Czechoslovak Sugar

CENTROKOMISE

CZECHOSLOVAK IMPORT AND EXPORT OF FOODSTUFFS LTD.

Konviktská 5, PRAHA I. Cables: CUKREX
TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS AND CONTRIBUTORS

The Islamic Review, the official organ of the Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust, of The Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, Surrey, England, and of Azeez Manzil, Brandreth Road, Lahore, Pakistan, is published monthly. In conformity with the objects of its publishers The Islamic Review is a cultural, non-political journal which takes no stand on the political policies of the various Muslim countries. In publishing such articles as deal with the world of Islam, its sole aim is to acquaint the component parts of the Islamic world with those problems and difficulties. Its aim in presenting political issues is analytical and informative. All opinions expressed are those of the individual writers and not those of The Islamic Review, or its publishers.

The Editor will be glad to receive articles for publication. These will receive careful consideration and an honorarium arrived at by mutual arrangement will be paid for all manuscripts accepted for publication. All articles not accepted will be returned to their authors, but the Editor regrets he is unable to accept responsibility for their loss in transit.

Orders for yearly subscriptions or single copies may be sent to:

**British Guiana:**
H. B. Gajraj, Esq., 13, Walter Street, Georgetown. £1 5s. 0d. post free; single copies 2s. 6d.

**British West Indies:**
Maulavi Ameer ‘Alie, “The Gem,” 64, Charlotte Street, Port of Spain, Trinidad. £1 5s. 0d. post free; single copies 2s. 6d.

**Ceylon:**
Messrs. W. M. A. Wahid & Bros., 233, Main Street, Colombo. £1 5s. 0d. post free; single copies 2s. 6d.

**Dutch Guiana:**

**England:**
“The Islamic Review,” The Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, Surrey. £1 5s. 0d. post free; single copies 2s. 6d.

**Egypt:**
H. H. Khan, Esq., P.O.B. 678, Cairo. £1.25 post free; single copies P.T. 12.5s.

**Holland:**
‘Abderrahman P. Koppe, Esq., Insulinlevard 220/11, Amsterdam, Holland. Fl. 13.50 post free; single copies Fl. 1.35.

**Iraq:**
Ibrahim Adem Sachwani, Esq., Merchant, Ashar, Basrah. £1 5s. 0d. post free; single copies 2s. 6d.

**Indonesia:**

**Portugal:**
Tayob Adam Katchi, Esq., Rua dos Anjos, 13, 5E., Lisbon.

**Malaya:**
Messrs. M. M. Aliy & Co., P.O. Box 241, 103, Market Street, Kuala Lumpur. £1 5s. 0d. post free; single copies 2s. 6d.

Jubilee Bookstore, 17, Batu Road, Kuala Lumpur. £1 5s. 0d. post free; single copies 2s. 6d.

**Registration to all countries at the equivalent rate of 6s. 6d. per annum per parcel**

**AGENTS IN INDIA**

Annual Subscription Rs. 16/12, post free; single copies Rs. 1/11.

Sh. Mohammad In'am-ul-Haque, House No. 100 — A Class, Azampore, Malakpet, Hyderabad-Deccan.

Abdul Aziz Shora, Esq., Editor, Rashni, Srinagar, Kashmir.

Messrs. Usmania Book Depot, 104 Lower Chitpura Road, Calcutta.

**AGENTS IN PAKISTAN**

Annual Subscription Rs. 12, post free; single copies Rs. 1/3.

Mesrs. M. A. Malik & Bros., Newsagents, Jessore Road, Khulna (E. Pakistan).


Messrs. Dar-us-Salam Co., 37 Court Road, Chittagong (E. Pakistan).

Messrs. News Front, 75, Jubilee Road, Chittagong (E. Pakistan).

Raj Central Co-operative Bank, Comilla (E. Pakistan).


Mesrs. M. A Malik & Bros., Court Road, Chittagong (E. Pakistan).

M. A. Pasha Bookstall, 12, Wiseghat, Dacca (E. Pakistan).

Majlis Bookstall, Bangla Bazaar, Dacca (E. Pakistan).

Mahboob Bookstall, 31, Johnson Road, Dacca (E. Pakistan).

Subscriptions may begin with any desired number.

**Nigeria:**
Messrs. Tika Tore Press Ltd., 77, Broad Street, Lagos. £1 5s. 0d. post free; single copies 2s. 6d.

**Persian Gulf:**
Messrs. Ashraf Brothers, Import-Export, Bahrain. £1 5s. 0d. post free; single copies 2s. 6d.

**South Africa:**
Messrs. Union Printing Works, 91, Victoria Street, Durban, Natal. £1 5s. 0d. post free; single copies 2s. 6d.

**Tanganyika Territory:**
Messrs. Janoowalla-Store, P.O. Box 239, Tanga. £1 5s. 0d. post free; single copies 2s. 6d.

**Thailand:**
Ibrahim Qureshi, Esq., 110/1, Ban Khrua, behind Chareenpol Market, Pathumwan, Bangkok. £1 5s. 0d. post free; single copies 2s. 6d.

**Turkey:**
Haci Necati Doganbey, Sirkeci, Nur Han No. 1, Istanbul. Tl. 10/- post free; single copies Tl. 1.00

**The United States of America:**
B. A. Minto, Esq., Moslem Society of the U.S.A., 870, Castro Street, San Francisco, California. $3.75 post free; single copies 0.37c.

**Western Germany:**
Der Imam, Die Moschee, 7/8, Brienner Strasse, Berlin-Wilmersdorf. D.M. 15.00 post free; single copies DM. 1.50.

**Zanzibar:**
The Zanzibar Bookshop, P.O. Box 568, Zanzibar.

**AGENTS IN INDIA**

S. Ziya Karim Rizvi, Bhagalpur.

Messrs. Bookman, Booksellers and Publishers, 2, Ismail Curtay Road, Bombay, 3.

Islamia Book Depot, Newspaper Agent, New Market, Tatarpur Chowk, Bhagalpur City (Bihar).

**AGENTS IN PAKISTAN**

Omar Aqil, Esq., Newsagent, 51, Johnson Road, Dacca (E. Pakistan).

M. A. Samad, Esq., East Pakistan Islam Mission, 81, Maliltola Road, Dacca (E. Pakistan).

Shamim Book Agency, 1, Johnson Road, Dacca (E. Pakistan).

Tamaddun Library, 19, Azeempur Road, Dacca (E. Pakistan).

The East End Publications, Post Faridabad, Dacca (E. Pakistan).

Messrs. Cosmic Publicity Ltd., H.Q. 30, Rankin Street, Wari, Dacca (E. Pakistan).

Pak News Agency, 3, Rajani Choudhary Road, Post Faridabad, Dacca (E. Pakistan).

Messrs. M. A. Malik & Bros., 5/16, Takhar Lane, Nawabpur Road, P.O. Box 178, Dacca (E. Pakistan).

[continued on page 2]

Kindly quote your subscriber's number when corresponding.

SEPTEMBER 1952
BETWEEN OURSELVES

The Contributors

Mr. Mahmoud Abu al-Sa'ud, an Egyptian Muslim economist, is at present attached to the staff of the State Bank of Pakistan, Karachi.

Dr. M. Hamidullah, Ph.D. (Bonn), D.Litt. (Paris), was formerly Professor of International Law at Osmania University, Hyderabad-Degban, India, and is the author of several authentic books on early Islamic polity.

Al-Hajj Dr. George Kheirallah, an American Muslim, is Editor of the English quarterly, The Arab World, New York, U.S.A.

Professor Shinobu Iwamura, of the Research Institute of Humanistic Science, Kyoto University, Kyoto, Japan, has made a special study of Islam in China.

Mr. G. H. Neville-Bagot, an Irishman, is keenly interested in the problems of the world of Islam. He has many friends in the North African Arab world, where his views are held in high esteem by them.

Mr. Dikran Spear, an American, is the author of Traditions of the Tigris, Weehawken, New Jersey, U.S.A. The book speaks of the river, the waterfalls, history, archaeology, glimpses of Assyrian, Roman, Mughal, Arab and Turk, blended with the lore and traditions of the simple folks, simply told.

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS AND CONTRIBUTORS

(Continued from page 1)

AGENTS IN PAKISTAN (continued)

Begum Zarina Siraj, c/o S. Haque Noori, Yasin Manzil, Post & Dist. Faridpur (E. Pakistan).
Begum Noor Jehan, c/o Md. Wahed Bakhsh, Jinnah Road, P.O. Dist., Jessore (E. Pakistan).
Messrs. N. Islam & Sons, General Merchants, H.O. Kushita (E. Pakistan).
Muhammad Zahidul Huq, Esq., Station Road, P.O. Sonapur, Dist. Noakhali (E. Pakistan).
A. Khan, Esq., B.Sc., Manufacturing Chemist, Bhangabari, P.O. Sirajganj, Fabna (E. Pakistan).
Maktaba Jadid, Anarkali, Lahore.
Islamistan, Bahawalpur (W. Pakistan).
Kh. Kalim Ahmad, Esq., Spring Works, 3, Temple View, Preedy Street, Karachi.

Western Pakistan

S. Kamruddin Hyder, Esq., Bookseller, Purana Bazaar Parbatipur (E. Pakistan).
The Pakistan News Agency, Station Road, Saidpur, Dist. Rangpur (E. Pakistan).
Shah Tabarak Hossain, Esq., Newspaper Agent, P.O. Alamnagar Dist., Rangpur (E. Pakistan).
S. Masood Ahmad, Esq., Bookseller & Newspagent, P.O. Ghoramara, Rajshahi (E. Pakistan).
Farooq Library, Booksellers, Rajshahi (E. Pakistan).
Fair Deal, Premier Booksellers & Publishers, Brahmanbaria, Tippera (E. Pakistan).
Messrs. M. Aslam Khan, Newspaper Agents, Khan Manzil, Chandpur, Dist. Tippera (E. Pakistan).

Messrs. M. Ismail & Bros., Lahore.
Victory Bookstores, Booksellers & Publishers, Rawalpindi (W. Pakistan).

CONTENTS, 1952

SEPTEMBER

Editorial: Social and Economic Reforms in the world of Islam ... 3
By the Light of the Qur'an and the Hadith ... 5
The Exploitation of Land and Islamic Law ... 6
by Mahmoud Abu al-Sa'ud
The Battlefields of the Prophet Muhammad ... 11
by Dr. M. Hamidullah, Ph. D. (Bonn), D. Litt. (Paris).
Sa'udi Arabia ... 17
by al-hajj Dr. George Kheirallah
The Congress of Muslims in Great Britain ... 20
Islamic Society on the Chinese-Mongolian Border ... 23
by Shinobu Iwamura
The Capital of Pakistan ... 29
Vigorous Democratic Reactions in the Muslim Middle East ... 31
by G. H. Neville-Bagot
Firdusi ... 34
by Dikran Spear
Book Review ... 39
Jesus in "Heaven on Earth" ... 39
by al-hajj Kwaja Nazir Ahmad

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW

2 www.aaiil.org
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS IN THE WORLD OF ISLAM

The Beginning of the End

Egypt and Iran are showing the way of deliverance to the world of Islam

Not even the most zealous and enthusiastic of reformers in Egypt and Iran could have expected the movement for the reform of the social and economic order there to have run as smoothly and speedily as it has done in the past few weeks. Almost daily one hears of the long-awaited and badly needed measures to propagate social justice, which in the early days of Islam was the principal hallmark of Islam.

Immediately after the removal of the incumbrance of the palace in Egypt, the government of ‘Ali Mahr, which has the support of the Army, embarked on far-reaching measures for the reform of public life, and for purging the administration and the political parties of undesirable elements. In the whole of the Muslim Middle East personalities of doubtful public integrity had stood in the way of reform and brought disaster upon disaster upon the Muslims. They are now being brought to book in Egypt, and have been put behind bars to await trial or have been banished from political activity. A new code of integrity and honesty on the part of government officials in the performance of their duties has now been promulgated in Egypt and Iran, while in the former tribunals have been established with powers to try government officials accused of acts of corruption and sabotage, committed as far back as 1939. Egyptian political parties have been asked in unmistakable terms to purge their ranks, especially at the top, of undesirable elements. The Government and Army in Egypt are in earnest in endeavouring to put an end to the widespread corruption which has stigmatized public life in that country. The repercussions of the events in Egypt and Iran will before long be felt in other parts of the world of Islam.

The reform movement in Egypt is speedily extending from the sphere of public life to the social, economic and agrarian spheres. Of special significance are the proposed measures for direct taxation, the greater burden of which is to fall on the rich, and for the redistribution of land. A draft decree is now being studied by the Egyptian Government to limit an individual’s or a company’s holding of agricultural land to a definite and limited acreage, and to distribute the excess and the Crown lands amongst the peasants and the workers. Similar measures for agrarian reform are being introduced in Iran, where the Shah, who last year distributed a portion of his vast holdings amongst the peasants, is now offering for sale to his tenants and workers a large number of the villages he owns. Dr. Musaddiq has also announced measures to give the peasants a greater share of the products of their labours and to safeguard their position vis-à-vis the landlords.

SEPTEMBER 1952
The land reform in Muslim countries is not only just but a necessity

The glaring inequality in the distribution of land has been at the root of all social ailments in the world of Islam. Landless peasants, who struggle hard to keep body and soul together and amongst whom poverty and its trail of ignorance and disease take a heavy toll, have long cried for justice against wealthy and merciless absentee landowners who left little of the national wealth to be enjoyed by the masses of the people in the way God has ordained. Under such circumstances it was always idle to expect the masses to have any truly deep or sincere feeling of loyalty and attachment to the motherland. The masses could see, very clearly, that they had no real stake in the motherland while its national wealth remained heavily concentrated in the hands of a very small minority. And this unhappy state of affairs has provided a horbed for Communism. The proper redistribution of the land will inevitably narrow the gulf between the classes, raise the general standard of living, and strengthen the national stature. A country whose people are economically happy and contented is a strong country, and one that would command respect in the comity of nations. The great and urgent need of the world of Islam generally for domestic strength and international prestige is only too obvious. Equally obvious is the harm which the world of Islam, and particularly the Arab countries, have continued to suffer because of their abject weakness. The Arab world in particular, as recent events have shown, is being treated by the Great Powers as a mere vacuum in the competition amongst themselves for influence and domination. They would have played, and will play, a different and a far less discreditable tune to a stronger Muslim Arab world.

The removal of outward un-Islamic and man-made signs of distinction in Egypt

An interesting measure taken by the Egyptian Government at the early stages of the reform movement, and adopted thereafter in Jordan, was the abolition of the titles of Pasha and Bey and other ostentatious and meaningless courtesy titles attaching to the holders of certain offices and ranks. These were relics of the now defunct Ottoman régime, perpetuated in Egypt and in some other parts of the Middle East, ironically enough, long after they had been discarded in Turkey, where they were originally invented. Henceforth in these countries, as in a large part of the world of Islam, men are to be addressed in the plain and democratic equivalent of the title of “Mr.”. While this particular reform does not, of course, solve any of these countries’ pressing problems, which are mainly economic and social, it could definitely be regarded as a symbolic expression of the desire to bring equality of opportunity to everyone irrespective of his descent, and is a good augury, simply because it brings into practice a principle at the heart of the teachings of Islam, namely, that all men are equal in the eyes of God, and that the ceremonial glorification of men of any class is not pleasing to Him. The Qur’an says:

“O you men! surely We have created of a male and a female, and made you tribes and families that you may know each other; surely the most honourable of you with God is one among you most careful of his duty” (49:13).

In Egypt, and to some degree in Iran, the governments have now assumed sweeping and somewhat dictatorial powers. This has been found necessary in Egypt because the Government and the Army believe that it would be futile to practise the refinements of parliamentary democracy at this stage or to allow a general election to be held before the administration and the political parties are thoroughly purged of the undesirable elements in which they have always abounded and which, if allowed to roam unchecked, would inevitably thwart any efforts at reform and undermine the preliminary measures already taken to put the Egyptian house in order. Such a policy is both wise and necessary; and there is no doubt that some form of temporary benevolent dictatorship at this stage in the reform movement in Egypt and Iran seems desirable. Whatever the evils of a dictatorship, it has one undeniably good quality: it has no room for procrastination and can get things done in the shortest possible time.

Monarchy is un-Islamic

What has happened in Egypt and Iran in the past few weeks has undoubtedly marked the beginning of a new era in which the will of the nation will be meticulously respected by its rulers. The monarchy is an un-Islamic institution and Islamic democracy does not believe in hereditary kingship. Ever since the institution of monarchy showed its ugly head, when the Caliph Mu'awiya founded the Umayyad dynasty, the Muslims in many lands have suffered time and again at the hands of benighted and capricious monarchs. Many of these have tried to bolster up their rights to thrones and seats of authority supported by ingeniously fabricated traditions imputed to the Prophet Muhammad. At long last the world of Islam is beginning to show signs of a desire to rid itself of the outmoded institution of monarchy.

The future of the world of Islam

In the short space of time since the start of this new reform movement in the Middle East, there have been many significant achievements. Already many relics of an old and antiquated social order have lapsed. The targets which the reformers have set before themselves are high and ambitious; and they are rapidly surging forward towards endowing democratic freedom and prosperity to the people of these countries. The torch of this renaissance will, we hope, be carried into the farthest corners of the world of Islam. We may yet again live to witness a society which, like that during the early days of Islam, will have done away with want and poverty. It was in those glorious days of old, when the teachings of Islam were applied in their entirety, that finding a poor and needy person who would qualify for zakat (alms) was a truly difficult task.
BY THE LIGHT OF THE QUR’ĂN AND THE HADITH

The Workman and His Rights in Islam

The Prophet Muhammad and a workman

It is related by the Imam al-Bukhari and other eminent traditionalists that a man once came to the Prophet Muhammad and asked him to help him out of his difficulties, for the man was out of work and had no means of earning his living, and did not possess any money or property that could provide him with his subsistence. The Prophet Muhammad, it is further related, then asked his companions to bring him a carpenter’s axe and a piece of wood. He then personally set to work on this piece of wood and shaped it into a handle, which he fitted to the axe. Having fitted the axe with the handle, the Prophet handed it to the man and asked him to go to a place which he indicated and there to work to earn his living. The Prophet also asked the man to report back to him after some days to inform him of his progress. The man duly reported to the Prophet at the appointed time to inform him of a change to the good in his circumstances and to thank him for his help and guidance.

God, in His immense wisdom, did not send His prophets and messengers to the world only in order that mankind might amuse itself with the tales of their actions and sayings. God surely wished that mankind at all times should draw morals from the actions and utterances of His prophets and messengers, and model their lives and behaviour on the precepts and examples set by His chosen ones. God says: “We have not sent any prophet except for the purpose that he should be obeyed, by the permission of God” (The Qur’ān 4:64). “What the Prophet brings forth to you you should obey, and from what he has forbidden you must abstain” (The Qur’ān 59:7).

In the light of these commandments of God it can be seen that the incident mentioned above demonstrates the application of a principle of life of great importance set forth by the Prophet Muhammad. If we abide by the Prophet Muhammad’s injunctions and modelled our behaviour upon them we should succeed, and please God and His Prophet and advance the welfare and happiness of the community in which we live. But if we disobey these injunctions we bring upon ourselves the wrath of God and His Messenger and make for the misery and unhappiness of the community and its component members. God says: “Your God does not oppress anyone” (The Qur’ān 10:45); “We did not oppress them, but they were oppressing themselves” (The Qur’ān 11:101).

The Islamic State and the unemployed

Various morals and principles for the guidance of the Muslims can be deduced from this incident in the life of the Prophet Muhammad.

The unemployed have a legitimate claim against the State

The first of these is that during the days of the Prophet Muhammad persons who were unemployed and, consequently, without any means of earning their livelihood, used to consider that they had a legitimate right and claim against the State for their subsistence. Armed with this realization of their dues, they approached the representative of the State asking him to give them a helping hand in their difficulties by finding them appropriate employment or by any other suitable means. In their pursuit of this claim they behaved with honour and dignity, for the person who seeks the fulfillment of a legitimate right never feels humiliated when pressing forward his case. Would not a State where such legitimate rights are recognized be the height of social reform and progress? Indeed it would. The State must recognize the rights of the unemployed against it

We also find that the State in the days of the Prophet Muhammad was fully conscious of its duties and responsibilities towards persons who were without employment through no fault of their own. The State recognized this aspect of its social responsibilities towards the unemployed and needy members of the community and made every endeavour to alleviate their grievances and provide them with suitable means for earning their livelihood. This is illustrated by the fact that the Prophet Muhammad showed willingness in and sympathy with listening to the complaint of the unemployed person who had come to him. Far from chiding the man or showing any anger towards him, he lent his complaint a sympathetic ear and proceeded to find a way to remedy his grievance. He did not send him away until he was sure he had done him justice. Such a kind and humanitarian attitude can only flow from Islam and its teachings. Those impious persons who, in their pride and haughtiness, lose patience with the unfortunate persons who are unemployed and seeking work and who send those persons away without redressing their wrongs, should take heed of this illustrious example set by the Prophet Muhammad and endeavour to follow the righteous path he had indicated.

