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JANUARY 1958
Between Ourselves

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THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
DEATH AND TORTURE IN ALGERIA

The Commission of Safeguard Reports on French Atrocities

The text of the report by the Commission of Safeguard on cases of alleged repression by French forces in Algeria was published in full by the Parisian French national daily, Le Monde, without Government approval. The newspaper said that it felt it was justified in taking this action because the Government had made repeated promises during the past three months to publish the report soon, but had failed to do so. It is not known from where Le Monde secured its copy, but these things are not difficult in France.

The Commission of Safeguard was appointed by the Mollet Government in April 1957, when public disquiet about reports of torture, brutality and arbitrary internment was at its height. It was ordered not only to inquire into these reports but to secure evidence against those who were circulating false and exaggerated ones for political purposes. Among its twelve members were prominent lawyers, doctors, soldiers and civil servants, including M. Francois Poncet, former Ambassador in Bonn. Its President was M. Pierre Betille, of the Supreme Court of Appeal.

During October 1957 three members resigned. One of them, M. de la Vignette, explained that he was doing so because the Government had failed to honour its promise to keep the Commission informed of the action taken as a result of its findings.

It is incontestable, states the Report, that in spite of precise orders, acts of violence have been committed, often in the heat of combat. In 274 cases disciplinary action has been taken against the officers or men responsible. The Report mentions three incidents, not known about before, in which many suspects died from asphyxiation through being locked up for the night in wine cellars. At Ain-Isser, near Tlemcen, 100 suspects were shut up in this way before being cross-examined. They cried for help during the night, but in vain, and the next day 41 were found dead. The company commander, distraught, ordered a fatigue party to hide the bodies in the surrounding countryside. He was found out and severely punished. Thirty-seven other suspects died from asphyxiation by alcoholic fumes on two other occasions.

The Report observes that all the officers responsible were between 21 and 26 years of age, and it blames the system which allows men so young to be thrown into conditions that are too much for them. It notes that, although the local Muslim population knew about these three incidents, no one thought of informing the French authorities. It suggests that this might have been through fear or indifference, or else might show the extent to which the Muslims have lost confidence in their local French authorities.

It says that when the military command in Oran learnt of these incidents it did nothing to prevent their recurrence further than to circulate memoranda reminding all ranks that wine cellars, even well cleaned ones, should not be used as billets for troops, suspects or prisoners.

Speaking of tortures, the Report regards these as sporadic individual acts rather than part of a general system. It points out that General Massu, whose parachute troops wiped out so many terrorist cells in Algiers, gave orders that no excesses should be committed, and that every effort should be made to distinguish between the guilty and the innocent and make contacts with the Muslim masses.

The excesses carried out by the troops under his command were, therefore, not sanctioned from above. Each time an act of torture was reported the military authorities opened an inquiry. It complains, however, that none of these inquiries has yet been completed.

The Report admits that brutal methods of cross-questioning are often effective in securing information that
would not be got by gentler means. There is no doubt that attacks which might have claimed many victims have been avoided because of information extricated from suspects under torture. But the Commission feels that in the long run these methods may do more harm than good, by adding to the climate of fear and hatred.

Slow justice

One of the main problems, the Report goes on, is that French legislation has not been adapted to the situation in Algeria. Judicial procedure is slow, and some of the rights normally allowed to the defence are incompatible with the need for justice to be swift and exemplary if it is to be respected by Muslims. This is held to be one of the reasons why soldiers and police often take the law into their hands when dealing with prisoners.

The Report says some of the many complaints of torture were genuine and some were false. Many complaints by self-styled victims were so identical that they sounded like a lesson learnt by heart.

The Commission is satisfied with living conditions in the eight Algerian internment camps, which house nearly 6,000 Muslims. An exception is the condemned cells, where terrorists awaiting execution are "treated in an inhuman manner, with three in the same cell." The Report also complains of a number of arbitrary house arrests, especially of Muslim lawyers suspected on highly circumstantial evidence of aiding the rebels. In May, M. Lacoste set up a Commission to examine the cases of 5,000 persons under house arrest, as a result of which 327 have been set free.

The Report then passes to what the Commission thinks is the most disquieting aspect of the matter — the many cases of people who have completely disappeared without their relatives hearing what has happened to them. Many of these, it says, have probably gone to join the rebels, fearing that the police would catch them if they did not; but there remain other cases, such as that of the Communist professor, Maurice Audin — where men have disappeared after being arrested by parachute troops.

The Report complains that the Army and police often fail to advise next of kin after they have arrested people. It recommends that the police force in Algiers be enlarged to take over duties for which the parachute troops are ill-fitted.

---

**THE DIVINE DIVAN**

29

Thou art no stranger, whoso' er thou art,
Or wheresoe' er thou art. Take this thought to thy heart:
One God there is, One Love there is, enfolding humankind.

30

Within the mighty city truly thou shalt find
Thyself amidst thy brothers, if thou be not blind.
Alike in busy township or in tiny village, placed
Remote amidst the mountains, surely thou shalt taste
Sweet knowledge that thy brothers by God's love are graced.
Yea, love them! for thou art no stranger.
Nothing this blessed truth shall e'er endanger.

Or, if thou wert alone from humankind,
Dwelling within some desert unconfined
Or mountain waste or forest deep and blind,
Canst thou not lavish thine affection kind
On bird or beast, no more to man confined?
Or dog or cat
Or mouse or rat?
Canst thou not love the humble bee,
That lives and loves, like thee?
Fill, then, thy heart with love of God and be not blind.

William Bashyr Pickard.

---

**THE LIFE AND THOUGHT OF MUHAMMAD JALAL-UD-DIN RUMI**

By AFZAL IQBAL

Pp. XI+181

"I recommend this book warmly; it is a pleasure to read and it holds the key to further delight for those many who will be encouraged to study further the immortal poetry of Rumi".

(Professor A. J. Arberry of Pembroke College, Cambridge, England)
THE CHAR ge OF PLAGIARISM AGAINST THE QUR’AN

The present Bible cannot be the source of the Qur’an

By DR. S. ‘ABID AHMED ‘ALI

“It is the glory of the Qur’an and the greatness of the Prophet Muhammad that they exonerated all the prophets from the calumnies that had been heaped upon them by the Jews and Christians for centuries; extolled Jesus to the skies, and declared his mother innocent of ‘a great calumny’ (4:156), besides declaring her to be the noblest of women (3:41). It is a great debt that the Jews and Christians owe to the Qur’an and Muhammad; but their ignorance and prejudice prevent them from acknowledging it (3:18). We have sent thee as a witness and bearer of good tidings (48:8).”

The present Bible cannot be the source of the Qur’an

Often the Qur’an is charged with plagiarism from the Bible by Christian writers. It is true that a superficial or prejudiced reader of the Qur’an might be misled by the occurrence of the names of the Hebrew prophets and the apparent similarity in the stories woven around them, as also by the frequent mention of Jesus and Mary. A close study, however, of the mode of treatment of this material by the Qur’an, and particularly the points of divergence in the Qur’anic and Biblical versions of the accounts of the prophets will, I believe, convince any reader of the Qur’an that at least the present Bible could not be the source for these materials. Since the Higher Criticism of the Bible has dismissed the idea of the Bible being a revelation (and the present form is certainly man-made), it would be futile to tell a Westerner that the source of these accounts of the prophets, as also of the whole Qur’an, could be revelation from God, “Who knows the hidden in the heavens and the earth” (25:6); “. . . a revelation from the All-Wise, the Praisedworthy: a mighty book that falsehood cannot assail either from behind it or from in front of it” (41:41-42).

One of the many tasks the Qur’an sets itself is to declare the exalted position of the prophets of God.

The Qur’an, instead of borrowing histories of the prophets from the Bible, sets before itself the tasks: (1) of “narrating correctly to the Children of Israel most of that regarding which they differ” (27:76), and of freeing the Israelite prophets from the calumnies brought against them and against Jesus and Mary by the Jews and Christians; (2) of declaring the exalted position of all the prophets: that they were all men of unimpeachable character and were all of them on the Straight Path (6:84-88); and (3) of entrusting the correct versions of their narratives to a people who will not deny or corrupt them (6:90). The Qur’an takes the stern view that if any of the prophets had ever erred or had committed shirk, “all that they had done should have come to nought” (6:89). On the other hand, the Qur’an affirms in unequivocal terms that all the prophets, including Jesus, were given “the knowledge of the Book, wisdom and prophethood” (6:90). They were all holy personages, not in the ecclesiastical sense of the word, but in the Islamic sense, i.e., they were, besides being prophets, the doers of
good deeds. “We made them leaders to guide (people) by Our command, and We enjoined upon them the doing of good deeds, the establishment of prayer and giving of alms. They all worshipped us” (21 : 73 ; see also 21 : 25). “And We made them all righteous” (21 : 72).

These are the basic Qur’anic conceptions of the prophets that God sent from time to time to guide humanity; and one has only to cast a cursory glance at the Biblical accounts in order to see the fundamental difference between the two versions. The Qur’anic versions, though sketchy (for here “the intention is not to tell a tale”), depict them as highly honoured, respectable and lovable characters by virtue of their good deeds; whereas the Biblical accounts of their deeds often repel us. For instance, you realize the full significance of “he (Abraham) was truthful and a prophet” (19 : 41), and “Solomon fell not into disbelief” (2 : 102) only when you read in the Bible that Abraham could tell a lie and Solomon worshipped idols. You have only to read the accounts of, e.g., Aaron (Gen. 32), David (2. Sam. 11 : 2-13), Solomon (1 Kings 11 : 4), Lot (Gen. 19 : 31-34), Jacob (Gen. 27), etc., to be filled with amazement at the audacity and the impudence of the Jews “who wrote the book with their own hands saying this was from God” (2 : 79). But the real amazement is at the Christians, who never pondered over what they inherited from the Jews. I think one need not go into details here, for a Muslim would shudder before uttering these things even as a report. It is enough to say that it was left to the Qur’an and the last Prophet to absolve all the prophets from the calumnies of the Jews and Christians and place before mankind the noble conception of a prophet of God. You have to search in vain the literature of other religions for a noble conception of a prophet or a saint. One realizes the force of the saying of the Prophet Muhammad, “The learned amongst my people are of the rank of the Israelite prophets,” when one reads the Bible.

