Al-Urwat al-Wuthqa, Paris, No.9, dated 22 May 1884 hinted at the decision of the Egyptian government to ban its entry into Egypt and impose a fine of 5 to 15 Egyptian pounds for possession of the journal.
 26. Keddie, op.cit., pp.183, 215-217, 261; Qasimi, op.cit., pp.41, 47; British Foreign Office File No. 60/594-F-1/115, Memorandum on Djemal ed Din; Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, Gordon at Khartoum, London, 1911, pp. 460, 465-468, 473-482; Ziya al-Din Barni, Sayyid Jamal al-Din Afghani, Karachi, 1954, p.97.
 27. Abbas Mirza Mulk Ara, Sharh-i hal Abbas Mirza Mulk Ara (compiled by Abd al-Hussain Navai), Tehran, 1325, p.112.
 28. Abd al-Ghaffar, op.cit., pp. 217-218, Browne, op.cit., p.9.
 29. Keddie, op.cit., pp.282, 298, Khan Malik Sasani, Siyasetgaran-i devre Qajar, Tehran, 1338 HS, pp.193-194.

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31. Barni, op.cit., p.103.
32. Federmann, op.cit., pp.1-4.
33. Browne, op.cit., p.10.
34. Govsa, op.cit., pp.12-13; Browne, op.cit., pp.11, 43; Barni, op.cit., pp. 105-106.
35. The English translation of the text was given by Browne, op.cit., p.22; Barni, op.cit., p.106.
36. Qasimi, op.cit., p.52; Federmann, op.cit., pp.1-4; Govsa, op.cit., p.13.
37. Rida, op.cit., p.63; Barni, op.cit., p.116.
38. Govsa, op.cit., pp.13-14; Asadabadi, op.cit., p.54; Federmann, op.cit., pp.1-4; Qasimi, op.cit., p.53.
39. Browne, op.cit., p.30, Niyazi Berkes, The Development of Secularism in Turkey, Montreal, 1964, pp.268-270; Abdul Hamid in Hatira Defteri (compiled by Ismat Bozdog), Istanbul, 1975, p.74; Browne, op.cit., p.30.
40. Sasani, op.cit., pp.193-194.; Suleyman Nazif, Nasiruddin Sah ve Babiler, Istanbul, 1923, p.64.; S.Nazhet Ergun, Turk Sairleri, Vol.2, Istanbul, n.d., p.876; George Antonius, The Arab Awakening, London, 1955, p.69, Sharif al-Mujahid, Sayyid Jamal al-Din al-Afghani: His role in the Nineteenth Century Muslim Awakening, McGill Univ, Montreal, 1954 (unpublished M.A. thesis), p.33.
41. Abd al Ghaffar, op.cit., pp.278-279; Rida, op.cit., p.73; Qasimi, op.cit., p.54.
42. Keddie, op.cit., pp.381, 384.
43. Blunt, My Diaries, op.cit., p.255; Barni, op.cit., p.119.
44. Shakib Arslan, "al-Sayyid Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, hakim al-Sharq", in Theodore Stoddard's Hadir al-Alam al-Islami (Arabic translation by Ajjaj Nuwayhid), Cairo, 1925, Vol.1, p.204.
45. Godehri, op.cit., pp.83-84.
46. Sasani, op.cit., p.218; Godehri, op.cit., p.82.
47. Federmann, op.cit., p.1-4; Barni, op.cit., p.121; Govsa op.cit., p.14.
48. Browne, op.cit., pp.28-29; Keskioglu, op.cit., p.101., Jamal al-Din wanted to proceed to Vienna for treatment but he was not permitted by the Sultan, see Govsa, op.cit., p.14.
49. Suleyman Nazif, op.cit., pp.63-64; Browne, op.cit., p.404; Abd al-Ghaffar, op.cit., pp.289-293; Rida, op.cit., pp.91-93.
50. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Turkey, File No. C.5.C. "Cemaleddin Afghani..."