The duty of the State does not end with the recognition of the rights of the unemployed

Another moral we can conclude from this incident is that the social responsibilities of the State did not end at the mere recognition of the rights of the unemployed. The State also realized that it was its duty to find work for the unemployed without delay, so that they might not be left to the harsh mercies of idleness and want. The Prophet Muhammad, as we have seen, did not send the man away until he had found him employment and indicated to him where he could earn his livelihood. This is indeed the state of affairs which workers all over the world seek to bring about, and for which they have striven for very long.

The State must see to the welfare of the worker

Again we discover from this incident that the ideal State should keep a vigilant watch on the welfare of the workers. The Prophet Muhammad was not content with merely finding a job for the unemployed man who came to him; he also asked that he be kept informed of his progress in his new job, so that he might be able to help him again, if need be. Islam in this respect fulfills one of the most cherished hopes of the workers of the world.

The State must find tools for the workers

From this tradition of the Prophet Muhammad, the Imam al-Ghazali deduced a principle in his book al-Ihya that it was incumbent upon the State to provide the worker with the tools or other instruments or devices necessary for the practice of his trade, if he did not possess them.

The light shining from these teachings should guide social reformers of our time in their endeavours to better the lot of that very great and deserving mass of mankind that goes by the name of “workers”.

SEPTEMBER 1952
THE EXPLOITATION OF LAND AND ISLAMIC LAW

In Islam private ownership of land is subject to the interests of the community

By MAHMOUD ABU al-SA'UD

The definition of the word “exploitation”

Land is considered by economists and by people generally as one of the most valuable gifts of nature, and its fertility the greatest of the blessings with which God has endowed mankind. The supreme value of land lies in the fact that it is capable of producing plants and vegetation needed for the existence of man, when only comparatively simple conditions have been satisfied. There is no controversy at all about this. But the question of the ownership of land by individuals, as well as the manner of exploiting the land and the privilege of exclusively owning or benefiting from its produce, have for long been the subject of controversy, and continue to be so today.

Jurists of various religions, and economists and social reformers of various schools, have for long disagreed on this subject and propounded differing theories and principles.

It is, of course, an undeniable fact that if land is neglected, and no human labour or effort is expended on it, it fails to produce anything of any real value to mankind; except in rare cases where nature is generous and provides adequate rain, sunshine and warmth, and where the quality of the soil is extremely good and the land is free from rocks and other unproductive elements. In the region around the Equator, for example, where these conditions are satisfied, the land is rich in vegetation. In those cases, however, where land is productive simply as a result of the favourable climatic and other conditions, and irrespective of the application of human labour and endeavour for the purpose, the land cannot strictly be regarded as “exploited”. The reason for this is that the term “exploitation” can only be used to denote a state of affairs where man applies his labour and skill in order to bring forth the product. “Exploitation” means application of human labour or endeavour to the capital—in this case the land—towards obtaining the proceeds—the product of the land. For this reason it has always been considered that vegetation produced by the land, without the application of human effort, cannot be the exclusive property of a specific person or persons, but is the common property of all. Thus, grazing fields and pastoral lands have by firmly-established custom and tradition been considered open to all members of the community, who are entitled to benefit therefrom without undue restriction. If, as happens in some cases, the users of commons and public pastures are required to pay a fee in respect of the privilege of using these common lands, or to be bound by certain conditions and terms in their use, this does not in reality signify any deviation from the principle of common or public ownership—it rather implies that the State, as the representative of the whole community, has taken upon itself the task of administering the land and safeguarding the rights of all those who have a vested interest in it, so as to eliminate harmful abuse by certain individuals of these rights. This attitude on the part of the State towards the exploitation of common land also denotes that the ownership of such lands can vest in an individual.

The origins of private ownership of land

Why, then, does land become subject to different considerations (e.g. become capable of being owned by private individuals) when it enters the category of agricultural or arable land?

Before I discuss the various answers given to this question, I should like to outline the stages through which man’s exploitation of land has passed since the earliest days. Thereby, I think the points at issue can be narrowed and common ground can be established for the discussion of the position as it prevails today.

There is no doubt that when man first made the discovery of agriculture, he was not very much concerned with the question of the ownership of land. There was far too much land at his disposal, and he could thus practise his new discovery, agriculture, without any real restriction. Then came the stage when man began to settle in definite places. This settlement brought about a fixed and intimate relationship between man and his surroundings. When man began to build houses in which to shelter, he could not thereafter be as free to move from one...

1 Courtesy, the Editor, al-Muslimun, Cairo, Egypt, for January-April, 1952.

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
place to another as he had been in the past. The trouble and effort expended by him in the construction of a shelter for himself and his family could not be easily ignored; and that, by itself, caused him to become attached to the product of his labour and not to forsake it without compelling reasons. At the same time also, man found it convenient, for the purpose of carrying on his farming in a practical and profitable manner, to select for his exclusive use areas of land which were near his abode; and he thus restricted his activities to these areas. In this way, the construction by man of houses and places of shelter necessitated his forsaking the habit of constant roaming and travel which characterized his early life, and he came to settle in limited areas. Different areas of land had varying qualities of richness and fertility and were not uniform in their capacities of producing the agricultural products which man sought. Early man soon discovered this, and, not unnaturally, tended to choose for himself the best and most fertile lands. In those areas where a group of individuals had settled, this competition amongst them for the most fertile plots, in the limited area surrounding the settlements, was very keen. It is this competition, inspired by greed and jealousy, that has ever since been at the background of all human strife. Social reformers and historians are agreed upon these facts; the disagreement between them is confined to the question as to whether there really exists any foundation for the individual's claim to own land or to have the exclusive privilege to enjoy the products of such land.

Theories and arguments for and against ownership of land

Conflicting theories and arguments have been advanced to affirm, or deny, the right of an individual to own land and to exploit it, and upon the elements constituting such a right. In one view it has been denied that ownership of land can have any legitimate foundation and that, therefore, there can be no ownership of land—in the sense of an exclusive right to exploit and dispose of such land—by the individual.

Did the first "owners" of agricultural land derive their right to such land from their having been the first to come into possession of it? At later stages, did this right of ownership legitimately vest in some individuals because they happened to be more powerful than the earlier owners of land and were thus able to dispose of them? Did ownership have its roots in the fact that those persons who applied labour and effort to transform land, which had hitherto been unproductive or unprofitable, into profitably productive land; and did this mean that whoever had the energy or resources to apply for this purpose derived thereby a right to own the land? Or was the legitimate right to own land the result of a combination of two or more of the above factors?

There can be no decisive answer to these questions; and had it been possible to give such a decisive answer it would have been easy to determine the factors which can legitimately or ethically give rise to the ownership of land. The history of mankind's social and other progress does not provide us with any clear picture of the development of the idea of ownership of agricultural land. There has been a great deal of wild speculation and presumption on this subject, but no universally true proposition has been established. The idea of ownership of agricultural land has passed through greatly varying phases and considerations at different stages of history and in different parts of the world. As to the above there can, I think, be no disagreement amongst sociologists.

The ethical and philosophical aspect of the ownership of land did not come under examination or discussion until quite a late stage in the history of mankind. Greek philosophers touched on this subject in their studies, but the matter then was of no pressing or practical significance, since there was no real disagreement at the time upon the traditional practice that the factum of possession, under certain circumstances, gave rise to legal ownership. This was the position in the Middle Ages, too. The first time that this subject was actively and seriously discussed was in the early Islamic era. That era, as we know, was characterized in the Islamic world by a predominant freedom of thought and an endeavor to examine the social pattern in the light of the teachings of Islam as elucidated by the religious jurists. I shall discuss this subject more fully at a later stage in this article.

The falsity of the Communist theory of the ownership of land

When the Roman Empire disintegrated and the feudal system began to take root, the question of determining the factors which could legitimately and justifiably give rise to the ownership of land by individuals remained a dormant one. But when the severity of the feudal system later gave birth to Socialist and Communist ideas, speculation as to the ethical and other bases of the principle of ownership of land began to take prominence. The advocates of Communism maintained that the most important sphere in which Communist principles applied was land. Land, they said, should never be regarded as the private property of any particular individual, and must be administered by the State as a trust for the benefit of all the members of the community. They argued that national economy was primarily based upon the agricultural products of land, other forms of economic production being complementary and not strictly indispensable. But land, they maintained, was the gift of God, and man played only a minor part in the process which led to the issue by the land of its products. This being so, the individual could not rightly reserve for his exclusive use or benefit the product of such land as may happen to be in his "ownership" or under his control, for that meant he would have been taking advantage of something which he did not earn by his labour and in the production of which he played no material part.

In my opinion, this reasoning is false. On the one hand, it is wrong to say that agricultural production is the only important aspect of the world's economy. Agriculture may have occupied such a high place in society at the very early stages of human progress; today, however, it is only one of the many important aspects of the economic wealth of the world. Again, it is wrong to say that man plays only an insignificant role in bringing about the produce of land; land on its own, however fertile its soil be, cannot bring forth satisfactory products without the wise handling of man. Man, therefore, is very instrumental in making the land productive.

In the West, owing to industrialism, the private ownership of land is not a pressing problem

In the Western world great strides have been made in the industrial field, with the result that agriculture has been relegated to the background and its power has comparatively waned. The West has succeeded in maintaining its lead over the East in the industrial sphere, and by means of this individual supremacy the West has sought to keep the East in a state of dependency upon it, if not from the political, at least from the economic point of view.

Nothing is thus to be found in the modern history of the industrial Western world to indicate that the question of the
ownership of agricultural land had assumed any practical significance, save in Russia where this question became of the greatest importance on the advent of Communism. Communism in Russia brought about a determined struggle between the landless masses of the people and the rich landowners over the question of the ownership of agricultural land and the right to exploit it: Communism preached that the ownership of all land should be vested in the State as a representative of the whole community, and not in private individuals. It advocated the abolition of all social classes or distinctions based on wealth, and urged that the economic wealth of the country—the products of the land, etc.—should be distributed amongst all the members of the community to a degree bearing a direct relation to the amount and value of the labour contributed to the country's economic wealth by the individuals concerned. In other words, Communism denied an economic benefit to those individuals who did not contribute any labour. Under Communism there could be no right to draw economic benefit by merely possessing the source or means of production, as, for example, by merely owning the land or capital, which, when human labour was applied to it, yielded economic benefit. Russia was at that time faced with a hostile attitude by the outside world and this, with the severely disturbed internal economic plight of the masses of its people, led the Communists to take very severe measures in order to do away with the private ownership of land. They had to say some six million people before they could rid the country of landowners.

The products of the *jizād* of the eminent jurists of old must, of course, be respected. But by no means should we be led into blind obedience of the opinions of earlier jurists. We must examine the provisions of the laws of Islam and proceed to apply, logically and with reference to the characteristic economic and other aspects of our time, the essential doctrines of the *Shari'a*. In this interpretation of the provisions of the *Shari'a* the spirit and guiding principles of these provisions must not be deviated from. All that should be done is to determine the new meaning which certain provisions of the *Shari'a* have acquired in reference to our modern times.

On these lines, I shall endeavour to discuss the provisions contained in the *Shari'a* of Islam on the subject of the ownership and exploitation of land.

Islam differs from Communism and Capitalism on the ownership of land

There is no doubt that Islam permits the private ownership of land. Communism, which dictates that the individual may not own or have exclusive control over any part of the means of production in the country, is, in this respect, alien to the spirit of the teachings of Islam. On the other hand, the capitalist economic system, which places no limit upon what the individual may own, runs contrary to Islam. The *Shari'a* of Islam has set some restrictions on the individual's right to own property. These are inspired by a desire to advance the welfare of the community as a whole and safeguard its interests from harm resulting from the abuse on the part of individuals of their right of ownership.

Islam permits the individual to own movable and immovable property, and, to a large extent, he is also allowed to behave in this respect in the manner which he considers best for the purpose of advancing his own interest and welfare. But Islam requires, however, that the individual should abstain from inflicting harm on the community as a whole. These two propositions — the individual's liberty of action and the desire to safeguard the interests of the community — come into conflict in some cases. There are no exhaustive provisions in the *Shari'a* indicating the application of these two doctrines, and as a result of this there have appeared in the past widely differing interpretations of these two doctrines. It is necessary for the purpose of discussing the subject of the exploitation of land to determine the exact nature of the freedom allowed to the individual in the exercise of his right of ownership, as well as the nature of the harm which Islam seeks to prevent the individual from inflicting on the community by the exercise of his right. This I shall proceed to outline. But first I shall discuss Islamic principles on the method of acquiring ownership of agricultural land and on the considerations necessary for retaining such ownership.

The Islamic principles on the means of acquiring ownership of land are not in essence very much different from those which have been accepted in civilized societies for many centuries now. First, ownership can be acquired only through honest media: a person who buys land with stolen money cannot acquire a legitimate right to such land. Another principle is that the acquisition of ownership and the entry into possession of land must be accomplished within the stipulations of the general law of the country. Thus, a person who purports to purchase land from one who is regarded by law as suffering from an incapacity restricting his right to enter into binding legal transactions (e.g., an infant or a lunatic) cannot acquire a right to the ownership of the land so purchased. In addition, the transaction must not be tainted with fraud or undue influence of the kind that negatives the consent or free will of either party to the transaction. These principles have been set at length in the various authoritative treatises on the *Shari'a* written by eminent Muslim
jurists of the past. There may appear to be disagreement amongst them on some minor points of detail, but they are all agreed on the essential principles and dicta.

In Islam private ownership of land is subject to the interests of the community

On the other hand, if the State considers that it should reserve for itself the ownership of some specific property — be it movable or immovable, and whether of the kind that is to be utilized for the purpose of production or consumption — then the ownership of such property cannot be acquired by the individual. This is one of the guiding principles of the Shari'ah, which decrees that the private interest of the individual should rank as secondary and subsidiary to that of the community as a whole. So, where the interest of the individual conflicts with that of the State, which represents the community as a whole, the individual must give way to the interests of the State. Following this principle, it may be asked whether it is permissible for an Islamic State to promulgate legislation whereby it can deprive any individual of the ownership of any property. The answer is in the affirmative, so long as the State in question is run on truly Islamic lines; for in that case it would not embark on any measure to dispossess the individual of his property unless that be truly necessary and desirable in the interests of the whole community. A precedent in this respect has been set by the Caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khattab during the Great Famine in 639 C.E.

The determination of the exact nature of the harm which the Islamic Shari'ah decrees should be avoided by the individual in the exercise of his rights of ownership over land and other property is somewhat difficult. An individual may acquire the ownership of property by legitimate means, i.e., pay the price with honest money and conclude the purchase transaction in an honest and legal manner; but he may thereafter neglect to exploit the land properly, despite the fact that the economic need of the community requires that such land be so exploited. It is clear in this case that the improper exploitation of the land by its owner inflicts hardship on the community. This hardship is recognized by Islam, and a remedy is sought for its alleviation. The individual's ownership of the land, and his insistence that this would justify him in refusing to exploit the land if he so desires, stands in the way of the alleviation of this hardship. The owner of land who is oblivious of the national need or is unable, for some reason or other, to exploit the land in the desirable manner, is a menace to the community. To perpetrate a state of want in the community is to inflict grave harm upon it; and the alleviation of this hardship seems to lie in depriving the individual in this case of his right of ownership. The principle of the Shari'ah which provides that the State may take any measures considered reasonably necessary in order to prevent the infliction of harm on the community, obviously justifies the State in dispossessing the individual of his right of ownership. This is my personal view in the matter. It is only one of the instances of the application of the principle that the State is endowed by the Shari'ah with power to take measures to prevent the infliction of harm upon the community. Another instance where this principle may be applied is where an individual acquires the ownership of a spring or stream the waters of which are needed by the community. Here the State must intervene to put an end to the ownership of the individual, for the water, which flows from a spring endowed by God, and which is badly needed by the community, should not be denied the community by the individual, nor should the community be left to the tender mercies of the individual in such a vital matter.

When, according to Islam, an owner of land offends against the interests of the community

There is no specific or exhaustive provision in the Shari'ah to indicate the nature of the "harm" which entitles the State to intervene and terminate the ownership of the individual; and for this reason it is possible to reach a conclusion only by examining the essential spirit of the teachings of Islam and the social system which it ordained. One of the most fundamental and characteristic of the attributes of the Islamic social system is the view that a community, however numerous its members be, is one self-contained unit. It is treated as an indivisible unit in every sense of the word. The individual is responsible to, and answerable for, the other members who form the community to which he belongs, while the community as a whole is likewise responsible for, and answerable to, the individual. A deep sense of loyalty and solidarity between the community and the individual is required by the teachings of Islam. This loyalty and responsibility is not confined to civil and worldly matters; it is spiritual as well as material, and includes matters of worship and commercial transactions. For example, where a person publicly disobeys God, any person has the right to request his punishment by the authorities. And where a person has given asylum to one in need of it, all other persons are bound to respect that asylum. Also, where a person is in a state of need or poverty, other persons who can relieve his property are bound to do so.

Islam requires the believers to work, and considers industriousness as a prerequisite of faith and righteousness. The lazy cannot be a true believer in Islam. Luxury, prodigality and voluntary idleness are combated as grave evils. The person who reaps a benefit from "capital" without applying personal labour and effort towards procuring such a benefit is not regarded in Islam as a productive or industrious person.

"Capital" can be defined as something collected by the individual originally as a result of his labour or effort. Islam permits the individual to draw the proceeds of such capital, so long as he applies labour for the purpose of undertaking a risk. The main principle on this subject is "no gain without the risk of loss". This being so, it is clear that the person who buys bonds or shares yielding a fixed interest is offending against the teachings of Islam and is engaged in usury. Islam by this principle discourages idleness and inactivity and encourages the circulation of wealth amongst the various members of the community. It also exhorts the individual to participate in increasing the productive powers of the community, and requires him to take a direct and active part in the country's economy. Let us take the case of a person who has purchased a plot of arable land with money he has saved through his labour, and then found that his circumstances did not permit him to undertake the exploitation of the land by himself. Can he in this case sell the land? In my opinion, the Shari'ah of Islam does not allow him to do so. The letting of land is akin to lending money; and in the same way that Islam forbids the lender of money to take an interest upon it from the borrower, so, in my opinion, it forbids the owner of the land to take a rent for letting it. The guiding principle in this is that Islam does not allow a person who has not contributed any labour or effort to take advantage of the labour and sweat of another. Only where a person has contributed his personal labour or has undertaken a risk can he legitimately claim any benefit in a transaction. Apart, however, from the system of hiring land for a rent being alien to the teachings of Islam, it is objectionable on social and practical grounds. The social history of the world shows that this practice of hiring land creates two distinct classes in the community — the "landed class" and the "landless peasants"; the former class, who are invariably a very small section of the community, lead a life of idleness and luxury, while the latter struggle desperately to eke out a bare existence.
The selfish desire of the landed class to perpetuate this state of affairs, and to suppress the peasants and continue to exploit them mercilessly, does not make for a happy community. Where one party contributes all the labour and effort, but reaps only a fraction of the benefit, while the other party, who does not contribute any labour reaps the major, or even any part of the benefit, Islam sees an injustice.

Islam thus permits the private ownership of land and other things of the gift of nature provided that the owner applies his labour and endeavour to the thing owned in order to bring about a benefit, directly or indirectly, to the community as a whole. In other words, Islam does not allow an individual to own any of the means of production so long as he is not able to exploit the property owned and make it bear fruit. Otherwise, the owner loses his right to the property, however honest and legitimate be the means through which he had originally acquired it; and the State may dispossess him of this property and proceed to utilize it for the common good.

Two aspects of the exploitation of land by arrangement between the landlord and the tenant

Let us now examine another aspect of the exploitation of land — where the owner of the land enters into an agreement with another person whereby the latter provides the seed and labour required to cultivate the land and allows the former a fixed portion of the harvest or a percentage of it in return for permitting him to cultivate the land. Such an arrangement, in my opinion, is not permissible in Islam. Where one party provides the land (which is considered capital) while the other provides the seed and the fertilizer (also capital) with which to sow the land as well as the labour required for the cultivation, it cannot be said that the Islamic principle of "no gain without the risk of loss" is satisfied, if the owner of the land is to share in the produce of the land. The owner of the land, by allowing the other party to cultivate it, does not incur any loss or risk of loss where the land is returned to him undiminished in value. The owner of land in this case would be drawing an advantage of the fact that he owned the capital, and would be sharing in the benefit accruing from the labour of another person — a thing that is not permitted in Islam. In such a transaction only the person who supplies the land, the seed and the manure can be said to be open to the risk of losing his capital and incurring a loss if the harvest were not to succeed owing to some natural causes. The owner of the land in such cases remains secure and safe from loss, irrespective of the outcome of the harvest. His land would always revert to him, undiminished in value, and sometimes even improved, as in those cases where the manure remains in the land and is not exhausted by the plants sown.

The risk of loss is only one-sided in such a transaction. It is an arrangement similar to that where a person lends another a sum of money with which to embark on a business venture, on the understanding that the borrower is to give the lender a share in his profits, but in any circumstances to return the money lent him if the venture fails.