The Qur’anic view of Jesus and Mary compared with that of the Gospels

Any impartial reader of the Qur’an and the Gospels can see that the latter could not be the source for the account either of Jesus or Mary; for the Qur’anic approach to both these great personalities is fundamentally different to the one adopted in the Gospels. It is true that the Church thinks it has put Jesus Christ on a very high pedestal when it declared Him to be the son of God and one person in the Trinity; and declared Mary to be the Mother of God, a divinity and a saint. But the Qur’anic description of Jesus Christ as one of a long line of Israelite prophets is noble in the extreme and commands respect; while Mary, for whom there was room in the Gospels for only a few supercilious references, would, according to the description given in the Qur’an, always rank as the godliest, saintliest and noblest woman (in the Qur’anic sense), and would command the respect of everyone who reads the Qur’an — a respect greater than that of one who reads the Gospels. The French scholar and translator of the Qur’an, Regis Blachère, and his kin may well tear their hair and rack their brains over the problem of the origins of the accounts of the prophets in the Qur’an; but it must be the worst type of prejudice, bigoted ignorance and rank materialism which would ascribe the origin of the accounts of the prophets in the Qur’an to the Bible. How can a book, the origins of which are shrouded in mystery, be brought as a witness against the Qur’an? It would have been reasonable for anyone familiar with the history of the transmission of the Bible and findings of the Higher Criticism to presume that there must have been earlier and more correct versions of both the Old Testament and the New Testament which are now lost to the Jews and the Christians for ever. It is only through the Qur’an that we can get a true picture not only of the Israelite prophets but also a correct idea of their teachings: “Surely this Qur’an narrates to the children of Israel most of that concerning which they differ” (27 : 76).

It is the glory of the Qur’an and the greatness of the Prophet Muhammad that they exonerated all the prophets from the calumnies that had been heaped upon them by the Jews and Christians for centuries; extolled Jesus to the skies, and declared his mother innocent of “a great calumny” (4 : 156), besides declaring her to be the noblest of women (3 : 41). It is a great debt that the Jews and the Christians owe to the Qur’an and Muhammad; but their ignorance and prejudice prevent them from acknowledging it (3 : 18). “We have sent thee as a witness and bearer of good tidings” (48 : 8).
There is no concubinage in Islam

By THE LATE MUHAMMAD ‘ALI

Islam condemns concubinage

To remove all misconception, I must state at the very outset that the term concubinage in its more generally received sense is not applicable to any institution sanctioned by the Islamic law. The primary significance of the word concubinage as given by Webster is “cohabiting a man and a woman who are not legally married”, which is forbidden by the Holy Qur’an whether the woman be a free woman or a slave. It is also true that the word concubinage is also used to denote a marriage with a woman of an inferior condition, in which sense the term is applicable to the Islamic institution which sanctioned marriage to slaves, but the ambiguity in the meaning of this word has given rise to much calumny against Islam; and it is, therefore, time that the use of the term concerning the Islamic institution to which it is applied should be altogether abandoned. Canon Sell, a Christian writer, says: “The sanction given to unlimited concubinage was even a worse mistake. It is sometimes urged in its defence that the ‘social evil’ is less in Muslim lands than in others; but ‘concubinage’ does not materially differ from prostitution, and whilst the latter is strictly forbidden by the dominant religion of Europe, concubinage is as directly permitted in Islam.”

This statement is devoid of all truth. It involves four different assertions, viz., that concubinage is permitted by Islam, that it does not differ from prostitution, that Christendom is free of both these evils, and that the dominant religion of Europe prohibited concubinage, as it was sanctioned by the law of Moses and as it prevailed among the Israelites. This last assertion, though not made in words, necessarily follows from the attack directed at Islam on account of its permission of “concubinage”. I have not yet come across a single pas-

1 See The Islamic Review Nos. 10, 11, and 12 for October, November and December 1957.

Islam’s view of prostitution

Much stress is laid on the point that prostitution, if not concubinage, was directly forbidden by Christianity. On referring to the Bible, the only passages which directly forbid prostitution are to be met with in Lev. 21: 29, and Deut. 23: 7, while the Gospels give one to understand that the
publicans and harlots shall have precedence in the Kingdom of God over the Pharisees and the Jewish priests. Assuming, however, that prostitution was prohibited by Jesus, because no prophet of God could have allowed such a horrible evil to prevail, the question is: What did Christianity do to uproot this evil from among its adherents? A still more important question is, whether it has been successful in coping with the evil. As regards the first point, a Christian writer in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th edition) observes: "The Church, however, was not severe upon prostitutes, to whom the altar was open upon repentance, and some of the fathers explicitly recognized their trade as a necessary evil (the italics are author's). Among them was St. Augustine . . . who saw that its suppression would stimulate more destructive forms of immorality. Gradually charity degenerated into patronage . . . Before the middle ages the institutions and ministers of the Church became a by-word for vice. Charlemagne made an effort to suppress the prevailing disorder, but his private life was licentious, and its capitiaries, which ordained the scourging of prostitutes and panders, were not inspired by any regard for morality." I do not deny that attempts were made to suppress the evil, but either like the effort of Charlemagne such efforts originated with men who themselves led immoral lives or they were too feeble to cope with the raging evil as they were not based on any wise principle. The same writer goes on to say: "In spite of such efforts, and of occasional spasms of severity by individual rulers, prostitution prevailed everywhere throughout the Middle Ages. It was not merely tolerated, but licensed and regulated by law. In London there was a row of brothels. . . . They were originally licensed by the Bishop of Winchester . . . and subsequently sanctioned by Parliament. . . . On the Continent much the same state of things prevailed during the same period. Prostitution was both protected and regulated, in many cases it constituted a source of public revenue."

The present state of European countries is no better, so far as prostitution is concerned. The fearful prevalence of prostitution in Europe should serve as a reply to the undue praise of Christianity by Mr. Sell, and also as a reply to his calumnious attack against Islam. He must rely either on the abstract teachings of Christianity which do not prohibit polygamy and concubinage, or if he refers us to general Christian practice in these respects, he cannot disown prostitution, which has always prevailed among Christian nations. The growth of prostitution has been the necessary consequence of the prohibition of polygamy, and if prostitution was not recognized or permitted in the early Christian society, it is truer still that polygamy was not forbidden for a long time. As the one began to be looked upon with disfavour, the other became prevalent. It is sometimes urged that poverty is the chief cause of prostitution, but there is no truth in this statement. As the conditions of the poor in all civilized nations is getting better, prostitution, instead of decreasing, is becoming more rampant. And the conclusion to which great thinkers have come is very disappointing. "Prostitution," some think, "appears to be inseparable from human society in large communities. Nor have all the social and administrative resources of modern civilization availed to exercise an effective control. The elementary laws on which prostitution rests are stronger than the artificial codes imposed by moral teaching, conventional standards or legislature; and attempts at repression only lead to a change of form, not substance. It survives all treatment, and though it may co-exist with national vigour, its extravagant development is one of the signs of a rotten and decaying civilization." The view that prostitution is inseparable from human society in large communities is not true.

We would be doubting the goodness of God if we suppose that there is no remedy for the evil of prostitution. "There is no disease in the world," said the Prophet Mohammad "but there is also a remedy for it." And this word disease is used in the widest sense, as comprehending all physical, moral and spiritual diseases. And he proved the truth of his saying by uprooting all evils, even the most deep-rooted evils, such as prostitution, drunkenness and gambling, not only from Arabia where they raged at the time of his advent with the same force as they now rage in Europe and other Christian countries, but also from among his followers in other countries for many centuries. It is in Islam, therefore, that we meet with a society which remained free from the evil of prostitution for centuries, and it is the Islamic remedy which can uproot the evil that has battled all human efforts.

**Concubinage as practised in some Muslim countries**

Marriage to female slaves, which is generally called concubinage, was a particular kind of matrimonial connection necessitated by the particular conditions of society at that time and stage. As has been shown in the preceding articles, Islam enjoined a gradual emancipation of slaves and the clear tendency of its teachings was to abolish slavery altogether. If the later circumstances of Muslim society did not favour the growth of this tendency, the principle cannot be found fault with. At any rate, modern slavery is decidedly illegal according to the Islamic law, and, therefore, if any form of concubinage prevails at present in any Muslim country, it is not based on that law. At the same time, concubinage, as practised even now in some Muslim countries, is certainly a form of marriage and quite opposed to prostitution and adultery. Prostitution is defined as "offering the body to indiscriminate sexual intercourse for hire", while in concubinage there is need for promiscuous intercourse, nor does the woman submit to cohabitation for gain. To say, therefore, that with modern Muslims concubinage does not materially differ from prostitution is a bare falsehood. Nor is adultery, because even where a man having already a wife has a concubine, he is a man having two wives. The issue of an adulterous connection does not inherit the father, but a concubine's issue under the current practice is co-heir with the wife's issue, if there is any, to the father's property. When the issue is recognized as legitimate by the law, the connection of the parents cannot be termed illegal. The man stands to the woman in the relation of a husband because her children from him are lawful heirs to him; the woman stands in the relation of wife to the man because his cohabitation with anyone besides him would amount to adultery on her part. Thus both parties are bound to each other in the relation of husband and wife, and they have their respective liabilities and obligations. The utmost that can be said for this connection is that it is a low form of marriage in which the wife has not all the rights that accrue from marriage, and the marriage ceremony is not performed in the manner enjoined by the law, but still it is a marriage. The essential difference between an adulterous connection and a legal connection is that in the former the issue of the connection is not heir to the father while the latter is. Judging by this criterion, concubinage falls under the category of marriage. It is wrongly supposed to be equivalent to keeping a mistress, which practice is frequently resorted to in countries where polygamy is prohibited by law. The mistress has no right to the issue and does not inherit the father and the parties are not bound to each other by any connection except that which is produced by passion. But the concubine has not only here the rights and a certain status, but the connection is further attended with all the advantages which
result from a true marriage union. Such is the concubinage at present practised in some Muslim countries, and it is easy to see that it differs from prostitution and adultery to the same extent as marriage does, its only distinction from marriage consisting in the low position of the wife and the informality of the marriage ceremony.