Where, however, the arrangement between the owner of the land and the person who cultivates it is such that the owner of the land also provides the seed with which the land is to be sown, then the transaction is valid according to the Share'a of Islam, and the owner of the land may claim a share in the proceeds. What makes such an arrangement lawful in the Islamic view is the fact that the owner of the land, by providing the seed with which the land is to be sown, incurs the risk of a loss if the harvest were to fail. Where the harvest fails the owner of the land would lose his seed, while the other party would have lost his labour and the manure which he had provided. But the agreement to share the harvest must be a reasonable one and the share allotted to each party must be proportionate to the risk he would have suffered had there been a failure of the harvest. But where the owner of the land has only agreed to provide the manure, while the other party provides the seed and labour necessary for cultivating the land, the owner of the land cannot, in the majority of cases, claim a share in the harvest. The reason is that the owner of the land does not in this case stand any real risk of loss were the harvest to fail. The manure which he has provided stays in the soil and is not exhausted by the plants sown. It would, of course, be different if the plants sown had exhausted all the potency of the manure and rendered it useless for future use. In such a case the owner of the land would have incurred a loss by the failure of the harvest. Thus, where the value of the manure is comparatively great and the plants sown are of the kind that exhausts all the potency of the manure and render it of no value to the soil for future purposes, then the owner of the land can legitimately claim a share in the harvest.

Thus, only where there is a risk of a loss can a person who provides capital — as distinct from labour — claim a share in the outcome of a transaction. In short, we can say that in order that the owner of the land may legitimately share in the harvest he must undertake the risk of a loss. If, in the case of a failure of the harvest, his land and any other form of capital which he has provided would be returned to him undiminished and unaffected by the failure of the harvest, he cannot claim any share in the produce of the land. And in proportion to the loss that a party is likely to suffer, the size of his share is to be determined.

The share of the owner of the land in the crop must be in accordance with the proportion of his risk

We come now to the rules regulating the manner in which the harvest of the land is to be shared between the owner of the land and the person who provides the labour, in those cases where, as I have earlier indicated, there is an equality of risk between the two parties. The share of the owner of the land in the crop must be determined in accordance with the proportion which the risk of loss he has undertaken in the transaction bears to the total risk of loss undertaken by both the parties. He cannot claim any share simply by virtue of his having provided the land. It might be argued here that such an arrangement is unfair to an owner of land who has, before his entering into a transaction of this nature, invested money and labour in improving the soil and rendering it capable of producing a better crop in return for a smaller measure of labour on the part of the cultivator. The answer to this is that the owner of land in such a case does in fact reap a material benefit from his past labour in improving the soil. His past improvement of the land would result in a better harvest; and his share of this, although fixed in percentage, would be greater in amount. This is so also because the land in that case would require less labour to produce the harvest, and that means the owner's share of the harvest, which is determined in proportion to his contribution towards a smaller measure of common effort, would consequently rise vis-à-vis the other party. It must be remembered that however fertile the land be, labour is always essential to bring about a good harvest. The person who has provided the labour must take his just share of the proceeds of his labour; and the owner of the land, who has by his foresight utilized his capital and endangered it for the purpose of exploiting the land, must also take a just share.

(To be continued)
THE BATTLEFIELDS OF THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD

By Dr. M. HAMIDULLAH, Ph.D. (Bonn), D.Litt. (Paris)

Over a decade ago, a short paper was read by me at the Sorbonne in 1939 on Les champs de bataille au temps du Prophète, in which the maps of the battlefields of the time of the Prophet were explained and illustrated by lantern slides. It was later printed in the Revue des Islamiques, and reprinted. An enlarged Urdu edition was published in the Research Journal of the Osmania University, Hyderabad, Deccan, India. The last (third) revised Urdu version came out in 1943, and is rich in maps, sketches and photographic illustrations.

Since then I have had the good fortune of visiting again the sites under description. This, coupled with further reading, has caused a number of corrections and additions, especially in the Siege of Khandaq. The opportunity of the first English edition is utilized to incorporate all the latest data available. I have not yet abandoned the hope of some day being able to visit the region of Khairabad, the site of a famous battle of the time of the Prophet Muhammad, and fill up this important lacuna in the present description. However, I must not miss the opportunity of expressing my gratefulness to the famous American engineer and traveller, Mr. K. S. Twitcheall, who has kindly prepared for me a sketch map of the terrain of Khairabad from memory of his visit to the locality in 1942, and has also otherwise been helpful to me in this connection.

M. H.

"The Prophet's 'empire', which commenced with a few streets of a small City-State, expanded at the average rate of 274 square miles daily; and after ten years of political activity, when he breathed his last, he was ruling over a million square miles. This area, as big as Europe minus Russia, and inhabited certainly by millions of people at that time, was conquered at a cost of barely 150 men killed on the battlefields on the enemy side. Loss of Muslims was at the rate of one martyr a month for a period of ten years at an average. This respect of human blood is unequalled in the annals of man. Moreover, the firmness of occupation, the mental transformation of the conquered and their complete assimilation, and the production of such trained officers who in a bare fifteen years after the death of the leader delivered millions of square miles from belaam omnium contra omnes to enjoy the pax Islamica and to be ruled from Medina in three continents — these and similar phenomena arouse in us an intense curiosity to study the wars of the time of the Prophet. These wars of the Prophet had nothing in common, except the name, with our mundane wars, and we see in his wars the truth of his own saying: 'I am the Prophet of Battle, I am the Prophet of Mercy'

Preliminary remarks

During the past few decades, methods and principles of warfare have changed, due to the phenomenal development of science, to such an extent that ancient campaigns, however epoch-making in their own time, now look like child's play. It is no more too much for the so-called Big Powers to mobilize nowadays by a single stroke of the pen armies of millions on either side. Armament has so greatly been transformed that the top secret deadly engines of our own younger days are more useful in museums than on the field of actual battle. On the administration side, the means of communication, information and transportation have undergone such a change in power, number and speed, that the work, which formerly took months, is now accomplished in hours or even minutes.

The layman might therefore be thinking that the description of the wars of yore, however important or captivating to an historian, had no practical military value in the changed circumstances. But no, the recruits and cadets, in Britain for instance, are still taught in their very first lesson that:

"It must be understood by all officers that the most important part of their individual training is the work they do by themselves. . . . Military history must unquestionably have the most important place in such study as being the best means of learning the true meaning of the principles of war and their application, and of studying the preponderating part which human nature plays in all operations.

. . . Military history, as already stated, is of great importance in the instruction of officers. It is for this reason that a special campaign, or a special period of a campaign, is selected every year for general study during the individual training season.

"In the study of military history the object should be to derive from the records of the past campaigns lessons applicable to the present. To read with a view to acquiring merely knowledge of historical events is of little value. The size of modern armies and their approved armaments and means of communication render many lessons of the past inapplicable to the present. But human nature and the underlying principles of war do not change, and it is for this reason that valuable lessons can be learned from EVEN THE MOST ANCIENT CAMPAIGNS" (War Office Training Regulations, pp. 23ff. London 1934).

The importance of the battles of the Prophet Muhammad to a military tactician

It is obvious that full use of the study of ancient campaigns can be made only when it is carefully scrutinized and when we find out how the commanders applied the principles and what were the results. The battles fought by Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam (peace be upon him!), are characteristic of the man, conspicuous, head and shoulders above many others, past or present. He had fought the enemy, often three times, and on some occasions even ten times, the number he could himself deploy, and he was practically always victorious. Again, his "empire", which commenced with a few streets of a small City-State, expanded at the average rate of 274 square miles daily;
and after ten years of political activity, when he breathed his last, he was ruling over a million square miles. This area, as big as Europe minus Russia, and inhabited certainly by millions of people at that time, was conquered at a cost of barely 150 men killed on the battlefields on the enemy side. Loss of Muslims was at the rate of one martyr a month for a period of ten years at an average. This respect of human blood is unequaled in the annals of man. Moreover, the firmness of occupation, the mental transformation of the conquered and their complete assimilation, and the production of such trained officers who in a bare fifteen years after the death of the leader delivered millions of square miles from bellam omnium contra omnes to enjoy the pax Islamica and to be ruled from Medina in three continents — these and similar other phenomena arouse in us an intense curiosity to study the wars of the time of the Prophet. These wars of the Prophet had nothing in common, except the name, with our mundane wars, and we see in his wars the truth of his own saying: "I am the Prophet of Battle, I am the Prophet of Mercy." Difficulties of the task of writing on the battlefields of the Prophet

The task, however, is not easy. Every civilized language of the world, besides the original source, Arabic, has produced more or less lengthy biographies of the man stylized by the Qur'an as "A Mercy unto all nations", friendly as well as hostile. There is no dearth of data on his wars. Still, I have so far neither read nor heard anything about the description of his wars, not from the point of view of history but from that of military science. To write on the wars of 1,500 odd years ago requires a knowledge of historical data as well as of military training. I am not a student of history, and have not had the good fortune of leading an army life, rejected as I was on physical grounds on my candidature for cadetship in the army. Yet it would be sheer waste of time to wait and pray for the coming of a qualified person combining both the capacities and being disposed to undertake the task. The data I have so far collected by reading and by thrice visiting the sites concerned is diffidently published here, not for the benefit of others but for inciting the interest, through a non-professional challenge, of those who could revise the data and could better the conclusions.

GENERAL SURVEY

The rebuff of the Meccans and Ta'ifans to the efforts of the Prophet Muhammad at preaching the unity of God

It is commonly known that the Prophet of Islam began to preach his teachings of the unity of God in the city of Mecca from the year 13 A.H. — 610 C.E., for which he said he was called on by a Divine Revelation received in the cave of Hira. This call was, on the one hand, against a prevalent hereditary belief in idolatry, and on the other hand, to accept it meant the acceptance of its teacher as the leader. As this latter signified the transfer of chiefship to a junior family, not only others but even the elder relatives of the Prophet Muhammad himself, of the family of the Banu Hashim, resented it vehemently. When the senior family in the city took to active opposition, the commonalty were forced, as everywhere, to do likewise even as grass and husk in the face of a strong wind.

The Prophet had concentrated all his time, effort and resources to the one object of furthering the reform movement. Yet in spite of the passing of eight to ten years, even the small town — as Mecca, her birthplace, was then — could not be rallied: on the contrary, the very life of the preacher fell into danger, so vehement was the opposition. His affectionate wife, Khadijah, and his uncle and protector, Abu Talib, both died about the same time, and this double loss brought great and unexpected difficulties. For the new head of the clan, his uncle Abu Lahab, who was antagonistic to the movement from the very beginning, began to reprimand him, and finally excommunicated and outlawed him. Muhammad had to leave the town and seek new protectors. The family of his maternal uncles, the Banu 'Abd Yalil (cf. Abu Nu'aim, al-Muntaha, § 20, my own MS.), lived in Ta'if. His younger uncle and intimate friend, 'Abbas, had considerable influence there on account of his banking and business, as Ibn Hisham assures us. Moreover, it is not very far from Mecca, the distance being about 50 miles. I myself started in 1939 on a donkey at 5 o'clock in the afternoon and reached the base of Mount Karbala by midnight, and, resuming the uphill journey early next morning, reached Ta'if before midday. Camels, which follow the route of Ta'irnannah, take two days to arrive. The new motor route is a bit longer, about 70 miles, and

1 This excludes the application of the law of the Bible on the Jews of Banu Quraish, at the award of the arbitrator of their own choice, after their surrender.

2 That is, Europe, Asia and Africa. According to Tabary (Annales, Vol. I, p. 2817), it was in the year 27 A.H., under the third Orthodox Caliph, 'Uthman, that the Muslim armies entered Andalus (Spain), and stayed there even when reinforcements discontinued, and they were cut off from all help from the home country. Ta'if did not land on Gibraltar until 65 years later. Gibbon (Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Vo. V, p. 555), too, has a vague idea of the fact.

3 For the politico-social life in that city at that time, cf. article "City State of Mecca" in the quarterly, Islamic Culture, Hyderabad-Deccan, India, 1938.

4 Page 273. References to this book are from the European edition.
the post van conveyed me back to Mecca in about four hours, with all its halted. In fact Ta’if, which had the same attraction for Meccans, even in those days, as hill stations in Eastern summers have for us, attracted the Prophet Muhammad for entirely different reasons. He travelled there accompanied by a freed-slave and family servant of his, Zaid Ibn Harithah, and had, if not very high hopes, at least a chance worth trying. Yet the relatives there proved worse than strangers. Ta’if was more materialistic than Mecca. Mecca was the sole market for the products of Ta’if, and during the hot seasons it benefited from the tourist traffic of rich Meccans, who frequented that hill station every year. Hence, perhaps, it could not afford to irritate or displease Mecca. Moreover, in preaching the religion of the unity of God, a messenger of His had in Ta’if also the same handicap as in Mecca: the local potentates saw therein a direct threat to their own power and prestige. The Prophet implored his maternal uncles there, though in vain, that they at least should not divulge the news of the mission on which he had come.

Ta’if even today preserves the gardens and other sites connected with the memorable visit of the Prophet Muhammad; the garden where he took refuge from mischievous street boys who chased and stoned him relentlessly, until both he and his servant bled with wounds. It is said the kind-hearted proprietor of the garden gave him shelter and feasted him with a bunch of grapes at the hand of a Christian slave of his, ‘Addas by name. These gardens and farms are nowadays outside the walled town, in a south-west direction, along the river bed of the valley of Wajj. In 1939, the sites were commemorated by means of tiny mosques, now mostly in need of repair.

People assembled at the annual fairs held near Mecca turn a cold shoulder to the preaching of the Prophet Muhammad

The journey to Ta’if proved so utterly futile that it seemed preferable to the Prophet Muhammad to return to Mecca even though he was outlawed there. Reaching the outskirts of the city, he made several attempts to acquire the protection of some local non-Muslim personality. Ordinarily, no Arab would ever refuse such a request from anybody, even at the peril of his own life, yet the circumstances demanded an extraordinarily noble character to acquiesce in this respect. In the third attempt at last he succeeded, and Mu‘am Ibn ‘Adiy and his sons escorted him safely first to the shrine of the K’a’bah, where he performed his prayer-service, and then to his house (Ibn Histam, p. 273).5 Apparently he had to promise in return that he would no more preach publicly in Mecca. A decade had now passed over his mission.

There was no restriction on his activity outside the town. The pre-Islamic institution of pilgrimage was there, as also the annual fairs of ‘Ukaz, Majannah, ‘Dhu-l-Majaz, etc., none very far from Mecca. The assembly of pilgrims in Mina, about two to three miles east of Mecca, was an open, though none the less difficult, field of action. So a few months after his return from Ta’if we find the Prophet Muhammad in the month of Dhu ‘l-Hijjah anno 3 A.H., presenting himself, in succession, to as many as fifteen different contingents of pilgrims, coming from the four corners of Arabia (cf. Ibn Histam, pp. 282-3; Ibn Sā‘īd, 11, 145; Abu ‘Uwām, Al-Mu’taqa, folio 103-157, my MS). He, on the one hand, explained to them the principles and objects of his mission, and on the other requested them to accord him their protection and take him to their country whereverfrom to continue his activities. He assured them finally that very soon the treasures of the Caesars and the Chosroes would be laid at the feet of those who followed him (Ibn Histam, p. 278). It sounded all so ridiculous to them at that time. If one cut a sarcastic joke, another rebuked him outright, while yet another politely excused himself, saying that his people dared not court hostility to the Quraishite Meccans. What perseverance he had; one after another, he tried fifteen groups. Every time a Quraishite fanatic followed him and warned every tribal group of the futility of listening to a “lunatic sorcerer”, who at the same time brought a challenge to the Meccans (Ibn Histam, p. 282).

The site of ‘Aqabah and the Pact of ‘Aqabah

Near the plain of Mina, there is on both sides of the road from Mecca a chain of hills rising like a continuous wall. When going from Mecca, just a furlong before crossing into Mina, there is in this mountainous wall a curve on the left side of the traveller, a curve in the form of an arch or a semi-circle, big enough to contain the Juma’ Masjid of Delhi or St. Paul’s of London. This place is called ‘Aqabah — originally and more correctly "Near the ‘Aqabah", since ‘Aqabah literally means a mountain pass, an uphill passage between two parallel mountains, and early historians called it ‘Ind al-‘Aqabah.

Inside the curve of ‘Aqabah there is actually a big well, and agriculture thrives. The place where the Pact of ‘Aqabah was concluded by the Prophet Muhammad is commemorated from ancient times by a mosque of medium size. That this is very old may be deduced from the fact that it preserves several inscriptions in Kufic. It had no roof even when I visited it last in 1947, only the four walls standing. The mosque is now called by the local people the Masjid al-Aṣbāb (the Mosque of the Ten). There is, however, no doubt whatsoever that this is the mosque of the Pact of ‘Aqabah, for the famous expert of the history of Mecca, Taqi al-Din al-Fasayi, in the third edition of his history of the holy city, Tabīl al-Maram fi Akhbar al-Balad al-haram (MS. Qariyvīyyin, Fes), writes:

“And the mosque of the Pact... This mosque lies close to the mountain pass (‘Aqabah) of Mina: between it, i.e., the mosque and the ‘Aqabah, there is a stone’s throw or slightly more. It is on the left of one going (from Mecca) towards Mina. It was constructed in the year 144, and again in 629 by the Abbāsid Caliph al-Mustansir, the former being constructed by al-Mansūr.”

In short, this ‘Aqabah curve is so big that twenty to fifty people can gather there without being noticed by passers-by. It was here that the Prophet Muhammad met five or six people from Medina. It is not clear whether they had camped there or had merely come there when Muhammad met them and addressed them to his message. This party heard the call of Islam and the Unity of God with interest, and unlike others, found it worthwhile to accept it and co-operate with the Prophet (Ibn Histam, p. 286f).

What was the reason for their sympathetic bent and mental difference from other Arabs? They were Medinities of the tribe of the Khazraj, to which the mother of the Prophet belonged (Ibn Histam, p. 107), and she had paid a visit to them even when Muhammad, our Prophet, was a young boy, and she had stayed there long enough to enable the boy to learn “good swimming in the spacious well of the Banu al-Najjar” (Sīrah Shḏ ‘umiyah). Again, ‘Abbas, the younger uncle of the Prophet, too, used to pass several days in Medina with this tribe every time he went to Syria or returned from there, in connection with his commerce (Ibn Histam, p. 294), thus keeping the relationship alive. Moreover, these Medinities had relations of alliance with some of their local Jewish tribes and those of hostility with some others; and hence they must constantly have heard that the Jews awaited the arrival of a Prophet regarding whom the Jews asserted they...
would follow him and subdue under his leadership all their enemies (Ibn Hisham, p. 286). Why not follow the same promised prophet and steal a prior right to honours and victories? When 'Abd al-Muttalib, grandfather of the Prophet, and Naufal, the former's uncle, had provoked between themselves a serious quarrel in Mecca, the Khazrajites of Medina had rushed military aid in favour of 'Abd al-Muttalib (Tabari, Hist., p. 1084-86). Possibly, the Khazrajites now expected the help of the clan of the Prophet Muhammad against their cousins and erstwhile enemies, the Awsites of Medina.

Whatever the original reasons, the grace of God guided them, and their own reason and mental abilities prompted them to embrace Islam forthwith.

The feuds of the Arab tribes of Medina, the Awsites and the Khazrajites, had been responsible for much bloodshed for generations past. Both were exhausted now, and the saner members of either were prepared to end the hostilities and settle their relations at any cost (Ibn Hisham, p. 287). In view of their mutual jealousies and rivalries and amour propre, a non-Medinite, as a neutral, had obviously a greater chance of rallying them both and becoming the common superior and chief in.

**Islam begins to spread and the foundation stone of Islamic polity is laid**

When the six converted Khazrajites returned home to Medina, and propagated their new faith, a number of others were soon persuaded to do likewise. The following year, during the same Hajj season, a dozen people, representing both the Awsites and the Khazrajites, including five persons of the previous year, met the Prophet Muhammad in the same 'Aqabah of Mina during the moonlit nights of the Hajj, offering their allegiance as well as that of their families. The Prophet enjoined on them belief in the absolute Unity of God, moral uprightness and obedience to the Prophet in every good act (Mafruf) (Ibn Hisham, pp. 289, 305; Ibn Hanbal,* III, p. 441).

The Prophet Muhammad thus became, by a sort of social contract, the chief and commander of at least twelve Medinite families. And at their own request, ordered a Muslim teacher from Mecca to accompany them and supervise missionary activity in Medina as well as teaching and training converts in the details of the religious practices of their new faith. (Ibn Hisham, p. 289). The missionary not only succeeded in a large measure, but also his tact and devotion to the cause cleared the way for the whole-hearted collaboration of the converts amongst each other, even from the factional groups of Aws and Khazraj, under the banner of Islam.