The Islamic law of marriage to slaves

It has now to be seen what the actual Islamic law was in connection with marriages to slaves. Before the advent of Islam it was the practice in Arabia that slave girls were compelled to live by prostitution, the gain being taken by their masters. This practice was abolished by the Holy Qur'an, as the following verse shows:

“And do not compel your slave girls to prostitution if they desire to keep content (or to be married) for the transitory gain of this world” (24 : 33).

At the same time the Holy Qur'an enjoined the Muslims to marry their slaves, if they had any, whether male or female. Thus it says:

“And marry the single amongst you, and the righteous among your male and female slaves. If they be poor, God will enrich them of His grace” (24 : 32).

Here we have the direct commandment for the marriage of slaves, both male and female. Though the slaves are repeatedly spoken of in the Holy Qur'an as a distinct class from the free population, yet in the manner of marriage, the barrier existing between the two classes was raised when intermarriage became necessary. The following cases are explicitly recorded in the Holy Qur'an:

“Marry not idolatrous women until they believe, for surely a believing slave girl is better than an idolatrous free woman even though she please you. And wed not Muslim girls to idolatrous men, until they believe, for a believing slave is better than an idolator, even though he please you” (2 : 220).

According to this verse, a Muslim slave girl must be preferred in marriage to an idolatrous free woman, and a Muslim slave to an idolatrous free man. Hence, we have not only Muslim free men marrying slave girls, but also Muslim free women marrying slaves. The slave girls were not, therefore, taken as concubines, as mistresses are taken in England and other European countries, but they were taken in marriage as wives, only their status in society was not the same as that of free women.

On another occasion, marriage to slave girls is permitted in still plainer words. This occurs in the chapter entitled The Women:

“And whoever of you is not rich enough to marry free believing women (i.e., has not the means to pay their dowry and defray their expenses, which were very large in comparison with those of slaves), then let him marry out of your believing women that your right hands possess; God well knows your faith. You are sprung the one from the other, i.e., the slaves are like yourselves, human beings, and there is no harm in intermarriages with them when necessary. Marry your slave girls then with the permission of their people, and give them a fair dower, but they should be chaste and free from fornication and not entertainers of lovers. If after marriage they commit adultery, then inflict upon them half the punishment inflicted (in such a case) upon free married women. This law is for him among you who is afraid of doing wrong, (i.e., by remaining single), but if you abstain, it will be better for you” (4 : 29, 30).

From these verses it is clear that a slave girl was not a concubine according to the Islamic law, except in the sense that she had not the same status as a free woman. The condition that a slave girl should be married only where a man had not the means to marry a free woman, also shows that the only difference in the two cases was that it was easier to obtain wives of a lower rank. The expenses required to maintain a free wife were higher than in the case of slave girls. Adultery in their case was still punishable, though the punishment was less on account of the lowness of their position. In other respects the verses do not show any difference.

The Qur'an does not permit a master to cohabit with his female slave without proper marriage

It does not appear from the Holy Qur'an, as had been supposed, that a master could cohabit with his female slaves at his will, i.e., without the two being united as husband and wife. This inference has wrongly been deduced from the circumstances that the Holy Qur'an speaks of two classes of women with whom a man may cohabit, viz., azwaaj and malakat Aymanum, which are translated respectively, as wives and slaves. The reason for this distinction has already been stated. The slaves were looked upon as quite a distinct class in society and intermarriages with them were not permitted in all cases. It was in exceptional cases only that free men could take slave girls as wives or that free women could take slaves as their husbands. The law on the first point has already been explained. It was, therefore, out of regard for the distinction in position and status that slave girls were spoken apart from wives of equal rank. The word zawj conveys an idea of equality along with the idea of being a wife or husband. It means in fact, “a like,” “a fellow,” or “an associate”, but this equality was absent in slave girls and hence it was necessary to speak of them distinctly. The words au wa malakat Aymanum, i.e., those whom your right hand possess, cannot be taken in their widest sense, for they include both male and female slaves. The form is no doubt general, but the context shows that a wide significance of the phrase is inadmissible. If, therefore, we are bound to place one limitation upon the significance of the phrase because the context demands it, there cannot be any objection to placing a second limitation which is required not only by the context, but also by other plain injunctions in the Holy Qur'an.

My contention is as follows. The Holy Qur'an made slaves lawful for a man, but this permission did not mean that a master could take any one of his female slaves as a concubine in the sense of a mistress. The permission only meant that it was lawful for free believing Muslims to take their wives out of female slaves whether the female slave whom a man wanted to take as his wife belonged to himself or someone else. My reasons are as follows. The Holy Qur'an gave a plain and direct injunction to all believers that they should marry their righteous slaves, male as well as female (24 : 32). Now the assertion that a master could at his mere will cohabit with any one of his female slaves is plainly contradicted by this injunction. When he was enjoined to give her away in marriage, he could not be permitted to cohabit with her. The statement that the mere possession of a female slave ipso facto gave the master the right to cohabit with her is contradictory to the statement that he was bound to marry her. But since the truth of the latter statement is clear from
the injunction contained in 24:32 it follows as a necessary consequence that the former statement is untrue. Again, the question is that when a master gave away his female slaves in marriage to a free man or a slave, did he still retain the right of cohabiting with her? The answer must be in the positive if the statement that the possession of a female slave ipso facto gave the master the right to cohabit with her is true. But such an answer is condemned by the Holy Qur'an, for cohabitation on the part of a wife, whether she is a free woman or a slave girl, with anyone else besides her husband, is denounced as adultery and is punishable with a severe punishment.

The meaning of the words ma malakat Aymanukum—which your right hand possesses

The words ma malakat Aymanukum cannot, therefore, be taken in a broad sense, but they meant only such female slaves as had been taken as wives in accordance with the injunction contained in 24:32, and according to the method pointed out in 4:29-30, all of which verses have been quoted above. In the latter verses, moreover, we find that when a slave girl who had been taken in marriage cohabited with anyone besides her husband, she was to be punished for adultery. It should also be borne in mind that the same phrase au ma malakat Aymanukum which is used elsewhere in the Holy Qur'an is used in the verses where marriages with female slaves are spoken of. It is clear, therefore, that even married female slaves were designated ma malakat Aymanukum. When the Holy Qur'an enjoined plainly that female slaves should be married and stated the conditions under which free men could take slave girls for wives, it is absurd to say that the law on this point was different from that explained in these verses. These verses contain a clear and definite law as to the conditions under which free men could intermarry with slave girls and there is nothing to show that the masters of the slaves were excluded from this general injunction. The words of the Holy Qur'an are “and whoever of you,” etc., and the address includes all the faithful whether they might or might not have a female slave with them. Had the Holy Qur'an wanted to make an exception in favour of those who had a female slave, it should have said: “And whoever of you is not rich enough to marry free believing women, i.e., pay the dower to a married woman, and does not possess an even female slave, let him marry out of your believing maidens such as his right hand does not possess” (not as we have in the verse, such as your right hands possess).” It can be easily seen from this that the verse does not exclude, or make any exception in favour of, such free men as might possess female slaves. The same commandment, therefore, applied to the masters of slaves as to other Muslims. It should be borne in mind that inability to marry a free woman did not imply inability to possess a slave.

A reference to chapter 23 makes this point clear, where the Holy Qur'an speaks of the wives of the Prophet and in the course of its ordinances relating to him thus speaks of his followers:

“This ordinance is particularly for thee—it is not for the faithful; for as to them, We well know what We have ordained for them in regard to their wives (from among the free women) and those whom their right hands possess (i.e., slave girls taken as wives)” (33:50).

This shows that the Holy Qur'an contains some ordinance which made it clear to the faithful when they might or might not take a free woman as a wife and when they might or might not take a slave girl as a wife. This latter ordinance is found anywhere in the Holy Qur'an except in the 29th and 30th verses of the fourth chapter, already quoted. On all other occasions we are simply told that it is permitted to the faithful to take slave girls as wives but the circumstances under which they could do so are only related in these two verses, while the verse of chapter 23, quoted above, refers not to the permissions which are general in their nature but to some particular ordinance explaining circumstances under which the permission might be used. For here we have two kinds of ordinances, one ordinance relating to the wives taken from among free women, and the other relating to those taken from among the slaves. Now as there is no doubt that the words “And those who control their desires save their wives (from among the free women) or the slaves whom their right hands possess” do not contain any ordinance as to the taking of wives, their number, the degrees within which marriage is prohibited and so on, it is equally certain that they do not contain any injunction, such as is implied by the verse of chapter 23, with regard to female slaves. They in fact only prohibit adultery or cohabiting with any man or woman other than one's wife or husband, whether such wife or husband was taken from among the free people, the higher grade of society, or from among the slaves, the lower grade of society. They do not tell us which free women could be taken as wives and which not, which slave girls could be taken as wives and which not, and whether there were or were not any circumstances under which such unions might not be sought. These ordinances are contained with respect to free women in various verses of the chapter entitled The Women, and with respect to female slaves in the 29th and 30th verses of the same chapter. The verse of chapter 23, which is under discussion, is, therefore, a conclusive testimony that under no circumstances were the Muslims permitted to cohabit with slave girls except in cases recorded in the verses under review. The Muslims, that is to say, when a man had not the means to pay the dower or to support a free wife, or when he could not on account of any other reason marry a free wife, and he feared that if he did not marry he would fall into evil, he was then permitted to marry a female slave with the consent of her people by paying dower.