One more year passed, and in the year 1 B.H. the Medinite contingent of about 500 pilgrims included 73 Muslims, men as well as women. They had come, along with their teacher, personally to offer their homage to their beloved Prophet and to invite him to migrate to their oasis. Islam was still the religion of the minority among the Medinites, and the majority of the Medinite contingent of pilgrims had come to seek a military alliance with the general Quraishites of Mecca. It was late in the moonlight night when the Muslims of Medina slipped quietly one after another to assemble together in the same holy 'Aqabah. The Prophet also appeared there at the appointed hour, accompanied by his uncle, the worldly-wise 'Abbas. The Prophet explained to them what his mission stood for, and they in their turn proclaimed their belief in, and testified to the truth of, his mission. After that they invited him and his Meccan disciples (Tafsir of Tabari, IX, p. 165) to migrate to Medina, assuring him that if he did so, "We shall protect you even as we protect our own families," and when war was told them that it might mean war with the whole world, they still continued firmly to stick to their resolve and protested that they would never go back on their pledge. The Prophet individually shook hands with them in pact, and said: "From now on I too belong to you: (your) blood is (my) blood and (your) remission is (my) remission" (Ibn Hisham, p. 297). Then he asked them to select their tribal chiefs, and approved the twelve names proposed by them for the twelve tribes (cf. op. cit. Ibn Sada).

This was the famous Pact of 'Aqabah which definitely laid the foundation stone of an Islamic polity, with men, territory and organization. Obviously, when the Quraish came to know of this pact, they resented it vehemently, and considered it a direct challenge to themselves and a league against them. The non-Muslim Medinite pilgrims, who did not know what had happened, tried to reassure them and denied all existence of a pact.

**The growing strength of Islam irritates the Quraish of Mecca**

The irritation of the Quraishites was daily to increase when the Meccan Muslims secretly or openly began to migrate from their birthplace, and escape from the clutches of the Quraishite persecution.

The period of the Truce of God (Akhbar durum) was apparently utilized by the Meccan Muslims for quitting their homes and hearths un molested. The Quraish took a very serious view of the migration of the Muslim population from Mecca and their concentration in Medina on the trade arcuy of the Quraishites, in spite of the fact that many members of the very family of the Prophet were staunch "Meccans", and would not leave the town; on the contrary, they held important positions in city councils, such as 'Abbas, who was the head of the sacred well of Zamzam, and Abu Lahab, who was the worst enemy of Islam. So the Quraishites hatched a dangerous conspiracy against the life of the Prophet Muhammad. Obviously this was the end of all peace or tolerance, and an unconcealed act of war against Islamdom (Ibn Hisham, p. 323ff).

The Prophet managed to leave his house while it was actually besieged by those who had come with the avowed intention of murdering him when he came out (Ibn Hisham, p. 323ff), left the township of Mecca, spent a couple of days in the cave of Thawr, until agitation subsided in the city, and finally set out for Medina early in the month of Rabi' I, by a route not commonly used, and reached his destination in about twelve nights' journey. The news of his "disappearance" had preceded him to Medina, and naturally people guessed his destination. After several days of anxious expectancy and disappointments, the people of Quba, a village south of Medina, espied one day from afar a small caravan of two camels lying in the hot sun towards their township. They were not wrong this time, and the Prophet Muhammad, a slave servant of his, and Abu Bakr, were led by a hired guide. Words fail to describe the stir and joyous enthusiasm of the population at the arrival of the Prophet of God, and supreme head of their religion and their polity. Men and women, young and old, all put on their best attire and took their weapons and clustered on a prominent mound which is still commemorated as Thaniya al-Walid, on the southern side of the city of Medina, in order to gaze down on him and receive him with a welcome unsurpassed in sincerity by any in human history. The girls chanted along with boys, beating tambourines and singing the following song of welcome:

"The full moon has risen upon us From the Farewell-Hills. Thanks are incumbent upon us So long as a praying person prays to God. O thou, who hast been provoked among us, Thou hast brought a command which shall be obeyed."

6 References are to the first edition.

14 THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
Some Arab historians mention that while on his way to Medina the Prophet received Buraiah al-Aslamiy, along with several dozen of the latter’s comrades, and that they escorted him with flowing banners and served him as a bodyguard (Sirah Shafi’iyyah). Curiously enough, there is no mention of them at the time of the arrival of the Prophet in Qubaa, as we have seen, in the outskirts of Medina. The Prophet must have permitted them to return after a few hours’ journey in his company.

The Quraishites in Mecca were naturally very much annoyed at his successful escape, and as an immediate reaction confiscated the landed and other properties left behind by the Prophet and other emigrants (Bukhari, 64: 84, No. 3; Ibn Hisham, pp. 321-22, 359; Mabsut of Sarakhyi Vol. X, p. 52). The persecution of the few poor Muslims still remaining in Mecca was intensified.

The Prophet Muhammad’s solution of the refugee problem. Some details of the first written constitution of a State in the world

The tough time of real action was now beginning.

First, the Prophet caused a fraternization between Meccan refugees and the well-to-do Medinite Ansars of the tribes of Aws and Khazaaj (Ibn Hisham, p. 344). This solved the problem of how to rehabilitate the uprooted. The principle of the fraternization was that the two contractual brothers should enjoy the property jointly, and the profit of the labors of both should also go to the common funds. So much so, that they inherited from each other to the exclusion of other customary kinsmen (Tafir of Tabari, under the Qur’anic verse 8: 75). The Government, too, took notice of the fact, and was careful to enlist only one of the two contractual brothers while selecting volunteers to send on official expeditions, the other remaining at home and taking care of both families.

Thereafter the rights and duties of the ruler and the ruled were promulgated in a precise document, which constituted a federal City-State in the plain (jauf) of Medina, and dealt with social insurance, administration of justice, foreign relations, defence and several other matters of central administration, including the detail of final authority resting with the Prophet Muhammad in case of disputes between individuals (Ibn Hisham, pp. 341-44; Abu Ubaid, Kitab Al-Awsal, § 517; The Islamic Review, Woking, 1941, August to November). This was followed by a treaty or instrument of accession to the City-State so constituted on the part of the Jewish tribes inhabiting Medina. This treaty with the Jews dealt particularly with questions of military and political significance, and the Jews were also persuaded to acknowledge Muhammad (may peace abide with him!) as their supreme chief and common superior, as has been explicitly mentioned in the document. Like the Arabs of Medina, the Jews, too, were there split into warring factions, and the neutral personality of a third entity, who could administer impartial justice and restore peace and order in the city, was obviously not unwelcome to any of them. The treaty with the Jews and the regulation of the Medinite Muslims all were incorporated into a single Sabifab which in the words of Wellhausen (Gemeindeordnung von Medina) constituted a polity in the anarchic city. Fortunately, this document, the first written constitution of a State in the world, has been preserved verbatim and in toto by historians and has come down to us intact. This constitution endowed the conglomerate of Medina with a Haram, a sacred territory, a preserve, a political entity with definite territory, and a City-State with a constitution elastic enough to serve later greater needs when the city became a metropolis of a vast empire embracing the whole of Arabia in the very lifetime of the Prophet.

The meaning of the word Haram

The term Haram requires, perhaps, some elucidation. It has a significance half-religious and half-political. We come across it in pre-Islamic days not only in different parts of Arabia but also in Palestine, Greece and elsewhere. From the religious point of view, it signified that everything within its limits should be considered sacred: birds and beasts should not be hunted there; trees should not be hewn down; bloodshed should not be allowed; and the people coming there should on no account be molested in this general refuge, even if they were criminals sought after. Politically, Haram meant the determination of the territorial limits of the City-State. (I have contributed a separate monograph on the City-State of Mecca, detailing its political system in the Days of Ignorance, in the quarterly, Islamic Culture, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1938.) The pillars erected to delimit the Haram of Mecca are said to date from the days of Abraham (peace be with him!). Anyhow, they existed in pre-Islamic days. On the conquest of Mecca, in the year 8 A.H., the

A view of Mount Thaur, in which the Prophet Muhammad and his companion, Abu Bakr, hid themselves for a couple of days before setting out for Medina. It is stated that when the trackers reached the mouth of the cave they found it covered with a spider-web. They could not believe that under the circumstance somebody could be inside. They gave up the hunt
Prophet Muhammad renovated these constructions (cf. Mi'rat al-Haramain, Vol. I, in loco). Ever since they have been repaired whenever necessity arose.

In the constitution of the City-State of Medina, under review, Medina too has been declared a Haram. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that when Ta'if capitulated in 9 A.H., that city was also recognized as a Haram, as has been expressly mentioned in the pact concluded between the Prophet and the people of Ta'if (cf. Abu 'Ubaid, Kitab al-Amwal, § 506), and a special proclamation on the part of the Prophet Muhammad provided sanctions against its violation (for texts of both my Documents sur la Diplomatie Musulmane, Nos. 160, 161; also Kanz al-Umara, Vol. II, No. 2132).

Had demarcating pillars been erected around Medina also? Al-Bukhari precisely only this, that the Prophet Muhammad sent a companion of his to erect such pillars on the limits of the city of Medina. General histories and books of Hadith refer to it by saying that the Haram of Medina was between the two Lababs or Harrabs, or else, between Thawr and 'Air. Now, Labab is an old Arabic word for lava, or even for the plain strewn with volcanic lava. Harrab, on the other hand, means the earth or stones burnt with the heat of the lava spreading around. There are two such plains, extending north-southwise, and the city of Medina is situated in between. Thus they call it Eastern and Western Labah or Harrab, indiscriminately. Thawr is a small mount in the north of the city, west of Mount Uhud, and 'Air is a bigger mountain in the south of the city.

Al-Matari, who died in the middle of the 8th century A.H., has written an important history of the city of Medina, al-Ta'rif bi ma ansat al-Hijrah min Madinat dar al-Hijrah (MS the Shaikh al-Islam Library, Medina), which is constantly referred to by all later authors. He gives greater details, as under:

"It is reported by Ka'b Ibn Malik, who said: 'The Prophet sent me to erect pillars on the prominences of the sacred territory (Haram) of Medina. So, I erected pillars on the prominences of Dhat al-Jaish, on Mushairib, on the prominences of Makheed, on al-Hufayya, on Dhu l-'Ushairah, and on Taim."

"As to Dhat al-Jaish, it is the mountain path of the hill al-Hufayya, on the Mecca-Medina road. As to Mushairib, it is the mountain to the left of Dhat al-Jaish; between it and Khalaliq lies al-Dab'ah. As to the prominence of Makheed, the mountains of Makheed are on the road to Syria. As to al-Hufayya, it is in al-Ghabah (the forest) north of Medina. As to Dhu l-'Ushairah, it is a mountain path in al-Hufayya, and as to Taim, it is a mountain to the east of Medina."

"All this seems to be a day's journey in length and as much in breadth."

"Dhat al-Jaish is in the midst of al-Baida, and al-Baida is the place which faces the pilgrims, who after putting on the pilgrimage-dress (ihram) from Dhu l-Hulaifah, ascends westwards."

The learned traveller of Medina, and librarian of the Shaikh al-Islam Library there, Ibrahim Hamdi Kharpootli, told me in 1959 that the ruins of these pillars were still to be found to the east of Medina, and rise about a foot and a half from the ground. As their renovation after the time of the Prophet is never mentioned, these ruins seem to belong to the sacred construction of the holy time of the Prophet Muhammad.

The founding of the City-State of Medina by the Prophet Muhammad

After this digression, we revert to the main theme. The first act of the Prophet Muhammad after the migration was to found the bases of a City-State in Medina. As soon as his hands were free, he bestowed his attention on the surrounding territories. A glance at the map of Arabia will show that if the Meccans wanted to go to Syria or Egypt, they had to pass along the coast near Medina. If the tribes inhabiting the territory between Medina and the port of Yanbu' could be rallied, the artery of the Meccan caravan communication could easily be rendered dangerous to use, if not actually barred. These tribes may or may not have been allies of the pre-Islamic Arabs (Ansars) of Medina. Anyhow, the Prophet either contracted new pacts, or revived old ones, with several of these tribes, and included therein articles for military aid (cf. for texts my Documents sur la Diplomatie Musulmane, Nos. 140-145).

Several months passed in organization and preparation. Thereafter small detachments began to be sent from Medina to harass Quraishite caravans (Ibn Sād, 2/1, pp. 2-7), and to bring home to them that to traverse the territory under Islamic influence, it would be necessary for them to get the good grace of the ruler of Medina, the Prophet Muhammad. The immediate reaction to this on the part of the Quraish was to force the route open. The struggle took the form of several bloody battles. It is an aspect of these very battles, that is, the fields where they were fought, which is our theme in the following articles.

(To be continued)

JESUS IN "HEAVEN ON EARTH"
by al-HAJJ KHWAJA NAZIR AHMAD, Barrister-at-Law
ROYAL 8vo. 500 pp.
Rs. 12/- in Pakistan Post Free
£1-0-0 or its equivalent in all other countries, post free

The author attempts to unravel the mystery surrounding the last days of Jesus of Nazareth. He bases his conclusions on well-founded authentic documentation. He covers a field hitherto unexplored by scholars for various and obvious reasons.

Published by:
THE WOKING MUSLIM MISSION AND LITERARY TRUST
THE SHAH JEHN MOSQUE + WOKING + ENGLAND

and

THE WOKING MUSLIM MISSION AND LITERARY TRUST
AZEEM MANZIL + BRANDRETH RD. + LAHORE + PAKISTAN

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
SA'UDI ARABIA

THE SAFEST LAND ON EARTH

By al-Haji Dr. GEORGE KHEIRALLAH

"Trials are never protracted, perjury has been found to have unpleasant consequences, and no welcome has been proffered to criminal lawyers performing emotional acrobatics. Simply and directly the judges arrive at the truth and deal with the issue.

"Is the system effective? Well, no country on earth can boast of the safety of person and property that exists in Sa'udi Arabia today. Caravans travel the length and breadth of the land in peace and perfect security, praising God and praying for long life for 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Sa'ud."

Lawlessness in Arabia before the days of King Ibn Sa'ud

It was early in the days of Ibn Sa'ud's rule, and not all of his people had learned that crime was no longer something to be accepted or winked at. Some of them did not believe that the new ruler was really serious.

A poor barber from India was travelling on foot between Jiddah and Medina on his pilgrimage. He was carrying a cheap, shiny valise, containing his personal belongings and the tools of his trade. Near the end of his journey he lay down in the shade of a scrub tamarisk and fell asleep. Soon after a Bedouin happened along and was attracted by the shiny kit. He crept up to the poor barber, clouted him with his staff, and scampered away with his loot, leaving the victim unconscious and bleeding from a deep cut in his head. Hours later he revived, and ultimately a passing caravan picked him up and took him on to Medina.

The report quickly reached Ibn Sa'ud, and his action was swift. He had all the Bedouin chieftains between Jiddah and Medina brought in and jailed. A month later he called them before him and ordered each of them to send for his son to take his place in jail while they returned to their districts to find the thief. The order — none of the sons was to be released until the thief was caught. And what happened? Let there be no doubt — the thief was caught.

This was a sharp contrast with those other days when lawlessness was commonplace in Arabia, and was the especial shame of the Holy Land of the Hedjaz. The Turks and the Sheriffs, the hereditary rulers of the Hedjaz, made only feeble efforts to root out the evil, and sometimes tacitly acquiesced if their agents did not actually share the spoils.

Consequently pilgrims who had already braved the piracy of the seas and the banditry of land travel in order to reach the Hedjaz, found themselves exposed to robbery and assault after they arrived. The Bedouins got to the point where they looked forward to the period of the pilgrimage as a sort of annual hunting season — a kind of sport and special privilege. Had it not been for the pilgrims' great and all-pervading faith, they would assuredly have abandoned this great and sacred institution.

How law rules in Arabia today

Those days have vanished. 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Sa'ud has made all roads safe — and all communities as well. All districts are apportioned under the authority of the chieftains, who are held strictly accountable to the Amir of the district. The writer had the privilege of participating in the pilgrimage of 1948 and saw eloquent evidence of the new order.

Several, wealthy Indian potentates took part in the 1948 pilgrimage, and all of them carried small sacks of gold sovereigns to give as alms. In fact every pilgrim, no matter how poor he may be, comes to the Hedjaz carrying gifts of money, scraped together by himself and by his neighbours, to distribute in charity among the poor of the holy cities.

It is estimated that more than 300,000 persons attended the 1948 pilgrimage, yet not a purse was snatched nor an article stolen. Money changers in the open market left their stands to pray, and returned in the confident knowledge that nothing had been taken.

Is there any other land where this could be duplicated? And is it any wonder that the lawfulness that he has established has endeared Ibn Sa'ud to the four hundred million Muslims?

Those who are familiar with the rise to power of Ibn Sa'ud would remember that the two principal law enforcers for Ibn Sa'ud were 'Abdullah Ibn Jalewi and 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn

---

Footnote: 1 This is taken from Arabia Reborn, by Dr. G. Kheirallah. The book is being published by the University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, New Mexico, U.S.A.
Ibrahim. Indeed, Ibn Jalewi was the right hand of Ibn Sa‘ud from the earliest days. It will be recalled that he and his two brothers were by the side of the king-to-be when he slipped through the darkness into Riyadh on that historic night of 15th January 1902. It was ‘Abdullah who accompanied his leader into the chamber of A‘lan, and he again who braved the fire of the garrison to storm into the citadel and kill A‘lan.

It was ‘Abdullah whose exploits made him the natural choice to govern the then lawless province of al-Hasa after its capture from the Turks, and he who was given the rugged task of taming the ‘Ujman and the wild Banu Murrah. Many are the tales of his severity, but none can deny that he brought lawfulness, peace and security where none existed before.

**How justice is dealt out in Arabia today**

The Sheikh Hafiz Wahba, Sa‘udi ambassador at the Court of St. James’s, told how in 1916 a peasant of al-Hasa complained to Ibn Jalewi that one of the Amir’s servants had beaten him and his sons. The Amir ordered a roundup of all the servants in order that the accuser might identify his attacker. He could not do so.

It then occurred to the Amir that one of his own sons might have committed the abuse, and he thereupon ordered his sons brought before him. Promptly the peasant pointed to the guilty one. Then when he realized that this was the son of the Amir he withdrew his complaint and apologized, saying that he had not known the true identity of the one he had identified.

‘Abdullah reprimanded him, saying, “If we are not an example of justice, how can we expect the people to respect the law? In the past, nations have perished because of injustice. As to you, the guilty one (addressing the son), you shall receive your punishment. With that, he rose from his divan in court and himself dealt the young man a severe beating with his cane.

“It behoves us,” he asserted, “first to correct ourselves before attempting to correct the people.”

Occasionally, Ibn Jalewi’s severity got him at cross purposes with the king, for Ibn Jalewi saw no excuse for intentional wrong-doing, and he meted out justice according to the Shar‘a (the Qur‘anic law). In contrast, while ‘Abd al-Aziz is stern and unyielding when necessary, he is also ready to forgive or to compromise, for he has that far vision which causes him to take the long view of all things, be they important or seemingly trivial.

Once Ibn Jalewi sent out three young officers to bring in some ‘Ujman for some infraction. But when they arrived and the ‘Ujman learned of their purpose they fired upon them, killing one and wounding another, who died on the way back to Hofuf. Ibn Jalewi immediately sent out a large contingent of soldiers, who brought in twelve of the young men. The trial court exonerated nine of them and convicted three, who were, of course, sentenced to death.

It so happened that the king arrived at Hofuf that day, and the chiefs of the ‘Ujman came to the evening Majlis to ask mercy for their sons. He agreed to intercede with Ibn Jalewi in the morning.

So when the Majlis assembled in the morning and the elders gathered, ‘Abd al-Aziz begged Ibn Jalewi to modify the punishment. Manifesting great surprise and regret, Ibn Jalewi replied that he wished that the king had made his desires known earlier, because the men had already been executed.

What had happened was that Ibn Jalewi had heard of the chiefs’ intercession and had carried out the execution at dawn.

Another time a farmer from the outskirts of Hofuf brought a Bedouin and his camel to ‘Abdullah Ibn Jalewi with the complaint that while the Bedouin was camping in the vicinity of his grove, he permitted the camel to graze in his date orchard, where it reached the rata‘ (ripe dates) and ate bunches of them.

The Bedouin, on his part, declared that he never let the camel out of his sight and that the animal did not trespass upon the orchard. With each man equally vehement in his assertions, it appeared to be quite a problem. Finally the Amir inquired of the farmer:

“What is the amount of the damage?”

“Thirty riyals.”

“What is the value of the mount?”

“Three hundred riyals,” the Bedouin answered.

“Slay the camel,” the Amir ordered.

The camel was killed and its stomach opened, but no dates were found.

“Give the Bedouin 300 riyals,” the Amir ordered, “and let him have the meat to sell.”

As to the farmer, he was sent to jail until he had paid the 300 riyals plus a fine of 700 riyals.

On Thursday 2nd December 1948 I took leave of the Amir Sa‘ud Ibn ‘Abdullah Ibn Jalewi, Governor of al-Hasa, whose guest I had been, and returned to Dhahran, the administrative headquarters of Aramco, the Arabian-American Oil Company of New York. I learned that there was to be an execution during the afternoon. I did not care to witness it, and therefore went over to Dammam to visit and to bid farewell to Amir ‘Abd Muhsin Ibn Jalewi, brother of the Governor, and arrived back at Dhahran after the scheduled event to find hundreds of persons still gathered at the scene.
The story of this affair was that of a Somali employee who had suddenly gone berserk and stabbed to death a boy of fifteen. Of course the Muslim law, like the American law, condemned him to die, but instead of hanging or electrocution, the sentence was to be carried out by the swordsman.