One other occasion deserves to be noticed in connection with this point. In the beginning of the fourth chapter which is entitled The Women occurs the ordinance by which the Muslims are permitted to take, when necessary, more wives than one, and the permission expressly mentions also the female slaves. The verse in question runs thus:

“And if you feel you cannot deal fairly with the orphans (whom you take as your wives), then of (other) women who seem good in your eyes marry two, three or four; but if you fear that you shall not act equitably, then marry only one or marry those whom your right hands possess.”

The word 'ankihu (meaning marry) occurs only once in this verse, but it is understood in two places, viz., before the words wahidatan (i.e., only one woman) and ma malakat Aymanukum (i.e., those whom your right hand possesses). The verb is not mentioned in both these places and accordingly the previous verb must be taken as understood. No other verb occurs in the whole of this verse or even in the previous verses which can be taken as understood in either of these places. At any rate it is easy to see that both wahidatan (one free woman) and ma malakat Aymanukum (those whom your right hands possess) are governed by one and the same verb and as that verb is admittedly 'ankihu, in the case of the former word it must be the same in the case of the latter words. One woman and slaves are, therefore, both the objects of the verb marry understood. Hence as a man is not allowed to cohabit with one free woman except after marriage, so he
is not permitted to cohabit with a slave girl except after marriage. But even here the circumstances under which slave girls may be taken as wives are not mentioned, and for these we must again resort to the 29th and 30th verses of the fourth chapter.

Four occasions on which the marriage of female slaves is spoken of in the Qur'an

Thus we have at least four occasions on which the marriage of female slaves is clearly spoken of, viz., 2:220, according to which a Muslim slave girl should be preferred in marriage to an idolatrous free woman, 24:32, which gives an injunction to the Muslims to marry their slaves both male and female, 4:3, by which a Muslim may marry a female slave, and 4:29-30, which describes the circumstances under which female slaves can be taken as wives by free men. There are only two occasions, 23:5-6 and 70:29-30, on which the Holy Qur'an prohibits Muslims from having sexual intercourse with any woman besides "their wives and those whom their right hands possess", but as I have shown already, the words only show a contrast between the two classes of society, the free population and the slave population. The words "those whom your right hands possess" cannot be taken without the limitations which either the context or other verses of the Holy Qur'an require. For instance, a certain verse of the Holy Qur'an enjoins the Muslims to give away their female slaves in marriage and it is easy to see that a master in such a case could not be permitted to cohabit with her, and such an act on his part would, according to the Islamic law, amount to adultery. Now this limitation is not met with in the verse itself, but we have to seek it elsewhere in the Holy Qur'an. As regards the limitation that female slaves cannot be taken without marriage, we have it only recorded in plain words in the 29th and 30th verses of the fourth chapter, but the contrast itself leads us to the same conclusion. The wives are contrasted to the slaves, and therefore, all that is meant is that a man may marry a free woman or a slave girl. Under what conditions he may do the one or the other is not mentioned in the verse itself, and for information on both these points we must resort to other verses in the Holy Qur'an. Besides this, where any connection of a man and a woman which is in the nature of a connubial connection is mentioned, marriage is implied. For instance, in 4:3, the Holy Qur'an says: "And if you fear that you cannot act fairly towards orphans then marry of women...". Here, by orphans are meant not only orphan girls, but orphan girls taken as wives, though the words do not say it. This case is very similar to the one under consideration. As here the Holy Qur'an simply says orphans while it means orphan girls who are taken as wives, so there in the two cases referred to above, it only says slaves while it means slave girls who are taken as wives. No one can point out any difference in these two cases. Another instance of the same is met with in chapter 23, verse 49, which runs as follows:

"O Prophet! Verily we allow thee thy wives whom thou hast dowered, and the slaves whom thy right hand possesses, out of the booty which God has put into thy power, and the daughters of thy uncles, and of thy paternal and maternal aunts who fled with thee."

In this verse we are told that God allowed His Prophet his wives and his slaves and the daughters of his uncles and aunts who had fled for his sake from Mecca. The man who argues that the slaves were allowed without being taken in marriage because they are not included in the wives must also admit the same respect to the uncle's and aunt's daughters, because they are mentioned after the slaves and without the words "when they are taken in marriage" being added. These instances are sufficient to show that the mere non-mention of the words "when they are taken as wives" after the word "slaves" is no argument to show that the Muslims were permitted to cohabit with slave girls without actually marrying them subject to the conditions detailed in the Holy Qur'an.

The example of the Prophet in the matter of the marriage of female slaves

Such is the testimony afforded by the Holy Qur'an. There are two more sources from which evidence can be drawn, viz., the Hadith or tradition, and the sunnah or practice. As regards the former, I will take the Sahih of Bukhari as the most authentic work on traditions. In this book I have been unable to find any tradition giving a master the right of cohabitation with his female slaves simply on account of his property in them. The only tradition on the subject which Bukhari has deemed reliable is the one which has already been quoted in connection with the emancipation of slaves, and whose importance he has recognized by relating it again in the chapter on marriage. In the latter chapter it is related in the following words:

"The Prophet, may peace and the blessings of God be upon him, said, 'Whoever has a slave girl and he educates her and gives her a most excellent education, and instructs her in high accomplishments and makes her instruction most excellent, then frees her and then marries her, shall be entitled to a two-fold reward: and whoever, from among the people of the Book, believes in his own prophet and believes in me, shall be entitled to a two-fold reward; and whoever, being a slave, fulfils the obligations of his master and fulfils the obligations of his Lord, shall be entitled to a double reward.'"

These words imply more than a mere inducement for the several courses recommended in this tradition; they in fact enjoin in clear words that the man who has a slave girl whom he intends to take as a wife should first give her an excellent education and instruct her in high accomplishments (so that she may be able to take the position of a true wife), then set her free and then marry her; that the person who believes in the former prophets should also believe in the Prophet; and that a slave should not only obey his master's orders but should also do his Lord's commandments. The people of the Book were required to believe in the Prophet and the slaves were required to do the Divine commandments. In like manner, those among the Muslims who possessed slave girls whom they intended to marry were required to educate and instruct them, then emancipate them and then marry them. This was the course which the Prophet desired, or more properly enjoined, his followers to take with regard to female slaves. He did not deem their mere emancipation sufficient to raise their status to be good wives but also required them to be highly educated and instructed.

The Sahih of Bukhari contains no chapter on concubinage or slave trade

Another tradition which throws some light on this subject occurs also in the chapter on Marriage in the Sahih of Bukhari. It is a noteworthy fact that Bukhari has no chapter on concubinage and no chapter on slave trade. His only chapter on slavery is headed the "Emancipation of Slaves and its Excellence", while the cases of marriages with slaves are
recorded under the general heading "Marriage". It is in this chapter that the following tradition occurs:

"Anas reports that the Prophet, may peace and the blessings of God be upon him, stayed between Khairab and Medina for three days, Safiyyah being conducted to him there on the occasion of his marriage. I invited the Muslims to the wedding repast in which there was neither bread nor meat. The cloth was spread and over it were thrown dried dates and cheese and clarified butter. This was the marriage feast of the Prophet. Then the Muslims talked among themselves, saying, whether she should be treated as one of the mothers of the faithful (i.e., as a free wife) or as one whom his right hand possessed (i.e., a wife of a lower rank). And they said, 'If she is veiled, she will be one of the mothers of the faithful, and if the veil is not cast on her, she will be one whom his right hand possessed'. When the Prophet set out on his journey, he took her behind him and drew a veil between her and the people."

This tradition gives rise to many important conclusions. One of these, which, however, does not bear on the subject in hand, is that there was no bread and meat even at a marriage feast given by the Prophet immediately he had won an important battle. Could these men be said to fight for love of plunder? Everywhere in the world the Jews amassed enormous wealth and the Christian kings for many centuries tortured them to squeeze money out of them. But the Prophet even after conquering such a wealthy nation had not even bread and meat to offer his guests at his wedding repast! Could this be the case if he had plundered the wealth of the Jews? But the important conclusion to which I wish to draw the reader's attention in connection with the subject in hand is that the veil formed the only distinction between *Azwaj* and *ma malakat Aymanakum*, i.e., between (free) wives and female slaves (taken as wives). It was, therefore, only a difference in position. There was no difference as regards the marriage ceremony. We are told that Safiyyah, who was taken a captive at Khairab, had been married to the Prophet and had even been conducted to him as a wife, even the *Walima* (the marriage feast usually given after a marriage) had been given in honour of the occasion, but still the Muslims could not say whether she was one of his *Azwaj* (wives) or only *ma malakat Aymanakum* (one whom his right hand possessed). This shows that all these ceremonies were common to both forms of union between a man and a woman, the union implied in the word *Azwaj*, i.e., where both parties stood on a platform of equality being free citizens, and the union implied in the much-contested phrase *ma malakat Aymanakum* (i.e., where the wife was taken from among the slaves). It should, however, be borne in mind that it is only when the words *ma malakat Aymanakum* are mentioned along with *Azwaj* that they partake of the meaning of that word. In short, the veil afforded the only distinction according to this tradition between *Azwaj* (free）wives and *ma malakat Aymanakum* slave girls (taken as wives).

Another tradition also recorded in the Sahih shows that Safiyyah had been emancipated before marriage by the Prophet. From this it appears that the phrase applied even to wives who had been married after being set free when they were not kept in veil. In fact, the first of these two traditions shows clearly that when the master of a slave girl himself intended to take her as a wife, he was bound to set her free first, and then only could he marry her. This was the procedure adopted by the Prophet in marrying Safiyyah. As against these two traditions which make marriage necessary in the case of a female slave, there is not a single tradition in which it should be stated that marriage was not required. As regards traditions in which the master of a female slave is mentioned to have cohabited with her on account of his property in her, none of these can be traced to the Prophet. And they are sufficiently contradicted by the words of the Prophet himself as quoted above.