Somali employees had collected funds for ransom, but they were refused by the mother of the murdered boy, and accordingly the brother and cousin went along to witness the execution.

Scheduled for punishment also were two Somalis who had stolen a company automobile, painted the markings, and driven it northward, hoping to cross the border and profit by their theft. Somewhere in the desert the machine stalled and they left it and travelled away on foot. By the time the car was discovered the traces had been obliterated by the wind and sand. Sa'ud Ibn Jalewi sent for two trackers of the Banu Murrah, famed among the Arabs for sign reading. Like hounds they searched the ground, circled and travelled until they caught up with them. Of course the penalty for theft was the amputation of a hand by the swordsman, and these two events were scheduled to take place at the site of the crime.

On Thursday afternoons in Arabia work ceases in order that the Muslim workmen may go to their homes and prepare for their Friday congregational prayer, for Friday is the Muslim day of worship, and in deference to the people of the country Aramco (the Arabian-American Oil Company) conforms to their custom by resuming work on Saturday and Sunday.

The Amir ordered that all employees be present at the public execution. Of course this did not please the American officials, but they had no say in the matter, for this was not a matter within company jurisdiction, but one involving the law of the land.

In talking with some of them I ventured to say that this was an historical occasion, for it was the first stolen automobile in Sa'udi Arabia, and that it would be a devil of a long time before another was stolen. Ibn Jalewi stands between them and insecurity, as their equipment stretches over a hundred miles, and could not have been protected so well had they assumed their own responsibility with three thousand military police.

The skill of Banu Murrah trackers

These Banu Murrah trackers, incidentally, are simply phenomenal operators. On one occasion a group of Egyptians who were guests of the king indicated a certain scepticism concerning the reputed feats of these men. The king decided to give them a demonstration.

He summoned five of his trackers and then asked one of the Egyptian guests to remain with them in a room inside the palace, while the rest of the party went out into the courtyard. There a group of about two hundred townspeople were instructed to mill around in the sand until a hodgepodge of bare footprints had been created. Finally one of the crowd was asked to stop, and a circle was drawn in the sand around his footprints. Everyone was then asked to retire to the edge of the courtyard and the trackers were summoned. The king pointed to the encircled footprint and told the trackers: "Find this man." The footprint was then obliterated.

The crowd was then instructed to begin milling around again as the trackers peered at their footprints. Whenever a print resembled the obliterated print in the circle the trackers would smooth out a patch of sand and ask the individual to make a clear print. This work moved swiftly and one after another "suspect" was rejected until, in less than two minutes, a tracker looked at one print, pointed to the man who had made it, and exclaimed: "It is he." It was.

And so justice in Arabia is the foundation of the State. Trials are never protracted, perjury has been found to have unpleasant consequences, and no welcome has been proffered to criminal lawyers performing emotional acrobatics. Simply and directly the judges arrive at the truth and deal with the issue.

Is the system effective? Well, no country on earth can boast of the safety of person and property that exists in Sa'udi Arabia today. Caravans travel the length and breadth of the land in peace and perfect security, praising God and praying for long life for 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Sa'ud.
THE FIRST ASSEMBLY OF ITS KIND IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

THE CONGRESS OF穆斯林
held at The Shah Jehan Mosque
ON WEDNESDAY 25th and 26th JUNE 1952

Members of the Congress are standing on the steps of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, England. The small gathering includes friends from Egypt, Pakistan, Turkey, Syria, America, West Africa, Zanzibar, Yugoslavia and British Muslims.

The decision of the Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust to hold a Congress of Muslims living in the United Kingdom immediately after the 'Id al-Fitr on the 25th and 26th June 1952, although such a Congress had not previously been attempted, proved wise and far-thinking. Though the coming 'Id al-Fitr festival engaged the attention of the entire Mission staff, arrangements were put in hand and invitations sent to all Muslims living in the United Kingdom to attend. The response was perhaps not so great as was anticipated.


The members of the Congress are at play while on an outing at Virginia Water. All, young and old, have joined the games.

In the grounds of Virginia Water, the Congress are at prayer. Dr. S. A. Moslem, Woking.

The prayers were preceded by a Call to Prayer, to the astonishment of many.
The organizing secretary of the Congress, Mr. S. M. Talal, M.A., is addressing the Congress in the course of a general discussion on the ways and means of consolidating the efforts of Muslims at making the message of Islam known to the West.

but when the participants assembled at the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, on the 25th of June 1952 at 11 a.m., it was felt that such a Congress ought to have been held long before.

It was agreed, too, that the task of the propagation of Islam, carried on by the Woking Muslim Mission for the past forty years, needed consolidation, and the time had come when ways and means of promoting community life among British, European and other Muslims should be devised and formulated.

(continued overleaf)
The first day of the Congress
The Morning Session

Major J. W. B. Farouk Farmer, M.B.E., M.C., an English Muslim, of Woking, took the Chair at the first session of the Congress. After the recitation of the Qur'an by Mr. Hazim Satric, a Bosnian Muslim, the Chairman, in his Presidential address, briefly explained the object of the Congress. Later he called upon Dr. S. M. Abdullah, Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, Surrey, England, to deliver the inaugural address. Dr. S. M. Abdullah dwelt upon the great achievements of Islam towards the unification of the human race, and while addressing the audience said:

"Our one and only aim in holding this Congress of the Muslims of the United Kingdom is to let you feel and realize this great ideal of Islam — that is, the creation of the effective and living brotherhood of Islam which should be based upon character and morality and not upon race, nation or colour, or any other criterion. Superiority of one over the other in this vast brotherhood does not depend on nationality, wealth or rank, but on moral greatness and nobility of character. We have gathered together to instal this conviction in our minds and achieve this ideal under the conditions under which we are living in this country."

Towards the close of his address, Dr. Abdullah welcomed the various delegates who had come to attend the Congress from various parts of Britain, and emphasized that:

"Islam in this part of the world will be judged not so much by our faith and beliefs and what we profess, but by our behaviour, conduct and dealings with the people with whom we come in contact in our everyday life. This to my mind is the most important point to engage our attention and to be borne in mind by us all." 

Mr. P. E. Sa'eed Chipperfield, an English Muslim, who is a television engineer, spoke next. He was introduced to the audience by Mr. S. M. Tufail, M.A., Programme Secretary of the Congress, Mr. Chipperfield, in his speech, suggested reaching people through the press, radio and television, with a view to acquainting them with the Islamic way of living and thinking. He felt the need of Muslim hostels, clubs and restaurants in Great Britain. He was followed by Miss Fatima Baker-Davis, an English Muslim lady, who narrated her story of accepting Islam. When she read the Qur'an, she said, she became God-conscious. "I have never walked in the fog since. I have never been in doubt after that. There is a lot of work to be done," continued Miss Baker-Davis. "British people are afraid of religion; they are scared of it, but deep down in their hearts they are highly religious. They want to get at the truth but they don't know which way to go. We should help them in their quest after truth."

The session was then opened for general discussion, and Mr. Abd al-Majid made a suggestion to the Congress, which was readily accepted by all present, that the addresses of Muslims living in various parts of London should be circulated among friends so that they could try to hold small informal meetings in various parts of London.

This first session ended at 12.30 p.m., and luncheon and congregational noon prayers followed.

The Afternoon Session — Brains Trust

The meeting of the Brains Trust began at 2.30 p.m., with Mr. S. M. Tufail, M.A., acting as Question Master. The following were members of the Brains Trust: Dr. S. M. Abdullah, M.Sc., Ph.D.; Mr. Abd al-Majid, M.A.; Miss Fatima Baker-Davis; and Mrs. Mahmooda Abdullah.

Questions relating to the best way of leading a good Muslim life in Britain, the theory of the equality of sexes, polygamy, and so on, were put to the team. Questions were welcomed from the audience as well. Miss Fatima Baker-Davis and Mrs. Mahmooda Abdullah supported the idea of introducing polygamy in Great Britain under the present conditions, where there is a surplus of young women, as opposed to prostitution and illicit sex relations.

Visit to Muslim cemetery

After tea and afternoon prayers, the party went to Brookwood Muslim Cemetery to offer prayers for the departed souls of Muslims interred there, among whom are Lord Headley and Marmaduke Pickthall.

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
ISLAMIC SOCIETY ON THE CHINESE-MONGOLIAN BORDER

By SHINOBU IWAMURA

"The Muslims seem to entertain quite different ideas from their fellow Chinese with regard to family, kinship and marriage. We are inclined, therefore, to the opinion that the tie of kinship as the binding force as seen in Chinese society does not function among the Muslims. What is, then, the binding force which functions in the Muslim community to keep its chiao-paos together so closely?"

"Instead of trying to find the binding force of the Muslim community either in the occupational tie or in the tie of kinship or in territorial tie, we have to seek it in the Muslim community as a whole. It comes from the very nature of Muslim community. The Muslim community is a closely organized body where religious duties, norms of behaviour and social order, are integrated into one whole system complete in itself. In Islamic society the various functions performed by the tie of kinship and the territorial tie are all replaced by this socio-religious binding force which emanates from the structure of the community."

1. Muslims on the borderline between China and Mongolia

The places, whose Muslim inhabitants I am going to describe, include Sha-ch'êng, Hsüan-hua, Ch'ang-chia-k'ou (Kalgan), Ch'ang-peii, Ma-chia-hui-ts'un, Ta-t'ung, Kuei-sui, Sa-la-chi (Sarachi), Pao-tou and Nan-hai-tzu. Geographically, they are on a belt of borderland lying between North China and Inner Mongolia. If one takes the Peking-Pao-tou railway at Peking, one's train will reach the border of the highland of Inner Mongolia at the Chü-yang-kuan Pass after having traversed the northern stretch of the great Loess plain. Passing Sha-ch'êng and Hsüan-hua, the train arrives at Kalgan, the southern terminal of the Kalgan-Ulan Bator (Urga) highway. The other places mentioned above are also on the Peking-Pao-tou railway, with the exception of Ma-chia-hui-ts'un, which is a small, but exclusively Muslim, village a few miles south-east of Ta-t'ung and with that of Nan-hai-tzu, a small village situated on the left bank of the Yellow River west of Pao-tou. With the sole exception of Ma-chia-hui-ts'un they are all more or less local centres of communication, a fact very important in understanding the distribution of Muslim population. Nan-hai-tzu plays a role in river transportation on the Yellow River.

The inner line of the Great Wall stretches east to west, crossing the railway at the Chü-yang-kuan Pass, and the outer line runs parallel, passing Kalgan. Of the places referred to in the above, Sha-ch'êng, Hsüan-hua, Ta-t'ung and Ma-chia-hui-ts'un are situated between the inner and outer lines of the Great Wall, while Kalgan, Ch'ang-peii, Kuei-sui, Sarachi, Pao-tou and Nan-hai-tzu are north of the inner line. We must keep in mind the fact that the outer line constitutes a line of demarcation in the mode of life; it divides nomadism from agriculture. Human life to the north of the outer line is based on stock-breeding, while that on its south on cultivation. The nomadic mode of life has been receding northward for these centuries upon the impact caused by the northward movement of the Chinese. This fact may explain the existence of the two parallel lines of the Great Wall; the outer line may have been built as a result of the advance of the Chinese, which had once been halted at the inner line.

From what has been said it will be easy to see that along the Great Wall there will emerge a contract, social, economic and cultural, between the two

A map describing the location of the various towns with Muslim inhabitants on the Chinese-Mongolian border

SEPTEMBER 1952
2. What is the Chinese Muslim?

What does the Chinese Muslim look like? Are there physiological differences between the Muslim and the Chinese? Do the Muslims belong to a different race from the Chinese? Generally speaking, the result of the survey made under the direction of the present author reveals the fact that from the physiological standpoint they have no remarkable differences from their fellow Chinese. There are, of course, exceptions. For example, a certain adult Muslim, to whom the author had the opportunity of talking

![Image of a copy of the Holy Qur'an being handed to a Chinese a-heng (the ministrant of a mosque) at Hsi Ssu (West Mosque), Pao-tou, Mongolia. It will be noticed in the picture that the Muslims in China, as a rule, wear white caps. This, perhaps, is the only outward distinguishing mark of a Chinese Muslim.]

at a mosque at Kalgan, looked almost like an Arab or Persian. At first sight the author mistook him for an Arab in disguise, i.e., in Chinese costume. He had an aquiline nose, deep-set eyes and a long beard. But he stated that he had come from Shensi Province, where his forefathers had lived for generations. As a whole, however, the Inner Mongolian Muslims show no remarkable bodily characteristics peculiar to themselves.

How, then, can we tell a Muslim from a Chinese? The Muslim wears, though not always, a white cap. The veil is sometimes used by the Muslim women, but throughout his whole survey the present author witnessed only a few cases where the veil was worn. In a word, it seems very difficult to tell a Muslim from a Chinese merely from his outward appearance.

It is the pattern of life arising from the peculiar structure of Muslim society that distinguishes the Muslims from the Chinese. There is a Chinese saying, "Three Muslims are Muslims, two Muslims are Muslims, but one Muslim is no Muslim." It implies that the Muslim is not a conscientious observer of the rules of Islamic law. This is, of course, a malicious saying perhaps fabricated by some Chinese who entertained ill-feeling against the Muslims. Nevertheless, this saying suggests another interpretation: any Muslim who does not belong to a Muslim community is not regarded so by his fellow Chinese. As soon as one is expelled from his community for some grave misdeed, he ceases to be a Muslim in the eyes of his fellow Chinese, because such a Muslim has nothing to distinguish himself from the Chinese. Expulsion from the community seems the heaviest penalty, heavier than corporal punishment, the practice of which the author will describe elsewhere, to be inflicted for grave violation of the rules of Islamic law.

3. What is the Chinese Muslim community?

In the circumstances prevailing in China it will be impossible for the Muslim to live as a Muslim, unless he lives as a member of a closely organized Muslim community. What, then, is a Muslim community? There are three elements without which a Muslim community cannot exist: the ching-chen-ssu (temple of purity and truth: mosque), the chiao-pao (co-religionists: Muslims), and officials of the mosque. In appearance the ching-chen-ssu, or mosque, which is called li-pai-sisu (temple of worship) by the Chinese, is much like a Taoist temple. But its plan and interior greatly differ from those of the Taoist temple. In striking contrast with the over-decorated and multi-coloured interior of the Taoist temple the ching-chen-ssu's interior is much simpler, and gives an impression of neatness. The mosque is surrounded by a wall enclosing a courtyard of considerable dimension. A prayer hall called ta-tien (great hall), an ablution room, quarters of the mosque officials, a classroom, a kitchen and a well are common to all mosques. Sometimes the mosque has a tower like a Chinese pagoda, which is called wang-yue-lou (moon-observation tower). Such is the plan of the ordinary mosque in North China, and Inner Mongolia. There are, however, exceptions. For example, the Pei-sisu Mosque at Kuei-susu has the appearance of a mosque in Western Asia.

Every mosque has at least two kinds of officials concerned with the faith and service, a-heng and khaliifa. The use of the word a-heng, a Chinese-Persian term derived from Persian akhund, as ministrant of a mosque seems peculiar to Chinese Islam. The khaliifa, who is sometimes called bisies-yuan (student), is an assistant to the a-heng. Ordinarily, there is more than one khaliifa in a mosque. The Chinese word chiao-chang (master of the faith) sometimes supersedes the term a-heng. In many mosques there are assistant or acting chiao-chang, san-pang-a-heng (a-heng without office), ban-shu-a-heng (migrating a-heng) or ch'uan-sisu-a-heng (temple-to-temple a-heng), imam chang-chia (ministrant of the faith), khaliifa, mu'azzin, mutfi and su-tbih-su (odd-job man). In a women's mosque called ching-chen-ni-sisu in Chinese the tbih-niang (woman master) takes the place of the a-heng. In the terms mentioned above we see a curious mixture of Arabic, Persian and Chinese. Imams, mutfis, mu'azzins and khaliifs are still found in certain mosques, but in most cases they have either completely disappeared or in the process of disappearance. The mosque officials in full function are only the a-heng and the khaliifa.

A strong tendency to segregate themselves is observed among the Muslims of North China and Inner Mongolia, this leading to the formation of a separate community within Chinese society. The individual Muslim community has its
limits beyond which it cannot grow either in its population or in its space. Why?

The Muslim must hold service five times a day, which is observed under the leadership of the a-bêng in conformity with certain rules. It is called ling-p'ai (leading in service) in Chinese or namaaz in Persian, but the Arabic sadaq is seldom used. When the hour of service comes, a khulifa announces it from the roof of the mosque, as there are only a few mosques with a minaret, which is called kuan-tu (light tower) in Chinese. Sometimes the announcement is made by beating a kind of clapper. Upon hearing the announcement the chiao-paos hurry to their mosque. This naturally puts a limit to the spatial extent of the community, because the chiao-paos cannot come in time for service unless they live within a certain area where the voice of the khulifa can reach. There is, however, another reason why the size of the community must be limited, namely because the service is performed in congregation and the ta-hien, or prayer-hall, has a limited capacity.

The population of a Muslim community is not allowed to increase beyond a certain point, and, in general, the saturation point seems to be reached by a population of four to five hundred. But in the case of an extraordinarily large community, e.g., the Pei-ssu community at Kuei-sui, it embraces as many as two thousand chiao-paos. A few words should be added here as to the process of formation, growth and fission of the community. As soon as some Muslims are settled at a certain place, they set up a mosque. If their means cannot afford to build a mosque, a converted house is used for the purpose. It seems that immigration of Muslims takes place in groups. The Ta-tung Chiu-chan Mosque and the Kuei-sui Chi-chan Mosque were both established by groups of Muslim railway workers from somewhere in North China in 1934 and 1938 respectively. Even in some much older mosques the author was able to trace their origin in group immigration. When a community overgrows or reaches its limits in space and population it splits into two, part of its population establishing a new mosque and separating from the original body.

4. The a-bêng or ministrant of the mosque

The Muslim who lives as a member of such a community is bound to observe the Islamic rules of living under the leadership and direction of the a-bêng. The a-bêng is charged with the duty of keeping the social order of his community, and he keeps a vigilant eye upon the behaviour of the chiao-paos. The a-bêng is the keeper of social order and the Islamic norms of conduct. His duty is not limited, therefore, to direct ling-p'ai or service,
but it is closely related with the whole field of communal life. Hence the dual, religious and social, function of the a-beng.

The a-beng who exercises such authority over the chiao-paos is no more than a sort of employee paid by the community for a limited term, generally two years. But once he is appointed, he is entrusted with authority to maintain the Islamic social order of the community by which he is employed. How, then, is he appointed? He is appointed by the council of hsiang-laos (community elders) with the consent of the chiao-paos, or community members. When the term of an a-beng expires, he gives in his resignation to the hsiang-lao council, which, as a rule, accepts it. Then the hsiang-laos meet in conference, and name candidates. When they come to an agreement to employ a certain candidate, they send him a formal letter asking him to take the responsibility of leading their community. If he accepts the offer, a general meeting of the chiao-paos is convoked to approve the appointment. Sometimes the consent of the general chiao-paos is nominal.

5. The hsiang-lao or community of elders

From what has been stated, it seems that it is not in the hands of the a-beng but in the council of hsiang-laos that the ultimate authority is vested. We have, therefore, to analyse the nature of the hsiang-lao. This was one of the most difficult questions I faced in my analysis of Chinese Muslim society. Already in my preliminary survey in 1942 I found that the a-beng was the religious as well as the social leader of the Muslim community in North China and Inner Mongolia. But in the following year, when I discovered that the a-beng was a mere paid official for a limited period, my attention switched to the hsiang-lao system.

The word hsiang-lao is a purely Chinese term. As it appears in the Chou-li, a Confucian canon, its origin may be traceable as far back as the Chou Period (11th-9th centuries B.C.). But the hsiang-lao in the Muslim community has nothing to do with such an ancient institution. The hsiang-lao are elected by all the male members of full age of the community. Unlike the village elders, in Chinese society neither social nor economic status is required, as a rule, for hsiang-lao candidacy. The only qualification seems to be to have a good reputation as a pious Muslim. Most of the hsiang-lao are, of course, those who have time and money to spare, but sometimes poor men are elected to the hsiang-lao because of their good reputation.

It is an interesting fact that, though it is the hsiang-lao who choose and appoint the a-beng, the latter, once appointed, exercises during his term as much authority over the hsiang-lao as over the ordinary chiao-paos. There is another important fact: it is not the a-beng but the hsiang-lao who control the finances of the mosque.

To sum up, the a-beng is the leader of the community, but the hsiang-lao hold the right of choosing and appointing the a-beng, and in turn the general chiao-paos elect the hsiang-lao. Such are the relations between the three distinct sections of the Muslim community in North China and Inner Mongolia.