The examples of the Prophet and his companions, Abu Bakr and 'Umar, who never took unto themselves a concubine from the captives of war

Regarding the Sunnah, or practice, I have to make brief remarks. The practice of the Prophet himself should be our first and most important consideration, and next to him we may consider the practice of Abu Bakr and 'Umar. Juwairiya and Safiyyah were the only two wives of the Prophet taken from among the prisoners of war and Mary the Copt was sent to him by the King of Egypt. The first two are admittedly included among his wives because they were not only married after being set free, but were also admitted to the distinction of the veil, which only decided the true position of *Aznaj* and *ma malakat Aymanakum* but it is a mistake. She, too, like all his other wives, was admitted to the distinction of the veil, and this is a fact the truth of which has been recognized by all historians. She was, therefore, treated in all respects like his other wives. It is, moreover, a fact which has been admitted even by adverse biographers of the Prophet like Sir William Muir, that the Prophet did not keep slaves, neither male nor female, and he emancipated them as soon as they came into his possession. No one has stated that Mary was an exception and that she was maintained as a slave notwithstanding that she was the mother of his son, Ibrahim. And as the tradition relating to Safiyyah's marriage shows, neither emancipation nor marriage showed whether a wife was treated as one of *ma malakat Aymanakum* (as occupying a low position) or whether she was regarded as a wife of equal rank. It was the veil which furnished the true criterion and Mary the Copt admittedly enjoyed the distinction of being kept under veil. Raimana, the Jewess, is also sometimes said to have been taken as a concubine, but no trustworthy reporter has mentioned this fact. Among such reports as are current, however, there are those in which it is admitted that the Prophet had married her. Again, it is admitted on all hands that neither Abu Bakr nor 'Umar ever took a concubine or even a wife from the captives of war.

Having these clear proofs in hand, we cannot give the whole position, which is conclusively proved to be true, simply because in certain traditions whose truth is questionable a few cases are recorded which may give rise to the conclusion that concubinage was practised. There is nothing to show even in those cases that marriage was not performed. Moreover, no tradition can be received as true which contradicts the Holy Qur'an. But even in such cases the practice shows that the connection was equivalent to that brought about by marriage. As two sisters from among the free women could not be taken in marriage together, so could neither two female slaves who were sisters. Similarly there were other prohibitions like those in marriage. And the children of such connections were considered legitimate heirs. From all these circumstances it is clear that female slaves were taken as wives and occupied the same position of a wife in all except rank. The prohibitions referred to above are not given in the Qur'an apart from marriage, and their application to the case of slave girls shows clearly that they also were taken in marriage.
THE STATE LETTERS* 
OF 
CALIPH ‘UMAR (634-644 C.E.)

By Dr. Khurshid Ahmad Fariq

XV

203. To Abu Musa Ash‘ari.

The following letter, cited in several books, consists of three distinct and independent parts, of which two (II and III) have, with textual variations, already appeared as separate documents.

I. “It has been brought to my notice that you allow people into your presence en masse. On receiving this letter adopt the following procedure. Allow men of high rank and those devoted to the Qur’an, religion and piety to come first. When they take their seats, ask the common people to come. Don’t postpone today’s work till tomorrow, for if you do that, much work will accumulate, and may be lost for ever. Beware of passions and worldly pleasures, cherish and hatreds. Examine your heart when you are well off, for he who does so in prosperity and before he is overtaken by hardship will find his ultimate fate happy and satisfactory, but he who gives himself up to the pleasures of life and is occupied with his passions must repent and be sorry.”

II. “No one can rule in accordance with the wishes of God except a man who is endowed with a sound judgment (who is honest in conduct—Ansaab), who is vigilant and careful, shows no partiality to his relatives, has unimpeachable character, and is not afraid of anybody’s reproach in the discharge of his duties.”

III. “If you adhere to four principles, your religion will remain safe and you will enjoy the best divine favour.

“(1) When two litigants come to you, demand of the plaintiff trustworthy witnesses and of the defendant unequivocal oaths.

“(2) Allow the poor man into your presence so that he feels at ease and is encouraged to put his case before you.

“(3) Be considerate to the stranger (one who has come from a far-off place to lodge a complaint), for if he has to wait too long (for your decision) he will abandon his case and go back to his family and the responsibility for the loss of his right will fall upon one who did not show him any regard.

“(4) Be keen to bring about compromise between the contending parties as long as you are unable to arrive at an appropriate decision” (Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah by Ibn Abi l-Hadid 3/94, ‘Umar by Ibn al-Jauzi, Cairo, p. 96, Ansaab (rotograph), 9/624).

204. (a) The Provincial Governors.

205. (b) Abu Musa and Huffaz.

It is said that ‘Umar issued the following directive to the provincial governors:

“Send me the names of those who know the Qur’an by heart (Huffaz) so that I may place them in the distinctive scale of the salaries (Sharaf Ataa’) and send them to Muslim lands to teach the Qur’an.”

The Governor of Basrah, Abu Musa, took a census of the Huffaz and reported their number (upwards of three hundred) to the Caliph, who wrote:

“In the name of God, the All-merciful. From ‘Umar to Abdullah Ibn Qays, the Huffaz of the capital. Peace be on you! This Qur’an is going to bring you reward and honour in this world and prosperity in the hereafter. It is your duty, therefore, to follow it and never to make it sub-

* The fourteenth article in this series appeared in The Islamic Review for December 1957.
servient to your own will, for anyone who does so will be condemned to Hell, but he who follows the Qur’an will be led to the garden of Paradise. The Qur’an must be your intercessor and not your traducer to God; if it intercedes for anyone, he will go to Paradise, but if it traduces anyone to God, he will go to Hell. Let it be known to you that this Qur’an is the fountain of guidance (Huda), the blossom of knowledge, and the latest book sent by the compassionate God. Through it He opens blind eyes, deaf ears, and muffled (callos) hearts. Let it be known to you that when a devotee of God gets up in the night, cleans his teeth with the tooth-pick, performs an ablution, utters the Takbir (Allahu-Akbar, to enter into the prayer) and recites the Qur’an, the angel puts his mouth over the former’s and says: ‘Recite, recite, you have become clean, recitation must now be pleasing to you’. But if a man performs an ablution without cleaning his teeth with the tooth-pick, the angel only guards him and does not kiss. Hark! The recitation of the Qur’an in the prayer is profitable like a hidden treasure and well-founded prosperity. So recite it as much as you can. Indeed, prayer is light, the Zakat (poor-tax) (proof of one’s sincerity of faith), patience, illumination, fast shield, and the Qur’an is an argument for or against you. Honour the Qur’an, therefore, and do not disregard it, for God honours him who honours the Qur’an and debases him who disregards it. Let it be known to you that he who recites the Qur’an by heart, acts according to it and follows its teaching, and will have his request granted by God. If he wishes, God will fulfil it in this very world, otherwise He will keep it in store for him for his benefit in the future life. Let it be known to you that divine favour is better and will last for ever with those who believe and rely on Him” (Ibn Zanjawayh in Kanz, 1/217).

The narrator of the preceding two letters (the one to the provincial governors and the other to Abu Musa and Huffaaz) is said by the author of Kanz al-Ummal on the authority of Ibn Zanjawayh, to be Kinanah ‘Adavi. A reference to the Tabaqat of Ibn Sa’d shows that the correct name of the narrator is Abu Kinanah Qarashi, and not Kinanah ‘Adavi. Ibn Sa’d also records from Abu Kinanah a brief letter of ‘Umar to Abu Musa, but it substantially differs from the one quoted above. It reads:

“Send me the names of those who know the Qur’an by heart” (Tabaqat 7/9/94).

Moreover, there is no mention in the Tabaqat of the second letter (to Abu Musa and Huffaaz), which appears both from its style as well as content a piece of pulp sermon delivered many, many years after ‘Umar by professional preachers.

206. To Abu Musa Ash‘ari.

“Be content with your livelihood in this world. God, the Merciful, has bestowed it on some more liberally than others. This is because He wants to test all. He tests those whom He has given more by seeing how they show their gratitude, and their gratitude to Him consists in their paying out of the livelihood the due (i.e., Zakat) He has prescribed for them” (Ibn Abi Hatim from Hasan Basri in Kanz, 2/151).

206. To Abu Musa Ash‘ari.

“Efficiency in work means that you do not postpone work till tomorrow; for if you do that, your hands will become so full of it that you will be unable to judge which one to dispose of and which one to leave, thus losing much important work. If you are given option between two courses, of which one ensures prosperity of this world and the other that of the next, you must choose the latter course, for this world is transient and the next eternal. Do fear God and learn the Qur’an, which is the fountain of knowledge and the spring tide of the heart” (Ibn Abi Shaybah (Musannaf) in Kanz, 2/208).

208. To Abu Musa Ash‘ari.

“Efficiency in work means that you do not postpone today’s work till tomorrow, for if you do that, your hands will be so full that you will not be able to decide which one to dispose of and which one to leave, and thus you will allow much work to suffer. The subjects discharge their obligations unto their rulers as long as the rulers discharge theirs unto God, the Great and Exalted. If a ruler takes to luxury, his subjects will also do the same. The subjects shun (and dis-like) their rulers (because of their tyranny and indifference). May God protect me (or us) from shunning the subject which (most often) is due to old hatred, and preoccupation with the worldly pleasures. So administer justice (and look into public affairs) even if it may be for one hour only, every day” (Kitab al-Amwaal by Qasim Ibn Sallama, Cairo, p. 5; also the Sunan of Bayhaqi, 10/135, with the exclusion of the first sentence and textual variation).

209. To Abu Musa Ash‘ari.

“The subjects shun their rulers. May God protect me from being a victim of foolish vanity, cherished hatreds, and the pursuit of passions and worldly pleasures (which prevent rulers from serving their subjects). Administer law and sit to look into public wrongs even though this be for one hour every day! If you are faced with two alternatives of which one ensures prosperity of this world and the other that of the next, prefer the latter, for the present life is transient while the coming one lasting. Beware of misusing the public funds. Strike terror into the hearts of transgressors (Fussaacs) and break up their hands. If war breaks out among tribes and they call their clansmen by shouting (the pre-Islamic) slogan Yala Fulanin, Yala Fulanin (Help! O descendants of such and such father), which is nothing but the whisper of the devil, then you must punish them with the sword until they return to the law of God and their call be directed to Him and Islam. I have been informed that the tribe of Dabbah call their clansmen (when they are at war) by shouting Yala Dabbah, Yala Dabbah (Come O Sons of Dabbah for help). By God! I know well that God has never brought about any good or prevented any evil at their hands. On receiving this letter, punish them severely so that if they do not become sensible, they at least fear the might of Islam. Associate yourself with (their leader and representative), Ghaylaan Ibn Kharashah Dabb. Visit the sick Muslims and attend their funerals. Keep your door open to them and personally look into their affairs for you are nothing more than one of them except that God has charged you with a heavy responsibility. I learn that the dress, food and riding beasts of you and your family are assuming a form superior to other Muslims. ‘Abdullah Ibn Qays! Beware of acting like an animal which while passing across a green valley has had no passion but to get fat though its fatten is of use only to others (though in fatten lies its death — other variants). Let it be known to you that every ruler has no return unto God and that if he deviates from the right path, his subjects also will, and indeed, the most miserable ruler is he who himself and his subjects are miserable because of his evil deeds. Peace be on you!” (Sharh Nahi al-Balaghah by Ibn Abi ‘I-Hadid, THE ISLAMIC REVIEW
210. To Abu Musa Ash'ari.

A Muslim killed a Dhimmī (a member of the protected communities, such as Christians and Jews). Abu Musa could not decide what punishment should be given to the murderer. So he consulted the Caliph, who wrote:

“If he (the Muslim murderer) be a robber or a rebel, cut off his head, but if he had killed in a fit of anger (and is neither a robber nor a rebel) then fine him four thousand dirhams” (Abd al-Razzaq (Musanna) and Bayhaqi (Sunan) in Kanz, 7/304, also in the printed text of the Sunan of Bayhaqi, Hyderabad, India, 8/33, with textual variations).

A parallel letter addressed to Abu 'Ubaydah, the Military Governor of Syria, is also on record:

“If he be a habitual murderer, punish him by cutting off his head, but if he has killed in a fit of rage, fine him four thousand dirhams” (the Sunan of Bayhaqi, 8/33, and Kanz, 7/303).

211. To Abu Musa Ash'ari.

It is related that Abu Musa wrote to 'Umar: “When the Muslims suspect the Magians (Majus) of what, we are not told, they kill them. What punishment do you propose for them?” 'Umar replied:

“There can be no doubt that they (Magians) are slaves (by reason of their being the conquered people). Fix their blood-wit at (the prevailing) price of a slave among you.”

The average price of a slave at that time was six hundred dirhams, which Abu Musa fixed as the ransom of a Magian killed by a Muslim (Abd al-Razzaq (Musanna) in Kanz, 7/304).

As against this tradition of 'Amr Ibn Shu'ayb there is another from Sa'd Ibn Musayyab which says that 'Umar had fixed the ransom (Diyah) of a Magian at eight hundred dirhams and that of a Christian or Jew at four hundred dirhams (the Jamī' of Daraquṭnī, India, p. 343).

It appears from the above documents that 'Umar did not put the life of a non-Muslim on the same footing as that of a Muslim. Probably that was not the case. We have evidence which either contradicts the above letters or raises the ransom much higher. A tradition cited by the author of Kanz from Tabari's Tahdhib al-A'thaar declares that 'Umar had sentenced to death a Muslim who had killed a Christian of Hirah. Another from the Musanna 'Abd al-Razzaq maintains that the Caliph had imposed on a Muslim murderer of a Jew a penalty of 12,000 dirhams, to be paid to the latter's family. We also learn from a second tradition recorded in the Tahdhib al-A'thaar (and quoted in Kanz) that it was the settled opinion of 'Ali and 'Abdullah (probably 'Abdullāh Ibn 'Abbas) that a Muslim deserved capital punishment if he wilfully killed a slave or a Christian or a Jew or a woman. It is indeed very difficult to believe that 'Umar thought so very differently in this vital matter from 'Ali and Ibn 'Abbas, two of his closest and ablest advisers. Ibn Jari (Tahdhib al-A'thaar) and 'Abd al-Razzaq (Musana') in Kanz, 7/304.

1 A word designating the generation of men and women who had seen and spoken to the companions of the Prophet Muhammad.

212. To Abu Musa Ash'ari.

"Since ages the chief men have been representing the common people to their rulers. So honour them. It is enough justice if a poor Muslim's case is imperfectly adjudicated and he gets a fair share of the revenues" (Ansaab (rhotograph), 9/624, Ibn Abi al-Dunyah (Ashraf), Bayhaqi (Sunan), Daraquṭnī (Jamī') in Kanz, 2/65).

213. To Abu Musa Ash'ari.

"Don't inflict on anyone, for exemplary punishment, more than twenty whips" (Ansaab, 9/624).

214. To Abu Musa Ash'ari.

An Arab came to 'Umar and asked him the meaning of the Qur'ānic works Wa 'n-Na'āzī'āti Gharqan. The Caliph inquired from him who he was. The Arab stated that he had come from Basrah and belonged to the Banu Sa'd, a branch of the Tamīm. 'Umar said sternly: "I see you belong to a rude tribe. You must carry from me to your governor a message that will displease you." He followed the threat by giving the Arab such a blow on his chest that the latter's cap went off his head, laying bare his luxuriant hair. Looking at it 'Umar observed: "If your head were shaved, I need not have inquired about you." He addressed Abu Musa the following letter:

"Ashbagh Ibn 'Alīm Tamīmī has taken to an unnecessary task (i.e., investigates the ambiguous, metaphorical or equivocal expressions of the Qur'ān) and neglected that part of it which he has been asked to attend to. After the receipt of this letter, no Muslim should sell anything to him, none should visit him if he falls ill, and if he dies, none should attend his funeral."

Then turning to the people around him, he said: "When God created you, He knew well your limitations. So He sent you a Messenger, and sent down a book in which He set certain bounds, ordering you not to transgress them, and prescribed for you certain positive obligations, ordering you to follow them, and certain negative ones, asking you not to violate them. At the same time He left certain parts (of it undefined, equivocal and ambiguous), not because of any oversight on His part but out of mercy and kindness for you. You should not therefore try to investigate them."

This tradition comes from Ibn Ishaq or Abu Ishaq. A parallel and more dramatic one has also been handed down by Sa'd Ibn Musayyab, the famous Tabī'i jurist of Medina (d. 94 A.H.—712 C.E.). He says that Sabīghh Tāmīmī (in place of Ashbagh Ibn 'Alīm) visited 'Umar and asked: "What is the meaning of (the Qur'ānic words) Al-Dhariyyati Dharwān?"

"Umar: "Dhariyyat means winds. If I had not heard this interpretation from the Prophet, I would not have ventured to say so."

Sabīghh: "What is the meaning of Wa 'l-Haamilaati waqaran?"

"Umar: "Haamilaati means winds. If I had not heard this interpretation from the Prophet, I would not have ventured to say so."

Sabīghh: "What is the meaning of Wa 'l-Muqassimaita Amra?"

"Umar: "Muqassimaita are angels. If I had not heard this interpretation from the Prophet, I would not have ventured to say so."

15
After this 'Umar had the Arab beaten with one hundred whips and shut him in a cell. When his wounds healed, he was taken out and given a second instalment of one hundred whips. He was then sent to Basrah with a written order to Abu Musa to impose a social boycott on him. The poor man could not endure for long the ordeal. He came to the Governor and on solemn oath declared that he no longer had any curiosity to investigate the difficult and ambiguous expressions of the Qur'an. Abu Musa informed the Caliph of the man's repentance and the boycott was lifted (Daraqutni (Afrad), Ibn Mardaawayh and Ibn Asakir in Kanz, 1/266).

215. To Abu Musa Ash'ari.

"(in your capacity as a governor) do not sell or buy, or conclude sale or purchase of, commodities or traffic with another person's property for a share in the profit. While acting as a judge do not take bribes and do not decide between two contending persons when angry" ('Abd al-Razzaq (Musa'ab) in Kanz, 3/165).

216. To Abu Musa Ash'ari.

This is the most famous letter of 'Umar and one mentioned in many books of literature and law. It contains some basic principles of justice and allows the use of individual discretion in legal matters. It claims another importance in so far as it is, or parts of it, the most authentic document of the Caliph available to us. It is said by its narrator, Abu 'Abdullah Ibn Idris (Idris al-'Audi in the Sunan of Daraqutni), that Abu Musa had collected all letters of 'Umar addressed to him and before his death, asked his son, Abu Burdah, to preserve them. Ibn Idrisi found the precious legacy with Sa'id, the son of Abu Burdah, and the following letter so attracted him that he copied it.

Ibn Abu 'l-Hadid, the great commentator on Nahj al-Balaghah, and Shihabu'll Din Nuwayri, the author of Nihayat al-'Arab, says that the letter was written to Abu Musa in his capacity as a judge of Basrah, and the same view is held by Ibn al-Faqih, the author of Kitab al-Buldan. This view, however, cannot be accepted, as most of our transmitters and historians unanimously declare Abu Musa to be Governor and not judge of Basrah.

Of all the copies of this letter no two are exact prototypes. They all suffer from verbal variations. These variations, however, are not particular to this letter alone, they feature in almost all documents of 'Umar with more than one copy. Textual variations are natural to every literature which originates in oral transmission and owes its development and continuance to the copying industry. The cause of the variation is inadvertent and inadvertent omissions and commissions by transmitters and copyists.

Apart from verbal discrepancies in the many copies of the letter in question, there are also certain expressions and sentences in most of them which do not seem to fit in the sequence and look like interpolations. I have chosen for my translation the second of the two texts given from different sets of transmitters by Daraqutni in his Sunan:

1) "Administration of justice is indeed an indisputable duty and a practice followed from ages (or from the birth of Islam).