6. The chiao-pao or Believer

The keeping of a mosque, including the maintenance expenses and pay roll, means a considerable monetary burden for each member of the community. Most of the twenty-eight visited by me were of considerable size, and there were several paid officials in each of them. If there are on an average five paid officials and 500 people or 100 families in each community, the pay roll plus the maintenance expenses amount to a not inconsiderable sum per family. Even if the mosque has revenues from real estate in its possession (and this is not the case in most of the mosques outside the outer line of the Great Wall), the chiao-paos must make yueh-fei, or monthly contributions, to make up the deficiency. This means that, in addition to sadat (charity) and zakat (compulsory poor-rate), they should make regular contributions to the upkeep of their mosque.

Beside the financial burden, various other duties and restrictions are imposed upon the chiao-pao. First, the observance of five daily prayers would seem to a non-Muslim a serious impediment in carrying out his daily work. There are certain kinds of occupation prohibited to the Muslim. There are also kinds of food and amusement he is forbidden to take or enjoy. And there are other duties and obligations prescribed by his religion. With these obligations and restrictions devolving upon him as the result of being a Muslim, the chiao-pao finds himself charged with a heavier responsibility as compared with his fellow Chinese. But in spite of these heavy and troublesome duties and obligations, the chiao-pao never voluntarily secedes from his community. On the contrary, he is afraid of being expelled from the community for his delinquency. Why? An easy explanation will be found in his faith, but this is a matter taken for granted. The social scientist may find the answer elsewhere.

7. The socio-religious binding force

Automatic and voluntary submission to social and economic obligations can only be explained by the existence of a strong binding force. Some people say that the tie which binds the Chinese Muslims together is largely occupational, because they
are very strong in certain kinds of occupation, e.g., butchery, manufacturing and dealing in hides and skins, caravan trade, running of inns and eating-houses, etc. Such a view is, however, only superficial, because, for example, just as Muslim butchers are bound together by their occupational tie, so the Chinese butchers have strong guilds also. Take any Muslim community, and you will find there a variety of occupations, butchers, caravan traders, inn-keepers, dealers and manufacturers of hides and skins, etc. It is quite true that the Muslims are especially strong in those kinds of occupation mentioned above, but it would not be true to say that the binding force of the Muslim community is largely occupational. In China certain conditions, which we will discuss elsewhere, have put the Muslims in a more favourable position in certain lines of business.

It is a well-known fact that the territorial tie works strongly in Chinese society. In Inner Mongolia, where the Chinese immigrated comparatively recently from North China, they have established a kind of association called hui-kuan, which is intended to promote mutual aid among those who have come from the same province. In various towns in Inner Mongolia there are, for example, Shangtang, Shansi, Hopei and other hui-kuan. Among the Muslims there is no such institution. There are some Muslim communities whose chiao-pao are largely of descent from a certain province. For example, the chiao-pao of the Yuan-tai-tsu and Hsien-min-ta-chieh communities at Kalgan and the Pei-ssu community at Kuei-sui are largely of Kansu and Ninghsia descent, but they are not so exclusively. If the Muslim community were exclusive with regard to the native place of its chiao-pao, this principle would have to apply as well to its mosque officials. But the fact is that most of the mosque officials are professional and errant, and they move constantly from one mosque to another and from one town to another. By the way, the Muslim never joins a Chinese hui-kuan. Now it seems that the territorial tie does not function in Islamic society as it does among the Chinese.

Next, we shall examine the tie of kinship which works very strongly among the Chinese. The clan system (tsung-tsu) flourishes in Chinese society. It is based upon the belief in a common ancestor and, hence, upon ancestor-worship. The clan keeps a shrine where are enshrined its ancestors and where the clan members hold ritual. The powerful clan owns common property in real estate, and the revenues derived from it are devoted to the purpose of the common welfare of the clan, i.e., education of the younger generation, aid in cases of distress, etc. In a word, the Chinese clan has the function of mutual aid. It embraces the main family, whose head is at the same time head of the whole clan, and it keeps a genealogical table. Such a clan system is not found among the Muslims. It seems that among the Muslims the family in the Western sense is the rule. There was in Kuei-sui a very wealthy Muslim by the name of Ts'ao Yung. He was one of the richest men in Inner Mongolia, and all his relatives were wealthy. But no trace of the clan system or its like has been found in the case of the Ts'ao families. It is improbable that any Chinese family as wealthy as the Ts'ao would have no clan system. The Chinese clan consists of those families which share the same family name, and those who share the same family name are supposed to be more or less related in blood, so that they come within the prohibited degrees of marriage. The Muslims seem to entertain quite different ideas from their fellow Chinese with regard to family, kinship and marriage. We are inclined, therefore, to the opinion that the tie of kinship as the binding force as seen in Chinese society does not function among the Muslims. What is, then, the binding force which functions in the Muslim community to keep its chiao-pao together so closely?

Instead of trying to find the binding force of the Muslim community either in the occupational tie or in the tie of kinship or in territorial tie, we have to seek it in the Muslim community as a whole. It comes from the very nature of Muslim

---

A girls' class in the Women's Mosque at Kalgan, Mongolia

In the women's mosques, called Ching-ch'en-nü-ssu, the shih-niang (the woman master), takes the place of the a-heng (the male ministrant of a mosque)

---

S E P T E M B E R  1 9 5 2
two at Ta-tung, one at Ma-chia-hui-t's'un, eight at Kuei-sui, one at Sarachi and four at Pao-tou. The community at Nan-hai-tzu disappeared shortly before the author visited there, due to the interruption of transportation on the Yellow River as a result of the war. Of these twenty-eight communities, the oldest seems to be the Ta-tung community, which seems to have been established in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries or from the end of the Mongol-yuan dynasty to the beginning of the Ming, though there is no documentary proof. But another community at Ta-tung, the Chü-ch'ung community, was set up recently in 1939 as the result of a group immigration of Muslim railway workers. The origin of Ma-chia-hui-t's'un seems as old as the Ta-tung community, probably in the beginning of the Ming dynasty. Next comes the Nan-sui community at Hsiian-hua, perhaps established in the beginning of the Ming. The other three communities at Hsian-hua were set up in the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries, while the Sha-ch'ung community is said to have originated in 1625. Thus the origins of these communities are not clear. On the contrary, the dates of establishment of the communities north of the outer line of the Great Wall, Kalgan, Ch'ang-pi, Kuei-sui, Sarachi and Pao-tou are definitely known, because their origins are much later, between the beginning of the eighteenth down to the twentieth century; the oldest, the Hsi-kuan community at Kalgan in 1701, and eight out of twenty as late as after the establishment of the Republic in 1912.

The area where the above-mentioned communities are situated can be divided into two parts which are different geographically as well as culturally: North China and Mongolia. In the former there are those communities at Ta-tung, Ma-chia-hui-t's'un, Sha-ch'ung and Hsiian-hua, while in the latter we find those at Kalgan, Ch'ang-pi, Kuei-sui, Sarachi and Pao-tou. In other words, those in the former part are outside the outer line of the Great Wall, while those in the latter inside it. The difference between the communities in Inner Mongolia and those in North China is so distinct and remarkable as to allow us to put them into two categories. I call those in Inner Mongolia type A, and those in North China type B, but they may be called the Inner Mongolian and North Chinese types respectively (cf. The Islamic Review for October, 1949).

An analysis of the Chinese Muslim religious mentality

The type A (Inner Mongolian) communities and the type B (North Chinese) communities reveal great differences in the structure of their communities. What are the differences? First, in type B there are still in existence such almost parochial mosques official as imam, khatib, mu'azzin and muflis, while in the case of type A the system is much simplified and there are, as a rule, only a-beng and khalifa. It is interesting to note that such perfunctory officials are largely hereditary. Secondly, the mosques of type A are supported chiefly by monthly contributions of their chiao-paos, while those of type B derive their revenues largely from real estate. The third difference is rather important. As already pointed out, the chiao-paos of each community are more or less integrated with the mosque at its centre, and the degree of integration is much lower in type B than in type A. In other words, the chiao-paos of type B community are sometimes scattered among the Chinese, while those of type A community are, as a rule, closely integrated. The degree of integration seems to exercise a great influence, in the type B communities attendance at service is much lower and the controlling powers of the a-beng over the chiao-paos are weaker. Consequently, in the type B communities the binding force of the community is less strong, observance of ritual less strict, their behaviour less strictly in conformity with the rules of Islamic law, and their consciousness as Believers less intense. In short, the chiao-paos of type A lives a more strictly Islamic life than that of type B. In this connection it may be pointed out that no case of conflict with the Chinese has been found in the type A communities, while recent cases of conflict have been reported in some type B communities. Fourthly, with regard to the sects of Chinese Islam, which will be dealt with in detail in a later issue, the Hsin-chiao (new sect) and Hsin-hsin-chiao (new-new sect) are predominant in type B, while the Lao-chiao (old or traditional sect) is the rule in type A. Finally, the relations between the a-beng and the hsiang-lao deserves attention. Since in the type B community the revenues of the mosque come from real estate, the powers of the hsiang-lao, who controls the source of revenues, are strong, and sometimes they interfere even with the a-beng's affairs, while in the type A community, where the mosque revenues are derived from monthly contributions of the general chiao-pao, the hsiang-lao remains a mere caretaker. In type A "virtuous men" are elected hsiang-lao regardless of their family or financial status, while in type B there seems to be a tendency for wealthy men to be elected.

The type A communities are all in the north of the Great Wall's outer line. In other words, they are in Mongolia, while the type B communities are in the area called North China. During the Ch'ing (Manchu) dynasty the Chinese were prohibited from immigrating into Mongolia beyond the Great Wall, but towards the end of the Manchu dynasty the prohibition became a mere dead letter, and tales of Chinese immigrants began to penetrate into Inner Mongolia. Muslims accompanied this great northward movement of Chinese immigrants, and they settled themselves at various points along the trade route from Kalgan to Turkestan. This seems to be the origin of the type A communities. Those Muslims who were settled in a new land were free from the forces of the time-honoured and Sinicized tradition of the Islam of North China. If a Muslim community is freed from the influence of forces from outside and allowed to grow by itself, type A seems to prevail.

A covered well in the compound of the Hsi-kuan Mosque at Kalgan, Mongolia
Karachi, the biggest airport in Asia

Karachi, the capital of Pakistan, is situated on the western tip of the Indus delta. Before the partition of India, it served as an outlet for the hinterland produce of the Panjab and Sind. In the first year of Pakistan's existence the administration of Karachi remained with the Sind Government; but its growing population required its administration by the wider resources and powers of the Central Government. In pursuance, therefore, of the resolution adopted by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on 22nd May 1948, Karachi was separated from Sind and constituted into the administrative unit of the Federal capital. At its head was placed an administrator, who was, subject to such general or special instructions as might be issued by the Central Government, given all the powers of a Provincial Government, except of appointment to gazetted posts. Experience, however, showed that the head of the administration in Karachi should have even greater powers. The status of the Federal Area was, therefore, raised to that of a Chief Commissioner's Province in April 1952.

The problems of Karachi are many and complicated. Karachi is the biggest airport in Asia, and also the chief sea-port of Pakistan and the major station of Pakistan's navy. It is the capital of the Federation as well as of the Provincial Government of Sind. Before the Partition its population was about 400,000; today it is almost threefold, being nearly 1,200,000.

The Karachi Administration, which came into existence on the 23rd July 1948, after the separation of Karachi from Sind, took up the responsibilities of dealing with its problems. Despite various handicaps the Karachi Administration has made commendable progress in various fields during the short period of its existence.

Rehabilitation of the refugees

The rehabilitation of refugees has been the main problem facing the Karachi Administration. The enviable position which Karachi enjoys is responsible for the huge influx of refugees into the capital. There was a time when almost all footpaths and even most of the school buildings were occupied by the refugees. To clear this unhealthy congestion, colonies were set up at Nazimabad, Lalukhet, and many refugee families were settled there.

These have dispensaries and a number of Primary and Middle Schools, Maktabs and mosques. Public amenities like water taps have also been provided for the benefit of the residents of the colonies.

The Rehabilitation Department of Karachi has been carrying on the allotment of evacuee property to deserving refugees. A number of houses, flats, factories, restaurants, cinemas and other properties have in this way been allotted to them.

With a continuous influx of people, there is an acute shortage of housing accommodation in Karachi. The Government is encouraging the construction of new houses, and have
allotted land at various places to different housing societies. Construction of new houses is going ahead briskly, and the acute shortage of accommodation is expected to ease considerably in the near future.

**Education**

About 50 per cent of schools in Karachi which were run exclusively by the Hindus were closed down immediately after the Partition. At the same time the population of the city increased tremendously, and a large number of school buildings were occupied by refugees from India. The Government were, therefore, faced with the immediate problem of resuscitating education in the shortest possible time. This involved a twofold difficulty: of procuring suitable buildings as well as sufficient trained staff to replace the Hindu migrant teachers. The influx of the Muslim refugees from India brought quite a number of trained teachers to Karachi; but the problem of school buildings has still remained unsolved due to difficulties in providing alternative accommodation to the refugees, and shifting them from school buildings to the refugee colonies. To make up for this deficiency, most of the schools are following the double-shift system.

The following steps were taken by the Central Government for the advancement of education in Karachi:

1. The Government has started its own secondary schools and encouraged private enterprise by providing requisite facilities and by sanctioning maintenance grants to non-government schools;
2. A Directorate of Education was established;
3. A statutory Board of Education was created;
4. A Training School for junior teachers and a Degree College for women have been sanctioned;
5. A government-aided Urdu College was established; and,
6. A university was established at Karachi.

The new syllabus for the primary and secondary schools is intended to remodel the existing educational system so as to attune it to the genius of the people in consonance with the requirements of a modern democratic State.

Adult education centres are being run by a number of private societies. At present there are twenty-four such centres with a total enrolment of 2,200. A comprehensive scheme for the establishment of government-sponsored and government-financed adult education centres forms an integral part of the Six-Year Educational Development Plan for Pakistan. According to this Plan, fifty-two centres are to be opened during 1951-57, with a specially trained staff. Each of the centres will have a total capacity of about 500 adults.

The Six-Year Plan also provides for a composite institution for the education of the deaf, dumb, blind and crippled children in Karachi. This will be in addition to the existing institutions in respect of equipment and technique of instruction.

Refresher courses for teachers already serving in schools are also proposed within the framework of the Six-Year Plan. Each course has already been organized to acquaint the teachers with the new educational methods, especially the use of audio-visual aids.

**Steps against begging**

Beggary has been prohibited in Karachi. Persons found begging are sent to a poor house which is run by the Government. A small dispensary is attached to it, and a part-time medical officer attends to the patients. An instructor gives vocational training according to the capacity of the inmates. A scheme to enlarge the poor house is under consideration.

**Civil Defence**

The Government of Pakistan has recently decided to introduce Civil Defence measures throughout the country, with the main object of creating confidence and spirit of self-help in the public, and enabling them to face emergencies such as floods, earthquakes, epidemics, war, etc. The Karachi Administration has given the lead in this task. The Warden Service came into being in August 1951, and the city was divided into various divisions under Divisional Wardens. The divisions were further sub-divided into groups and posts. A large number of citizens have already received general basic training in the training centres of their respective areas, and special arrangements are being made to impart advanced training to the wardens. The response from the general public has been most encouraging. Arrangements are being made to improve the training facilities and the efficiency of the voluntary services. A Chief Staff Officer and other Staff Officers have been attached to the offices of the Chief Warden and the Divisional Wardens to assist and advise them on all technical, organisational and operational matters. These officers are further assisted by the instructors of the Civil Defence Training School in work of enrolment and training.

**Fire fighting services**

The city has been surveyed and divided into "fire zones". Fire stations, with requisite appliances and equipment, are being set up in each zone. Arrangements have also been made to improve the water supply for fire fighting services. New appliances and better equipment are being acquired for the peace-time fire brigade and the strength of the personnel is also being increased. The local peace-time fire service has provided the nucleus of the emergency organization, known as the Auxiliary Fire Service. All services and fire fighting resources available in and around the city are being consolidated into a single service under one command. This "Reinforcement Scheme", or as it is commonly known, "Mutual Assistance Scheme," is being framed to obtain the maximum utility from the available fire fighting resources. This co-ordinated scheme will be of immense help in an emergency when all the available resources will have to be marshalled to avoid any wastage of appliances and manpower.

**Rescue service**

The formation of rescue parties is under progress. The selection of a leader and group leaders has yet to be made and, for reasons of efficiency experienced engineering service personnel are to be selected for these posts. Enrolment of volunteers for the rescue parties has not yet been started for want of adequate equipment. However, efforts are being made to go ahead with the implementation of the scheme as early as possible with the help of the available equipment and personnel.

**Training school**

Classes in general basic training in Civil Defence were arranged at various places for the general public and conducted by paid and volunteer instructors. Courses for local instructors were also held to meet the shortage of paid instructors and to encourage volunteer instructors. A large number of trainees, including ladies, successfully qualified as local instructors, and many of them have readily come forward for volunteer service. Besides, courses in team training for warden service were also conducted, and another course is due to commence shortly at the training school. A scheme for staging small-scale demonstrations along with film shows at various places in the city is under consideration. This will give a further impetus in the enrolment of volunteers, and would also educate the public in the methods of Civil Defence.

The Civil Defence Organization opened a stall in the Pakistan Day Exhibition in February 1952 to educate and instruct the public in the methods of Civil Defence and general workings of the organization. Being encouraged by the public interest and response, a similar stall on a much bigger scale was organized in the Pakistan Industries Fair.
VIGOROUS DEMOCRATIC REACTIONS IN THE MUSLIM MIDDLE EAST

By G. H. NEVILLE-BAGOT

"Egypt, Iran and Jordan, as well as Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria, where great mass movements are backed by the Sultan of Morocco and the Bey of Tunisia, have given great encouragement to the supporters of the Muslim world who believe that genuine progress is being accomplished there and that the Muslims will modernize their economies and take what is best from the West and only blame the Western people in so far as they are guilty of imperialism and exploitation, that they will lay at their own doors the guilt when they are exploited by their own corrupt landlords, capitalists, politicians and inefficient administrators, and that they will welcome into their midst Western technicians who can be of great service to them and honour trade agreement entered into by mutual consent by the democratic Eastern governments. With such ideals in mind the former greatness of the Muslim world can be revived to the benefit of the whole democratic world.)

What the overthrow of King Farouk implies

The overthrow of King Farouk by the Egyptian Army led by General Muhammad Najib, an officer who owed his promotion to his own ability, was the most refreshing and stimulating event that has taken place in the Middle East for several decades. Dr. Mussadiq's personal triumph over the Conservative elements in the Iranian Court is another expression of the wish of the intellectuals of the petit-bourgeoisie and the workers and peasants to rid their country of the last vestiges of feudalism and despotism. The Egyptians and Iranians have not gone so far as to carry out a full scale social revolution, they have at least expressed their appreciation of the actions of General Muhammad Najib and Dr. Mussadiq. It is now certain that foreign diplomats will no longer be able to go over the heads of Egyptian and Iranian governments in an effort to moderate the foreign policies of these countries against the obvious wishes of the peoples of those countries.

The creation of a monarch in Egypt was primarily the work of the British forces of occupation. They drafted a king on an unwilling face of the Egyptian constitution. King Farouk abused the popularity he enjoyed as a ruler by playing off politician against politician and the Muslim Brotherhood against the Wafd. Had he been wise enough to renounce all political power and to remain as a constitutional monarch; had he distributed his lands to the fellabeen, he would have been one of the most popular men in the world today, but he substituted intrigue for policy. He forgot the words of Bolong-broke, who, in his classical treatise on monarchy, The Patriot King, points out that "Kings must remember that they are men and men that they are kings".

Where the Wafd failed

In Egypt the Wafd failed to carry out the necessary economic reforms, in particular the land reform, which would have assured this party much stronger vocal support from the fellabeen. During the last Wafd administration under the impulse of Dr. Taha Hussein and in response to the popular craving for learning, compulsory free education was introduced. But the right wing of the Wafd got the upper hand and attempted to divert the students, intellectuals, fellabeen and workers against the British from carrying out a very necessary campaign for the evacuation of the Suez Canal and the re-unification of Egypt and the so-called Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in the hope that land reforms and a reduction in the profits of the rich might be delayed.

The loss to the Wafd Government of Ahmad Husain, the able Minister of Social Affairs, who has made a tremendous effort to introduce adequate housing for the ordinary people in Egypt, became a certain indication that on the social plane nothing was to be accomplished by the Wafd. It was only due to the brilliance of the Wafd Foreign Minister, Muhammad Salah al-Din and to Dr. Taha Hussein, that the Wafd Government lasted as long as it did. The Wafdist Foreign Minister won tremendous and deserved popularity in Egypt and abroad where he fearlessly championed the cause of Moroccan independence as well as that of Egypt. A meeting at the Paris Mosque in January this year and on the eve of his recall was attended by Muslims from all corners of the earth and many non-Muslim sympathizers showed their sympathy for the Wafdist Foreign Minister and his campaign for the evacuation of the Suez Canal, the unification of the Sudan, and Moroccan independence. Even after the fall of the Wafd, after an admixture of planned incendiarism and a will for social revolution on behalf of the Cairene workers and intelligentsia which resulted in a confused situation in which the personal animosity of the army leader, General Haidar, for the Wafd played a part, Muhammad Salah al-Din stood out as the leader of the progressive members of the Wafd.

The Wafd, as is known, was originally formed as a United Front or Popular Front to fight British Imperialism, which it did most effectively under the leadership of its greatest nationalist, Sa'd Zaghloul, backed by the whole nation. It must be none the less obvious that since those days the labour policy of the Wafd, in spite of a timid attempt to set up trade unions, has been a failure. The result of this was that Egypt had no support among the British, European and United States unions during her demand for the evacuation of the Suez Canal and the re-unification of Egypt and the Sudan.

What the British and the West should do now to help Egypt

In a previous article in The Islamic Review, I emphasized the need of immediately supporting Egypt's claims against Britain so that the Egyptians could concentrate on far more vital
social and economic matters. The social upheaval in January last and the overthrow of King Farouk have amply borne out my contentions but the onus still lies on the British Government to grant immediately Egypt's demands and to try and instil a little life in Britain's foreign policy by anticipating events instead of waiting for a kick in the backside. After adopting a policy of negative neutrality during the coup d'état of General Najib, Britain must not be lulled into inaction by journalistic reports of General Najib's friendliness to Britain and his desire to set his house in order before negotiating with the British. Voluntary evacuation might stimulate Britain's waning prestige and help the British businessman by removing the causes of hostility between the two nations.

failed to realize the salutary effect of General Najib's action which was received with tremendous enthusiasm by the workers' organizations in Egypt as well as by the intellectuals and other sections of the population. If the West is genuinely interested in the introduction of democracy in the Middle East it must give a maximum amount of economic and technical aid to the present régime in Egypt without forcing Egypt into a Western defence scheme. There is a strong neutralist section of opinion, and Egypt as an unwilling partner in a defence scheme would play a role similar to that played by France in 1940. Egypt has a right to play a predominant role in securing a final and equitable settlement in Palestine and General Najib is capable of turning the Egyptian Army into an efficient weapon. The Zionists must be compelled to come to terms with the Arabs and to allow the Palestinian Arabs to return to their homes. Within the framework of an Arab Palestine a limited number of Jews could enjoy economic and political security and millions of dollars and pounds sterling could be saved.

The Ikhwan al-Muslimun

The Ikhwan al-Muslimun leader, Hasan al-Hodaiby, has made some interesting statements to the press emphasizing the democratic nature of this movement and calling for far-reaching economic reforms. The Muslim Brothers seem to have given moral support to the coup d'état and General Najib's military supporters seem to be on friendly terms with the Rector of al-Azhar and Hasan al-Hodaiby. In an interview published in the Parisian daily Le Monde, the Muslim Brotherhood leader attacked the conception that his organization favoured religious intolerance; he stated that this misconception of Islamic doctrines dated back to the days of the Crusades and that the Holy Qur'an contained passages in which the greatest praise and appreciation was shown for Jesus Christ. Al-Hodaiby said that all non-Muslims would be treated with respect by the Muslim Brothers but he pointed out that the British were "occupiers", meaning thereby that his movement would oppose foreign imperialism.

It is to be hoped that the masses who support this movement will continue to agitate for social reforms which are in every way compatible with Muslim doctrines — in fact the Muslims are faced with the same problems as the Christians, Buddhists and Socialists and Communists. They must strive for complete social and economic equality on a world scale or perish in the attempt. The more progressive the social programme carried out by Muslims, the more support will they get from the non-Muslim world. General Najib is on friendly terms with the leaders of the Egyptian feminist movement. If Egypt is to become a first class power, women must be given the right to vote and to participate fully in the political life of the country.

The measure of the lofty stature of General Najib

General Najib has avenged General Orabi, whom the British prevented from wiping out the Khedive and his cosmopolitan camarilla of court parasites in 1882, thus delaying the abolishing of feudalism and prolonging its life for 70 years. The Muslim world can really feel pleased that it is at last on the road of progress and self-respect. It is encouraging to hear the way
General Najib does not try and shift all the causes of Egypt’s shortcomings on the shoulders of foreigners but in a manful and adult fashion shoulder them himself. If the Muslims in all countries will always act in similar fashion, then their future is assured. Many of their friends in the West would like to see an Asiatic bloc arise which would be able to prevent a third world war by keeping Russia and the United States from coming to grips. The former pro-independence party in the Sudan, the Umma, is greatly impressed by the achievements of General Najib, who is himself half Sudanese. His advent to power has knocked the bottom out of those British and Sudanese officials and politicians who said that the Egyptians would colonise the Sudan with feudal parasitical absentee landlord pashas.

**Land and other reforms in Egypt**

The Egyptian Premier, ‘Aly Maher, has long been interested in land reform. The division and distribution of the late King’s estates which apparently include 175,000 feddans (acres) of fertile land valued at £500 an acre or 2,000,000 French francs a hectare, the limitation of land ownership to two or three hundred acres and the abolition of the titles of pasha and bey and the purging of the court circles will all have a salutary effect. Signs are not wanting that trades unions and co-operative societies will be fully developed with the right of free speech, freedom of the press and freedom of assembly. It is essential that corruption shall be rooted out drastically as it is disastrous to the economy of Egypt and other Muslim countries as the swollen root disease is to the Gold Coast economy. It requires the same drastic treatment. The steps the Egyptian Government has taken in this direction are in the right direction.

The limitation of incomes to £6,000 is another measure of contemplated economic reform and the rich landowners (.5 per cent of the landed proprietors owned 37 per cent of the land as against 93 per cent who owned 33 per cent in 1939) will not be able to escape to the cooler parts of Europe while the fellahaen sweat away in the heat of summer to pay off the exorbitant rents charged by the landlords.

The questions of foreign investments in Egypt and the marketing of cotton which were not adequately handled, are delicate matters. But these questions will have to be handled in the interest of the Egyptian masses. A heavy income-tax and effective social security schemes, such as the free projected medical service are sure to follow. The relation of the army to the politicians and the percentage of the budget to be devoted to military expansion as opposed to educational and economic development is a difficult problem. The interference of the army in politics as in the Argentine, is often disastrous but the benefit to Egypt of General Najib’s coup d’etat is an exception. He will continue to swim with the tide of democracy because of his Islamic background.

**Jordan, Syria and Iran**

In Jordan the titles of pasha and bey have also been abolished. The abdication of King Talal is a sad but apparently necessary event. It has not the same political significance as that of King Farouk. The Jordan Government led by the democratic nationalist Palestine refugee, Tewfik Abu l-Huda, has acted with genuine regret. Since King 'Abdullah’s death the country has moved away from British patronage and has become a genuine member of the Arab League, although bound to accept British loans for the upkeep of its army and a small loan for economic development. In Jordan, constitutional government has been introduced. Unfortunately the promised land reforms in Syria have so far not taken place. The military dictatorship is apparently attempting to build up a strong army of 70,000 with the French support. Colonel Shishakly in his most recent utterance of his (vide al-Manar, Damascus, Syria, for 24th July 1952) emphasized the execution of the Arab League Security Pact and stated that the present military régime was aiming at the restoration of parliamentary rule after the introduction of some essential reforms in the body politic of the country.

Colonel Shishakly is showing a strong hand towards the Zionists. The world of Islam yet expects much from the well-educated intelligent civilians of Syria.

In Iran Dr. Musaddiq, supported by the people, has curbed the power of the court and forced the British to realize that they must only negotiate with him or with a Tudeh government which would offer them even more unfavourable terms. Dr. Musaddiq deserves great praise for the heroic way in which he brilliantly won a legalistic victory at the Hague. The Tudeh party was forced to support his followers in the streets of Teheran in order to overthrow Qavam al-Saltaneh’s government which was supported by the military leaders.

In a very frank leader in the London Observer it was pointed out that Britain must prevent Iran from coming under Russian influence for strategic as well as economic reasons. It seems that the United States is pushing Britain to come to terms with Dr. Musaddiq for this reason. The United States also wants to keep out the Tudeh party.

The proposed land reform in Iran includes a 2 per cent tax on landlords, of whom .7 per cent own 70 per cent of the land. This does not seem to be adequate. The people are living in a state of misery. The mass distribution of the land can alone solve the problems of the Iranian peasantry. If Dr. Musaddiq is to go down in Iranian history as the greatest modern Iranian, he must break finally with his own class and side with the people.

**Concluding remarks**

Egypt, Iran and Jordan as well as Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria, where great mass movements are backed by the Sultan of Morocco and the Bey of Tunisia, have given great encouragement to the supporters of the Muslim world who believe that genuine progress is being accomplished there and that the Muslims will modernize their economies and take what is best from the West and only blame the Western peoples in so far as they are guilty of imperialism and exploitation, that they will lay at their own doors the guilt when they are exploited by their own corrupt landlords, capitalists, politicians and inefficient administrators and that they will welcome into their midst Western technicians who can be of great service to them and honour trade agreements entered into by mutual consent by the democratic Eastern governments. With such ideals in mind the former greatness of the Muslim world can be revived to the benefit of the whole democratic world.

SEPTEMBER 1952
The place of the Shab Nameh in world epics

Persia, land of dreams and brilliant sunshine, celebrated from May to November, 1934, the 1,000th anniversary of the birth of its great poet Firdusi.

Although one of the backward countries, almost unnoticeable in this twentieth century confusion and conglomeration commonly classified "progress," Persia is re Redirecting myself to the memories of its ancient kings-warriors who have given that country thrilling traditions, deathless legends, which Firdusi immortalized in his Shab Nameh, the Book of Epic of Kings, stating thus:

Great deeds I sing! My guide recording time
Imperial annals fill the song sublime—

And this "song sublime" in length far exceeds that of the Iliad and Odyssey together.

The Shab Nameh has for its theme the rise of Persian nationality from obscurity to matchless greatness; the stories of god-like kings whose bodies were as brass, their hearts as fire; whose combats with their antagonists always resulted in victory.

It is inspired by a deep sense of the greatness of Providence and impermanence of mortal things. It ranks unquestionably among the great epics of the world. Of such epics civilized mankind owns very few. Indeed, it has been said that there are but six, of which two fall to India, Mahabharata and Ramayana; two to Greece, the Iliad and the Odyssey; one to Northern Europe, the Nibelungen Lied; and one to Persia, the Shab Nameh. It is beyond dispute that these six epics have one thing in common, they are not the inventions of an individual, but are founded on national traditions, legends, and episodes, not always clear and distinct, handed down from generation to generation, until shaped into classics by God-given geniuses of different periods.

The parentage and education of Firdusi

The exact date of the birth of the Persian poet cannot be determined. It is variously given at 932, 958 C.E., "about the year 529 of Hijra" corresponding to 941 C.E., or even 1010 C.E. But when certain phases of his life are correspondingly placed with that of historical events, we find that the most convincing date would be 961 or possibly 963 C.E.

Great deeds I sing! My guide recording time
Imperial annals fill the song sublime—

Abu 'l-Qasim Mansur, for this is the real name of the poet, was descended from Ahmed bin Sharaf, one of the principal inhabitants of Shaadaab, in the province of Tus, in the kingdom of Khurasan. His father belonged to the aristocratic class of debqan, the old native nobility, owners of vast feudal estates. The debqans were a semi-independent group; they had preserved their influence and racial identity under Arab rule for a long period.

When he was born, his father in a dream saw the infant with his face to the West, declaiming in a loud and commanding tone of voice, the echo of which reverberated from every quarter of the globe. The father, on awakening, applied to a famous interpreter to expound his dream. The interpreter gave the following exposition: "That the fame of his son, and his poetical talents, would be the theme of the universe." The translation of the dream was natural. Poetry at that era was the principal road to high honour, to dignity, and the praise for tuneful versification was the accepted method of popularity, as ministers in their itinerant would sing with an exhilarating spirit and devotion.

This circumstance which is related of Firdusi, bears a strong resemblance to the reply of the oracle of Appollo to Mnesarchus, the father of Euripides*, on the birth of his son. "Happy Mnesarchus! Heaven design a son. The listening world shall witness his renown, and with glad shouts bestow the sacred crown." So fond are all nations of giving some wonderful preajus to illustrious characters. But the Persians, in fact, the entire Orient, are filled with an indescribable awe if they have a mysterious vision or a dream of inexplicable nature. Whether the interpretation of his dream influenced the father to give his son the best education the place could afford, cannot be ascertained, but it is certain he did so. Distinguished masters were engaged. The boy was soon known for his ardent application to learning. His memory was extensive; his poetical talent became a subject of admiration. The first flame, which subsequently burst forth with an incomparable lustre, was perceived by his poet-instructor Asadi, who animated his pupil and encouraged his vehement inclination to penetrate the most remote period of history. He was known, too, throughout Tus

---

* Courtesy, the Editor, The Arab World, Vol. II, No. 11, New York, U.S.A.

* The Greek dramatic poet, 480-406 B.C., who wrote ninety-two dramas, including eight satire plays.
for his fondness for sitting and dreaming for hours beside the canal that flowed through his father's grounds. This canal was destined to play a large part in the life history of the poet. It was fed by the river that watered Tus, but at times it would run dry owing to inundations that carried away the earthen dykes that formed the river's channel. The boy often beheld the destruction that resulted, and it became his ardent wish that the dyke might be built of stone, and this wish was accomplished.

**Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi's share in the renaissance of the Persian language**

The Renaissance had begun. Arab language and literature were being ignored all over, even Pahlavi, the official language, had been confined to Mesopotamia, while in upper and northern Persia, the Persian language was advancing unchecked. The spirit of self-assertion, the national zeal, and desire of progress had been so strong that the government had completed that of 60,000 distichs, or 120,000 lines of the *Shah Namah* coming from the pen of Firdusi; not even 60 Arab words could be found of these most were either names or titles.

Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi had ascended the throne (997-1030 C.E.), ambitious, patriotic and agile in arms, took advantage of the situation, and while the Khalifate of Baghdad was weakening, he had declared his complete independence and was encouraging the regeneration. His palace was converted into an academy, it is said, where connoted all the literary readers, and he himself often was present. He was first to conceive the idea of the *Shah Nameh*. The aristocracy, land owners, was the only element which kept religiously documents of diplomacy each pertaining to its respective family; traditions, given faithfully, from father to son, and written documents having historical incidents recorded to make them doubly valuable, were in the possession of the chiefs of these sturdy, patriotic, *dehyan*. The Sultan's command was to collect all these valuable and scattered materials, to collaborate all traditions and episodes, and to render them in a volume of versified form as to leave an imperishable chronicle to posterity. Immediately the renowned poets each started on certain subjects the Sultan had confined to them. They were 'Aziz, Ansari, 'Asjadi, Husain, Farrukhi, Zaini, Khurrami, to try out their ability for the required work.

**Firdusi is introduced to the court of Sultan Mahmud**

At this time the inexperienced and unknown Firdusi, at the age of thirty-six, entered the capital. At first court jealousies and intrigues prevented him from being noticed by the Sultan; but at length, one of his friends undertook to present to Mahmud his poetic version of one of the well-known episodes of legendary history. Hearing that the poet was born at Tus, the Sultan made him explain the origin of his native town, and was much struck with the intimate knowledge of ancient history which he displayed. Being presented to the seven poets who were then engaged on the projected epic, Abu 'l-Qasim was admitted to their meetings, and on one occasion improvised a verse, at Mahmoud's request, in praise of his favourite, Ayaz, the Vizier (Prime Minister), with such success that Mahmoud turned to him saying, "You have made my court as resplendent as Firdis (Paradise)." From that day the poet was to be known by the name of Firdusi (*the Paradisical*). Yet envy was biting the hearts of the *shahrs* (court poets), who connived for a try-out, even at the presence of the Sultan, to humiliate the new arrival and thereby cause his expulsion. The opportunity presented itself. Three of the seven poets were drinking in a garden when Firdusi approached, and wishing to get rid of him as a first result but not with an open antagonism, they informed him that it was their custom to admit none to their society but such as could give proof of poetical talent. To test his ability they proposed that each should furnish an extempore line of verse to a quatrains, his own to be the last and all four ending in the same rhyme. Firdusi accepted the challenge. The three poets had previously agreed upon the rhyming word "shin" to which a fourth could not be found in the entire Persian language. *Ansari* line was:

```
Choon 'aariza-e tu mab nabawad rushan;
```

Farrukhi's second line continued:
```
Manindi rukbat gale nabawad dar guliban;
```

'Asjadi's third was:
```
Mizghammat gazer hami kunad dar jahuban;
```

And while they waited with a cynical smile on their faces, Firdusi at once completed the quatrains with:
```
Manindi sinaan-Giv dar jang-i-Pishan.
```

Rendered into English:

The moon is surpassed by the brightness of thy cheek; No rose in roseland can compare with thy beauty;
The darts from thy eyelash pierce the warrior’s cuirass;  
Like the spear of Giv in his battle of Peshan.

His antagonists inquired about Peshan. "It is the battle 
ground of such a war fought at certain period," he answered, 
reciting the battle as described in the Shab Nameb. Firdusi had 
subjugated his nominal superiors.

Sultan Mahmud commissions Firdusi to compose the Shab Nameb

The Sultan now definitely selected him for the work of Shab Nameb, and designated a room in his palace for Firdusi’s use, giving him all materials of his library collected by Yezdegird, which had been saved from plunder by Soadvaki, and presented to Omar as an invaluable MSS. These, together with newly compiled legends collected from the Dehgan chiefs, were the sources of the poet, who laboured thirty-five years to create this royal work:

"What no ride
"Shall ever wash away, what men
"Unborn shall read over ocean wide."

In all these years he laboured in his jail-palace, where, excepting Ayaz, the Vizier, and the caretaker, no one was allowed to enter; he was subjected to all kinds of cruelties, unknown to the Sultan, by the treasurer Hassan Maimandi. He even was accused of disloyalty to his sovereign and patron as well as of heresy. Other enemies and rivals also joined in the attack. Envy and jealousy did all in their power to work the ruin of Firdusi; all means were employed for this purpose. Maimandi, a Sunnite, objected to him as a follower of Ali; the difference of sect of the poet and the treasurer increased the mutual hatred of both parties. For some time his position became very precarious though his pre-eminent talents and unquestionable fitness for the work prevented him from losing his post. As if to complete his man-made woes, nature adds an irreparable loss, that of his only son, who died at the age of 37. But the dauntless man kept at his work. He had resolved to complete his country’s history in poem. Distichs are flowing from his pen. Verses follow verses. Each distich a piece of gold. That is the stipulated price set by the Sultan. And with these gold pieces he would fulfil his boyhood dream to construct a dyke for his native town of Tus. For this reason he let the money stay in

The Great Mosque at Mazar-i-Sharif, Afghanistan

Firdusi’s disillusionment in Sultan Mahmud

At length, the book was completed. It consisted of 60,000 distichs, the heroic annals of the Persian monarchs from Caiumeras, first king of Iran, 3,000 years before Jesus Christ, to Yezdegird, the last, whose era begins 632, ten years after the Hegira (Muslim year) when he, Yezdegird, was murdered, and the dynasty extinguished by the followers of Muhammad. He presented it to the Sultan and demanded his reward. Mahmud ordered the stipulated amount to be paid, and charged the Vizier to attend to his command. “Highly,” said the Sultan, “does Firdusi merit every recompense; so sublime a poet, fame has never given to the world. And such polished versification I never read; his industry, too, has been equally great.”
The treasurer, Hasan Maimandi, however, persuaded the monarch that the reward was too generous and instead of 60,000 gold pieces (decnars), one for each distich, he sent him in silver dirhams, of twenty to a gold decnar. Firdusi, as the incident is related, was at the bath house when Ayaz arrived with the sacks. He believed they contained the expected gold; but on finding only silver, he complained bitterly to Ayaz, holding him responsible for the treachery. The information Ayaz gave in regard to Maimandi influencing the Sultan for the change of the reward threw him in a rage, whereupon he gave 20,000 pieces to Ayaz himself, 20,000 to the bathkeeper, and paid the rest to a wine dealer for a glass of wine, sending word back to Mahmud, the Sultan, that he didn’t go into the trouble of labouring 35 years to gain money. He gave a sealed package to Ayaz, begging him to present it to the Sultan after 20 days. This package contained the celebrated satire, every line of which a sharpened dart was aimed at Mahmud’s proud breast.