2) "When a suit is brought to you, grasp it well (then pass judgment and execute it) as it is no good to pronounce a verdict without executing it."

3) "Treat equally the contending parties in your court, your attention and your justice so that an influential man may not expect partiality from you and a humble man may not be afraid of justice."

4) "One who makes a claim must produce evidence and one who rejects it must take an oath."

5) "It is permissible for you to bring about reconciliation between the contending parties provided that it does not violate any ordinance of the Qur'an."

6) "If you pass a judgment yesterday, and upon reconsideration are guided to a better one, you can revoke the first and enforce the revised one, for truth (right judgment) is eternal, nothing can make it null and void, and return to it is better than persistence in falsehood (injustice)."

7) "Comprehend thoroughly all cases that busy your mind and for which you do not get any guidance either from the Qur'an or the Sunnah (precedents of the Prophet)."

8) "Study well all resembling legal issues and deduce parallel legal inferences from parallel cases and adopt the one which appears to you most pleasing to God and most conforming to justice."

9) "Grant a respite to the plaintiff during which he must produce the evidence; if he does so, decide in his favour, otherwise against him. This is the best way of dispelling doubt and excusing yourself of injustice to the parties."

10) "All Muslims have a right to bear witness except one who has been flogged for a breach of the Qur'anic law (or a false charge of adultery) or has earned notoriety for false evidence or is suspected of attributing himself (in case he is a franchised slave) to a false master or (in case he is a free man) to a wrong family (or is suspected of partiality to the plaintiff owing to his friendship or relationship with the latter (Sarakhisi in Masbul))."

11) "God Himself will deal with your secret crimes, but for those done openly He spares you punishment only when you produce evidence (and take oath — in some other copies)."

12) "Beware of getting disturbed or annoyed by the contending parties or getting ill-disposed towards them during the administration of justice, which will earn you divine favour and a good reputation. For if a man is sincere in his relations with God, He will spare him all trouble in his relations with men, but if he is hypocritical, God will disgrace him. Peace be on you!" (The Sunan of Daraqutni, India,

2 I have adopted the reading anja' li al-Shakk (given by several writers) for 'Aja l'l-Ama of my text, which is vague and obscure.
3 This sentence does not seem to have any logical connection with the preceding one.

Ibn al-Qayyim (Tlam al-Mawagqarin, Cairo, 1/71), has explained the text of this clause in a different way which in my humble opinion is far-fetched. Professor Margoliouth has mainly adopted this explanation of Ibn al-Qayyim in his translation of the letter which appeared in 1910 in the Royal Asiatic Society Journal, London, pp. 311-312. Professor Margoliouth, whose scholarship I earnestly admire, has rendered some of its clauses in a way which appears, to my humble mind, unwarranted by the text. I subjoin his translation clause by clause here, for comparative study.

1) "The judge's office is (the application) of either an unequivocal ordinance of the Qur'an or a practice that may be followed."

2) "Understand this when considerations are put before you, for it is useless to utter a plea when it is not valid."

3) "Equalise all Muslims in your court, and your attention so that neither the man of high station will expect you to be partial nor will the humble despair of justice from you.

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p. 512; 'Uyan al-Akhbar by Ibn Qutaybah, Cairo, 1924, 1/66; Ansab (rotograph), 9/623; Bayan by Yahiz, Cairo, 1332, 2/124; 'Ilam al-Muwaaqt'in by Ibn al-Qayyim, 1/71-72; 'Iqd al-Dir'ah by Ibn Abd Rabbih, Cairo, 1913, 1/46; Sharh Nahj al-Balagha by Ibn Abi 'l-Hadid, 3/119; Kamil by Mu'arrad, Leipzig, 1870, 1/9; Nihayyah al-Arab by Nuwayri, Cairo, 1926, 6/257; Subh al-Musafir by Qayrawand, 1/193-94; 'Adab al-Qadi by Abu Zayd Samani, MS. No. [629] 10812, pp. 4-5, Maktabat 'l-Azar, Cairo; the Mughad- 
imah of Ibn Khaldun, 1/184; 'Umar by Ibn al-Jauzi, p. 135; Sunan by Bayhaqi, 10182; Nasib al-Rayah by Ibn Hajar, Cairo, 4/81-82, Isalath, 2/119; Mabsit by Sarakhsi, Cairo, 16/60-65; Kaniz (major part of the letter), 3/124; Musnad by Bazzaz, MS. No. [924] 29025; Maktabah 'l-Azar, Cairo.

217. Baladhuri has cited in the Ansab (rotograph) a unique version of the above letter on the authority of 'Isa Ibn Musa. No Arabic writer, as far as I am aware, has ever referred to this document. It contains some of the contents of the foregoing letter and some altogether new clauses. Its text at several places is corrupt, and I have failed to decipher a number of words.

"Administration of justice is indeed an indisputable duty, a practice followed since ages and a faculty vouch- safed by God to men. When a suit is brought to you, comprehend it well, then give your decision and execute it. Acquaint yourself with those who are given to quarrel, mischief-making and contention. Disapprove their activity and ask them to give it up. For if a ruler is unable to prevent his subjects from evil, he cannot carry them on the right path. Fight your passions as you fight your enemy. (This is followed by an unintelligible sentence.) If a litigant comes to you and you notice that he is unable (perhaps because of nervousness) to explain his case adequately, show kindness to him (to make him at ease) without, however, being biased against or unjust to his adversary. Consult men of wisdom in your assembly, where no partiality can be expected to relatives and no injustice to strangers. Do not give your sons and relatives any dangerous paths leading to Hell. It is not open to a ruler or judge to punish on mere suspicion or on the basis of his own knowledge. He must rely on the evidence of the trustworthy witnesses. Don’t compel the litigants to be too hasty with their pleadings and allow them to comprehend their arguments. Do not show vexation, or annoyance or irritation at the contending parties. Peace be upon you!" (Ansab al-Ashraf (rotograph), 9/623-24).

(4) "The claimants must produce evidence, from the defendant an oath may be exacted."

(5) "Compromise is permissible between litigants provided no law is violated thereby."

(6) "If you have given judgment and upon reconsideration come to a different opinion, do not let the judgment which you have given stand in the way of retracation, for justice may not be annulled and you are to know that it is better to retrace than to perish in injustice."

(7) "Use your brains about those matters which perplex you to which neither Law nor Practice seems to apply."

(8) "Study the theory of analogy, then compare things and adopt the judgment which is most pleasing to God and most in conformity with justice so far as you can see.

(9) "If a man bring a claim in absence of (the defendant) fix a term by which the defendant is to appear; if the plaintiff then produces evidence, his claim shall be allowed, otherwise you will be entitled to give judgment against him.

(10) "All Muslims are credible witnesses except such as have been proved to have given false witness and such as are suspected of partiality on the ground of relationship whether of blood or of parentage. God concerns Himself with your secret character, and leaves you to follow appearances."

(11) "Avoid fatigue and the display of weariness or annoyance at the litigants in the court of justice wherein God enables you to earn reward and make a handsome store. For when a man’s conscience towards God is clear, God makes His relations with man satisfactory, whereas if a man simulates before the world what God knows that he has not, God will put him to shame." (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London 1910, pp. 311-312. A summary of the letter is also given by Dr. M. Hamidullah in The Islamic Culture, Hyderabad, India, 11/169).

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EARLY ISLAMIC ERA MANUSCRIPTS OF THE QUR'AN

By NAASIR AL-NAQSHBANDI

Preliminary remarks on the method of writing the Arabic language in early Islamic period

Whenever a part of the Qur’an was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad, he dictated it to a selected group of his Companions. These in their turn dictated to others who wrote it down on various kinds of accessible material. Accordingly they wrote on the date-palm trunks, paper, flat pieces of wood, potsherds, bones, pieces of cloth, etc. The best material that they used for the purpose was paper and fine leather skin. Moreover, the Companions committed it to memory. But when a large number of the Hafiz (those who had learnt the Qur’an by heart) fell in the early battles in Iraq and Syria, the Caliph Abu Bakr the Siddiq (d. 634 C.E.) ordered the collection of the Qur’an in one manuscript, the classification of its chapters and arrangement of its verses. In the days of the Caliph ‘Usman Ibn ‘Affan (d. 656 C.E.) it was under his orders that a few copies were prepared from the manuscript prepared by Abu Bakr and sent to each of the principal towns of the early Arab dominions. It was from these manuscripts that Muslims began to prepare their own individual manuscripts, so that soon their number multiplied and became easily accessible.

The manuscripts of the Qur’an in those days used to be written in large Kufic letters, which had no “points” to distinguish the huruf al-mu‘jamah ("pointed" letters) from other consonants. Nor were there any diacritical marks. The alphabet consisted of letters pure and simple, reading being done just by context and meaning. Soon the Arabs found that it was essential to invent signs for the huruf al-mu‘jamah ("pointed" letters) to distinguish them from the other letters in order to avoid confusion in reading by those who were not very proficient in reading. They therefore introduced the use of oblique lines placed above or below the letters in place of the “points” that are used nowadays. Thus an oblique line was placed above the letters nun, khaad, dhaad, and below if it was the bad, two lines if it was the yaa (see plate No. I).

But when discrepancies in pronunciation began to be observed, it was felt necessary to invent the diacritical marks. Thus in inventing them, the Arabs used the “points” for the huruf al-mu‘jamah in place of the oblique short lines used above and below the letters as nowadays. Accordingly for fatha a “point” was used above a letter, for kasrah a point was used under a letter, two “points” for the tanwin under or above the letter. As to the dhammah, a “point” was used which was attached to the highest part of the letter if it was in the initial or the medial part of a word, and at the end of the letter if it was at the end of the word. Similarly, the tanwin consisted of two parts attached to the last part of the word (see plates Nos. II and IV).

There were some who used the red ink to designate these distinctions. But those who took to this method were not many in number. Later one began to employ coloured inks — green, yellow, red alongside of black and gold and other colours for decorative and illuminating purposes.