* * *

THE CELEBRATED SATIRE OF FIRDUSI
ADDRESSSED TO MAHMUD, SULTAN OF GHAZNA

Think not, O King! thy sceptre, or thy power,
One moment can arrest the destin’d hour;
Now, ’tis thy charge, pre-eminently thine,
To act with justice, moral and divine.
The ant has life, that calls the bearded grain,
Thou shalt not dare to sorrow it with pain.
Didst thou not tremble, conscious that the muse
Wou’d eminently scorn thy sordid views?
Didst thou not fear the man, whose heavenly strain,
Bounding over time, made monarchs rule again?
Had worth or judgment glimmer’d in your breast,
In peace, the old man would have sunk to rest.
Had royal blood flow’d in your grov’ling veins,
A monarch’s laurels had adorned my strains.
Or, were your mother not ignobly base,
The slave of lust! thou, first of all thy race!
A poet’s merit had inspired thy mind:
By science tutor’d, and by worth refin’d.
Such as thou art, the wiliness of thy birth,
Precludes each generous sentiment of worth.
Nor kingly origin, nor noble race,
Warms thy heart, the offspring of disgrace!
Thy life, poor wretch! ‘twas Isfahan that gave,
Thy sire a blacksmith, and thy dam a slave.
This lesson let each moralist indite,
Ne’er strive to make an Ethiopian white.
Nor vainly think the bastard of a slave
Can emulate the feelings of the brave.
Can the base prostitute with virtue glow?
Or worth can her polluted lineage know?
For thee, will nature from her order stray,
And give tonight the sun’s meridian ray?
In smoothest streams my numbers richly flow,
Now glide along, and now with rapture glow.
Lives there a poet in whose tuneful veins,
Flow loftier thoughts in more poetic strains?
Though poor, though humble, still the voice of fame,
Shall eternize Firdusi’s laurel’d name.
Heroes have blaz’d, the meteor of an hour,
Oblivion menaced to entomb their power.
Till snatched from silence, from devouring time,

They reign forever in the verse sublime.
For thirty-five years I wou’d the tuneful nine,
And Persia lives in my immortal line.
But when, alas! I closed the grand design,
(The royal word was pledged, that word divine,
To monarchs sacred) vainly did I claim
That wealth and honour which exalts to fame.
So base a gift thou meanly dar’d to send,
(Stamp’d for thy falsehood, wretched be thy end!) Thy gift, I gave it to my menial slave,
(Him it might suit, from poverty might save.)
Had clear reflection e’er illum’d thy mind,
The hard had never damn’d thee to mankind.
No low’ring clouds had hover’d o’er my day;
Serene and mild had pass’d my evening ray.
Had not thy birth, polluted as thy soul,
Strove, though in vain, my genius to control.
Mortals attend! no low born tyrant trust!
The truly great are to the muses just!
The tree, whose native juices are defil’d,
No foliage shades, for ever rank and wild.
Though richest essence spreads its sweets around,
Though nurs’d and water’d on elysian ground,
For ever wou’d its wither’d blossoms die,
And Art, in vain, he utmost efforts try.
Expect not, honour’d bards! though sweet your strain,
Plaudits or trophies from the loose profane,
From tainted springs no lucid waters flow,
From the rank weed no roseate blossoms grow.
The slave of envy damns your tuneful lays,
Droops at your powers, and sickens at your praise!

The last days of Firdusi

Mahmud, after reading, was thrown in a violent rage and ordered Firdusi’s capture that the foot of the elephant should tread him down. But he had left the country. Disguised as a dervish, first he went to Mazandaran, then to Baghdad, afterwards to Kohistan. Each of the rulers of these places recognized Firdusi’s great value and received him with favours. Years after they succeeded in interceding with Mahmud on behalf of Firdusi, who, now an old man, broken in heart and spirit, had returned to his native town. He added then a section to his great Shab Nameh, the purport of which is as follows:

“When I arrived at the age of 71 years the heavens bowed themselves down before my poem. For 35 years of this transitory world I underwent much labour for the sake of treasure. As I threw my labour to the winds, there were not 35 grains for me. Now that my age has approached 80 years, my hope has been given to the winds. The story of Yezdegird has come to an end on the day of Ord in the month of Safand Armuz. As five times have passed from Hejira I have told this royal history.”

From this it appears that the book was completed in 400 A.H. or about 1020 C.E.

And further to emphasize the contrast between the hopeful spirit of youth and the disappointment of his frustrated old age, he gives out bitterly his feelings in another verse, two last lines of which read like his dying words.

My boyhood once again in dreams I see;
Alas for thee, my youth, alas for thee!

While his sun was setting and the end of such a talented life was getting near, justice finally triumphed. Mahmud, at
last repented of his conduct and after putting Firdusi's enemy, Maimandi, to death, ordered the 60,000 gold pieces to be sent to Firdusi with his apology. But it was too late, for as the camels bearing the gold-filled sacks entered the Rudbar Gate of Tabaran (part of the city of Tus), the corpse of Firdusi was borne out from the Gate of Razan. He met his glory in death, to become the glory and the pride not only of his beloved Persia, but entire Asia.

Such, in outline, is the story of Firdusi's tragic life and death, partly at least disentangled from the picturesque additions of later times. His daughter, to whom they brought the Sultan's present, refused to receive it; but his aged sister remembered his desire and anxiety to build a stone embankment for the river of Tus; she accepted it, and had the dyke built in honour of the memory of her poet-brother. She could not realize then that her brother had constructed a far more durable monument for his memory that, as time went on, the beauty and the real value of his Shab Nameh would be appreciated by civilized mankind, either in East or West, North or South. Not only his own people are singing it still, after nine hundred years, his popular verses; not only the Shab Nameh has been translated into many European languages; but even Christian publications in America are quoting from his immortal work:

I sought my brother out, and found all three,
My soul, my God, and all humanity.—Firdusi.

The interpretation of his father's dream was fulfilled after 1,000 years.

**Translations of the Shab Nameh into European languages**

Of the numerous translations, that of French Professor Jules Mohl's complete rendering into a European tongue is pronounced by all scholars to be a truly perfect piece of work, reproducing faithfully the very spirit of the original. Every language must have its high form of expression of the beauty of the Shab Nameh to do justice to the poet. As one author states it requires 7 years of study of Persian language in order to translate the poem as the poet has written it.

To quote the opening lines of the Persian—

_Banam-i-khudaavand-i-jam-o khirad_  
_Kazin birtar andexha bar nagzarud._  
_Khudaavand-i-nam-o-khudaavand-i-ja_  
_Khudaavand-i-ruzi-dibi-o-rab-numa._

And the English version:

_Great Lord of Life, Wisdom! In thy name_  
_Which to transcend no flight of thought may claim._  
_The Lord of honour, Lord of place and pride_  
_Who gives our daily bread and is our guide._

Two gems side by side. The Occident may vie with the Orient in popularizing the verses of Firdusi.

It is doubtful if the fire and magic colouring of the original could be transported into any language. This may not be the case of poetries written originally in European languages wherein most of the words used are the same but pronounced differently. While an Oriental language, which delights in using entirely native-created words, often created for the occasion as is the case in the Shab Nameh, and are used in the versification for the first time, is well-nigh an impossibility to have the translated work compare with the sonorous sweep of its original. It is in this latter where the genius of the translator plays an important part.

**RUDABEH**

Her name Rudabeh; screened from public view,  
Her countenance is brilliant as the sun;  
From head to foot her lovely form is fair  
As polished ivory. Like the Spring, her cheek  
Presents a radiant bloom, in stature tall,  
And o'er her silvery brightness, richly flow  
Dark musky ringlets clustering to her feet.  
She blushes like the rich pomegranate flower;  
Her eyes are soft and sweet as the narcissus,  
Her lashes from the raven's jetty plume  
Have stolen their blackness, and her brows are bent  
Like the archer's bow. Ask ye to see the moon?  
Look at her face. Ask ye for musky fragrance?  
She is all sweetness. Her long fingers seem  
Pencils of silver, and so beautiful  
Her presence, that she breathes of Heaven and love.

**JEMSHID**

Helmets and swords, with curious art they made,  
Guided by Jemshid's skill; and silks and linen  
And robes of fur and ermine. Desert lands  
Were cultivated; and wherever stream  
Or rivulet wandered, and the soil was good,  
He fixed the habitations of his people;  
And there they ploughed and reaped; for in that age  
All laboured; none in sloth and idleness  
Was suffered to remain, since indolence  
Too often vanquishes the best, and turns  
To sought the noblest, firmest resolution.

—From the Shab Nameh.

---

Kiumers, in his poetry.

The ancient name of Persia; officially this ancient title, Iran, was substituted on 23rd March 1935.

---

**ANNOUNCING THE PUBLICATION of an attractively produced and redesigned ISLAMIC CALENDAR for 1953 C.E.**

(1372-1373 A.H.)

**with the following distinctive features**

(a) Solar (_Shamsi_) and Lunar (_Qamarli_) year dates are shown in two different colours, black and green, in squares printed on one page to each month.

(b) Dates of principal Muslim and National holidays in the various Muslim countries of the world are shown.

(a) The Calendar card bears an illustration of new design printed in 4 colours showing the flags of the 22 principal Muslim countries.

Price (single copies) 2/6 including postage and packing (and purchase tax 8d extra in England). Limited Quantity. Reduction on larger quantities.

Orders can be placed with our representatives or with: _The Islamic Review_, The Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, England, or _The Islamic Review_, Azeez Manzil, Brandreth Road, Lahore, Pakistan.

---

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
BOOK REVIEW


Modern Christians have of late been willing, perhaps anxious, to surrender all tenets of Christianity if Virgin Birth and the physical Resurrection of Jesus Christ are retained and are subscribed to. Jesus in "Heaven on Earth" is the answer. The author deals with both these subjects from the Biblical and Quranic points of view. He is quite alive to the delicate nature of his subject and candidly admits that he is writing as a Muslim only. He points out that while to those two miracles the Christians turn with the most cherished eagerness and on them is their faith fixed, yet separately or collectively they do not form any part of the creed of a Muslim. Therefore, while to the Christians they constitute an essential feature of the faith, the interest of a Muslim in these two incidents is purely academic.

One has to concede that the author has a complete mastery of his subject. His knowledge of the Bible, so far as Muslims, and perhaps many Christians, are concerned, is remarkable. But for this he has had a training of years in matters religious. Apart from his being connected with the Woking Muslim Mission, he was the Imam of the Mosque at Woking for a couple of years, and edited The Islamic Review for about twelve years. He is a forceful, I almost said too forceful, writer, and he is, at times, vehement in his observations. After dealing with the two incidents in all their details from the Biblical point of view he tersely sums up his conclusions by saying: "Lo and behold! the two miracles on which is founded the entire Christian faith disappear. The stupendous Christological superstructure so laboriously built falls into a heap of rubbish." In another place he throws out a great challenge — but this challenge is based on facts supported by unassailable authorities. This challenge really threatens to expose the hoax under which humanity has suffered for the last twenty centuries. He asserts: "Christians believe that Jesus is alive in Heaven, so do Catholics of Mary and Jews of Moses. But their journeys to Kashmir are now beyond question and their tombs have been traced." Indeed, after reading the relevant chapters disparately one cannot come to a different conclusion. The Fatwa of Professor Mahmud Shalutur of al-Azhar University, Cairo, a translation of which is produced verbatim, is convincing, and the chapter "In the Light of the Holy Quran", dealing with the birth of Jesus, leaves one wondering whether any contrary view is possible at all. It is not the function of a reviewer to express his own opinion about the subject discussed in the book. I will content myself with saying that if read without any prejudiced or preconceived ideas the book is not unconvinving.

I have made a fairly deep study of comparative religion. In spite of this I must confess that some of the facts set out by the author were new to me. The book has been aptly described as a production of revelations. At least some of the facts mentioned were a revelation to me. I will just mention a few:

1. The Four Canonical Gospels of the New Testament owe their origin to the divergent views and the consequent tripartite disputes between Paul, Peter and James, the brother of Jesus.
2. St. Thomas was the twin brother of Jesus, and he was martyred in Madras.
3. Mary, the Mother of Jesus, came to these parts and was buried at Murree (Mari), Pakistan, and the town was named after her. Murree is locally known as Mach-ari, the place visited by the Messiah.

(4) Jesus was at Taxila, Pakistan, in about 60 C.E., and joined the wedding ceremonies of a nephew of King Gondaphares.

(5) Jesus visited India twice — once at the age of twelve, and remained in these parts for about sixteen years, and the second time after his supposed resurrection.

(6) The most startling fact of all is that even Moses came to Kashmir, and lies buried there, and that certain facts mentioned in the Holy Qur'an popularly connected with Khizr did take place during the reign of King Nusain, who is said to have been a contemporary of Moses.

The author has marshalled his facts properly and the book teems with references and quotations with due citations. The authorities relied upon by him, both Oriental and Western, including manuscripts, range from 115 C.E. to 1949, and the latest book on Kashmir, Dr. Sufi's Kabir, is also referred to. The quotations from a "Purana" and "A Life of Jesus" to be found in Pali manuscript in a Buddhist monastery at Himis are not without interest. The quotations from the Apocryphal literature, which was preached in churches till the fifth century of the Christian era, are also very illuminating.

The distinctive features of the book appear in Parts I, IV and V. In Part I a comparison of the Bible is made with the Holy Qur'an — their origin, authenticity and purity of text are discussed. In Parts II and III the birth and death of Jesus is explained at length. In Part IV the author gives a comparison of the Biblical Jesus with the Prophet Muhammad. We Muslims are enjoined not to make comparisons between different prophets of God. But the author makes a distinction between 'Isa of the Holy Qur'an, a prophet of God, a mere man, who preached the truth, and Jesus of the Bible, who is described as a product of Mythus, a Son-God who did not or could not achieve anything, who was hardly accepted by anyone in his time in Palestine, and whose few disciples forsook him at the most crucial moment of his life.

In Part V the author describes Afghans and Kashmiris as descendants of the remnants of the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel. This part of the book is profusely illustrated and the research work is creditable. The author has marshalled his facts most skillfully and presented them in such a way that they are highly convincing. The different histories and other books of historical value with regard to the beautiful vale of Kashmir have been digested and cited. I must say that the pains taken by the author and the extreme limits to which he has gone for the purposes of investigation is marvellous.

The mass conversions to Muslim faith, as we have seen in our time, totalling 95 per cent of the whole population of Kashmir, is not the work of a single Prophet. The History of Kashmir (in Persian), two volumes by the Nawai Kishore Press of Lucknow, contains the life history of more than 5,000 spiritual leaders who reached this "Paradise on Earth" for Introspection, Peace, Progress and Retirement from the worldly life. The most overwhelming virtue of Muslims is their work of spiritual healing by living and preaching among the late inhabitants of this lovely valley.

Books in European languages other than English which have been referred to only sparingly have been excluded from the bibliography, but books and manuscripts in Oriental languages have been included. The object has been that such readers who wish to extend their knowledge of the subject, or who wish to contrast the author's conclusion with the earlier views, may be able to do so. The book has a comprehensive index.
ALL HAVE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY

But only the world famed
KOH-1-NOR L. & C. HARDTMUTH
Pencil made in Czechoslovakia
has asserted itself

Exported by:
LIGNA LTD.
Dept. KOH-1-NOR L. & C. HARDTMUTH
PRAHA – Czechoslovakia
SA'UDI ARABIA'S FIRST WEST COAST BULK PLANT IS NOW IN OPERATION. ARAMCO'S JEDDAH INSTALLATION ON THE RED SEA COAST IS DISTRIBUTING GASOLINE, KEROSENE AND FUEL OIL FOR THE EXPANDING INDUSTRIAL NEEDS OF ARABIA.
### Books on Islam

#### Books by Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Ideal Prophet. Demy 8vo.</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>£ 12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Running Commentary on the Holy Qur'an. Royal 8vo.</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>£ 8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction to the Study of the Holy Qur'an.</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>£ 10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islam and the Muslim. Crown 8vo.</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>£ 6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threshold of Truth. Crown 8vo.</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>£ 7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open Letters to the Bishops of Salisbury and London. Demy 8vo.</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>£ 6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sources of Christianity. Demy 8vo.</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>£ 4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table Talk. Crown 8vo.</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>£ 5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion of Jesus and Transaction in Christianity. Crown 8vo.</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>£ 3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islam and Christianity. Demy 8vo.</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>£ 3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Message of Islam. Demy 8vo.</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>£ 2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God and His Attributes. Demy 8vo.</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>£ 2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayings of Muhammad. Crown 8vo.</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>£ 1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islam on Slavery. Demy 8vo.</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>£ 1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haman Faculties and their Development. Demy 8vo.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>£ 1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hints to the Study of the Qur'an.</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>£ 1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islam and other Religions. Demy 8vo.</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>£ 1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islam and What It Means. Demy 8vo.</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>£ 1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islam, my only Choice. Demy 8vo.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>£ 1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad the Historical Prophet. Crown 8vo.</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>£ 1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opening of the Heart. Demy 8vo.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>£ 1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creed of Progress. Demy 8vo.</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>£ 1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Difficulty is Ease, Demy 8vo.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>£ 1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hell and Heaven. Demy 8vo.</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>£ 1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resurrection. Crown 8vo.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>£ 0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brief Notes on the Qur'an. Demy 8vo.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>£ 1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biblical &amp; Quranic Adam.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>£ 1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islam to East and West. Demy 8vo.</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>£ 7.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Books by Maulana Muhammad ‘Ali

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Holy Qur'an with Arabic Text, Translation and Commentary...Lxx + 1256 pages</td>
<td>3 0</td>
<td>£ 0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leather bound—1st Quality</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leather bound—2nd Quality</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Holy Qur'an, English Translation without Arabic Text, with short notes and explanations</td>
<td>631</td>
<td>£ 11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islam and the Islamic State.</td>
<td>784</td>
<td>£ 17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual of Hadith. Demy 8vo.</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>£ 11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad the Prophet. Crown 8vo.</td>
<td>520</td>
<td>£ 16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Caliphate. Crown 8vo.</td>
<td>520</td>
<td>£ 16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of the Prophets. Crown 8vo.</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>£ 6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living Thoughts of Muhammad. Crown 8vo.</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>£ 5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad and Christ. Crown 8vo.</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>£ 4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim Prayer Book</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>£ 2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New World Order. Crown 8vo.</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>£ 2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamic Law of Marriage and Divorce. Crown 8vo.</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>£ 1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alleged Atrocities of the Prophet Muhammad. Crown 8vo.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>£ 1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction to the Study of the Holy Qur'an.</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>£ 6.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Books by Different Authors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Meaning of The glorious Koran</td>
<td>691</td>
<td>£ 1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by Marmaduke Pickthall. An explanatory translation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Translations of the Holy Qur'an</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>£ 1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Books by Author

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Futuh-ul-Ghaib, translated by Aftab-ud-Din Ahmad. Crown 8vo.</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>£ 8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wright's Arabic Grammar in Profile</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>£ 2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teach Yourself Arabic, by A. S. Tritton.</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>£ 7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revival of Zakat, by Sh. 'Ata Ullah.</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>£ 8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golden Deeds of Islam, by M. Ya'qub Khan. Crown 8vo.</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>£ 7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studies in Islam and Christianity, by Dudley Wright, Crown 8vo.</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>£ 6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A New World, by W. B. Basyir-Pickard, B.A.(Cantab.). Crown 8vo.</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>£ 4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three Great Prophets of the World, by Lord Headley. Crown 8vo.</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>£ 4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affinity between the Original Church of Jesus Christ and Islam, by Lord Headley. Crown 8vo.</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>£ 3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are the Gospels Inspired? by Mauvli Sadr-uddin. Royal 8vo.</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>£ 3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Message of the Holy Prophet Muhammad to Europe, by Dr. Marcus. Royal 8vo.</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>£ 2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is Islam? by J. W. Lovegrove. Crown 8vo.</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>£ 2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What does Muhammad Teach Jesus, by E. E. Power. Royal 8vo.</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>£ 2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islam and Socialism, by Khwaja Nazir Ahmad. Royal 8vo.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>£ 1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Anti-Christ and the Messiah. Crown 8vo.</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>£ 7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Status of Women in Islam, by Mauvli Aftab-ud-Din</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>£ 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modernization of the Islamic Form of Devotion. Demy 8vo.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>£ 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life of Muhammad, by Al-Haj F. Hakem.</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>£ 9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohammedanism, by H. A. R. Gibb.</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>£ 5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohammad in World Scriptures, by Abu Haque Vidyarthi.</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>£ 10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Teachings of Islam, by Ghulam Ahmad. Crown 8vo.</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>£ 2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Western Awakening to Islam, by Lord Headley. Crown 8vo.</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>£ 7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legacy of Islam, Edited by Sir Thomas Arnold and Alfred Guillaume.</td>
<td>416</td>
<td>£ 1.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustrated with photographs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outlines of Mahomedan Law, by Asaf A. Fynee.</td>
<td>432</td>
<td>£ 1.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The God that Failed, by Arthur Kostler, Ignazio Silone and Richard Wright</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>£ 12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heroes and Hero Worship, by Carlisle (including Sartor Resartus)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>£ 5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avicenna on Theology. Translated from the Arabic by Professor J. H.</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>£ 4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Message of Islam. A résumé of the teachings of the Qur'an, with special reference to the spiritual and moral struggles of the human soul, by A. Yusuf 'Ali</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>£ 5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Arabs — A Short History, by Philip K. Hitti.</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>£ 10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making of Pakistan, by Richard Symonds.</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>£ 18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holy Qur'an (Arabic Text only). Small, 4&quot; x 5½&quot;</td>
<td>848</td>
<td>£ 7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holy Qur'an (Arabic text only).</td>
<td>730</td>
<td>£ 12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisdom of the Qur'an, by Mahmud Mukhtar-Kattelroo. Demy 8vo.</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>£ 10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of the Arabs, by H. K. Hitti.</td>
<td>822</td>
<td>£ 2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the footsteps of the Prophet, by Rafiq M. Khan.</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>£ 4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Pakistan, by Rafiq M. Khan and Herbert S. Stark</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>£ 5.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Note

Prices subject to change. Postage and Packing Extra.