In the Iraqi Museum, other holy places in Iraq, the Khedival Library of Egypt and other museums of the world, there are to be found specimen pages of the Holy Qur’an written in Kufic characters on skin, and others on paper, to which the signs of the huruf al-mu‘jamah ("pointed" letters)

1 Courtesy, the Editor, Suner, Baghdad, Iraq (Vol. XII, Nos. 1 and 2, 1956). The number of the verses mentioned in this article are as given by Muhammad ‘Ali in his English translation of The Holy Qur’an, Lahore, India, 1935.
only have been added. There are others where oblique lines have been used in place of the “points” (see plate No. I; cf. B. Moritz, *Arabic Palaeography*, Cairo, 1950, Plate Nos. 6 and 13). There are specimens extant in which the diacritical marks have been written and where “points” are employed in place of the diacritical marks (see Plates Nos. II and IV). In some specimens there appear both the signs for the *huruf al-mu'jamah* and the diacritical marks as described above (Plate No. III).

There are specimens where both the signs are denoted by “points” (see Plates V and VII). In such cases it is left to the reader to distinguish whether the particular “point” is meant to denote the *huruf al-mu'jam* (the “pointed” letter) or if it is meant to be a diacritical mark. Sometimes a variety of coloured inks were used to help clarify the situation. This is how started the use of “points” for the *huruf al-mu'jamah* (the “pointed” letters) in the Arabic alphabet.

There are specimens where lines are used to convey both the signs (see Moritz, op. cit.: Plates II and III) in which a large oblique line denotes that the letter is a *huruf al-mu'jam* and a small horizontal line that it is a diacritical mark. This is how began the use of lines for diacritical marks. Incidentally, the transcriber, notwithstanding that he had at his disposal the usual methods, took liberties with his transcrip to suit his likes and his convenience. At times he did place at the end of a verse a few oblique lines to denote the end of the verse. This ultimately changed into an illuminated circle in which he wrote the number of the verse in letters and later in figures (see Plate V).

As to the writing of the words of the Qur'an, one has continued to follow the style as it was then. For instance, the word *salaat* (صلاة) is written *samaawaat* (سماءات) and *mu'meet* (مميت). However, editions are extant which contain this mode of writing, while there are others which contain the usual traditional mode of writing. This depended largely upon the mode of reading of the readers, who are regarded as trustworthy in the matter of variants.

These changes took place in the first two centuries A.H. (7th and 8th centuries C.E.) and also even during the third century A.H. (9th century C.E.), although, it must be observed, it is rather difficult or even impossible to determine the period with exactitude. However, these changes did take place in periods following each other rather closely. Later the Qur'an was not printed unless it had been properly scrutinized by a body of learned men selected specially for this purpose. Its purpose was to see to it that no error crept into the writing of the text of the Qur'an.

It was after a body of learned men had been satisfied that the Ameer al-Mo'timineen, the Leader of the Faithful (the title by which the Head of the Muslim State was known), used to affix his seal. Thus we find the seals of Turkish Sultans by virtue of their being the Caliphs and Umar Saud al-Mo'timineen (the Leaders of the Faithful) on the printed copies of the Qur'an. As to the transcribed copies of the Qur'an, there never appears a seal but after it was ascertained that it had been written with great accuracy. Sometimes we find in them the name of the transcriber and date of termination of its transcription. Thus it was rather rare for one to find a mistake in any manuscript of the Qur'an that was transcribed or printed in a Muslim country. It must, however, be pointed out that this accuracy is due to the memorizers of the Qur'an by heart and to the fact that the Qur'an is recited so much by Muslims. The copies of the Qur'an printed by non-Muslims are not free from mistakes, excepting when these copies were photostatic copies of an already existing manuscript.

Many men, like Ibn Maqlah (d. 328 A.H.—939 C.E.), Yaqut al-Mustasim in the latter part of the 7th century A.H. (13th century C.E.), Hafiz Usman in the 13th century A.H. (19th century C.E.), and a host of others, have been famous for the good handwriting.

While it is impossible to come across a complete manuscript copy of the Holy Qur'an of the first or second century A.H. (7th or 8th century C.E.), in which is inscribed the date of its transcription or the name of its transcriber, there are extant some parts or pages undated and old, written on fine skin or paper, in some holy places and religious institutes, libraries of museums or private libraries, and in the possession of some book collectors. After scrutinizing these manuscripts and other fragments, we can ascertain the date of their transcription, through the mode of writing, the signs of the *huruf al-Mu'jamah* (the “pointed” letters), the diacritical marks and other characteristics of writing in general and other peculiarities.

(Continued on page 22)
PLATE IV.—A page of a fragment MS. in the 'Abbasiyah Mosque at Karbala, Iraq. In this MS. letters have nothing to distinguish them from the other consonants. The diacritical marks have been denoted by "points" instead of lines.

PLATE V.—Two pages of a fragment MS. in the 'Abbasiyah Mosque at Karbala, Iraq. "Points" have been used as diacritical marks instead of lines. The "pointed" letters have nothing to distinguish them from other consonants, although it seems that at a later date "points" were added to them.
PLATE VI.—Two pages of a fragment MS. in the 'Abbasyah Mosque at Karbala, Iraq. In this MS. the usual “points” and diacritical marks have been employed. This MS. is believed to have been written by the Imam 'Ali Ibn Talib.

PLATE VII.—A page of a fragment MS. of the Holy Qur'an at the Iraq Museum, Baghdad. This MS. has red “points” to denote the end of the verse and black lines to denote the “pointed” letters. The diacritical marks are denoted in red ink instead of lines — black and red “points” being used for “pointed” letters and diacritical marks respectively. Other signs are denoted by ink in another colour, which is probably green.

All photos on these pages and in this article are by courtesy of the Director, Iraq Museum, Baghdad, Iraq.
A description of some specimens of the manuscripts of the Holy Qur'an

Manuscripts written on skin

Plate I in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad

This is a page of the Holy Qur'an written in Kufic characters on thin skin, in black ink. It was acquired from the Library of al-Sharif 'Abd al-Illah Basha. It has oblique lines on the huruf al-mu'jamah ("pointed" letters) in place of "points" used now and there are no diacritical marks. This manuscript has neither any decorative work nor has the red ink been used. The first page opens with verse 54 of chapter "al-Taubah" — wa ma mana'hum au tuqabala minhum nafaqatuhum ... wa hum kaarihu. The page ends with verse 65. The second page begins with verse 66 and ends with verse 72 — wa'da Allah al-Mu'mineen wa'il Mu'minati Jannatin. Each page contains 25 lines and its measurements are 49 cm. x 54 cm. Both sides of the leaf are used for writing. It is believed that this MS. belongs to the first century A.H. (7th century C.E.), and is considered to be the oldest known page of the Holy Qur'an in Iraq.

Plate II in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad

There are 7 leaves or 14 pages of this manuscript of the Holy Qur'an, written on thin skin in large well-executed Kufic characters in black ink. On its letters are to be found diacritical marks in red "points" in place of the lines, whereas its "pointed" letters (al-huruf al-mu'jamah) have no distinguishing marks. In places green ink has been used for some of the signs of sukun. The verses end with a decorated circle in yellow ink. Within the circle is written the number of the verse. In this manuscript there are no embellishments. On each page there are nine lines. The MS. starts with verse 3 of chapter "al-Jathiyah" — 'afa lam takun ... majrimin. Its measurements are 20 cm. x 14 cm. It is believed to have been written in the 2nd century A.H. (8th century C.E.).

Plate III in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad

This is a fragment of a MS. of the Holy Qur'an written on skin in large but weak Kufic characters. It was presented to the Iraq Museum by Ya'qub Sarkies. It consists of 30 leaves or 60 pages. There are diacritical marks on its letters denoted by red dots instead of lines. Its "pointed" letters (al-huruf al-mu'jamah) have no distinguishing marks. On each page there are 16 lines. The first page opens with the latter half of verse 71 of chapter "al-Baqarah — al-Ardha wa tasqi al-Harth musallamatun la Shiyata fiha. There is no
decorative work in it. Its measurements are 25 cm. x 17 cm. x 1 cm. Both sides of the leaf are used for writing.

It is believed to have been written in the 2nd century A.H. (8th century C.E.).

Plate IV in the ‘Abbasiyah Mosque at Karbala, Iraq

This part manuscript of the Holy Qur’an is written on skin in bold large Kufic characters in black ink and consists of 67 leaves or 134 pages. Both sides of the leaf have been used for writing. On every page there are seven lines, and on its letters are given the diacritical marks through “points” instead of lines. Nothing distinguishes the “pointed” letters (al-huruf al-mu’tamad) from the circle of the full stop written the number of the verse. The MS. opens with chapter “al-Nahl” — Bismi’ illah al-Rahman ar-Rahim, Ata’ Amr Allah, Fala tasta’jilihu. There are no embellishments in it, but it is encased in a beautiful covering. It is said that it is the work of the Imam Zayn al-Abidin (d. 679 C.E.).

Its measurements are 30.5 cm. x 21 cm. x 2.5 cm. It is believed to date back to the 1st century and early part of the 2nd century A.H. (early 8th century C.E.).

Plate V at the ‘Abbasiyah Mosque, at Karbala, Iraq

This fragment of a MS. of the Qur’an is written on skin in strong and beautifully designed Kufic characters in black ink. On its letters are put dots to denote the signs of the diacritical marks in place of lines. As to its “pointed” letters (al-huruf al-mu’tamad), there is nothing to distinguish them from other consonants. But it appears that the dots were introduced into the MS. at a later stage. Both sides of the leaf are used for transcribing. Each page has 15 lines. It opens with verse 14 of chapter “Luqman” — wa wasayna al-Insana bi-Walidayhi . . . ‘aamayn. It is without any decoration but its covering is beautiful.

Its measurements are 24 cm. x 15 cm. x 5 cm.

The CULTURE OF ARABIA BEFORE ISLAM

The Jahiliyyah does not signify the Age of Ignorance

I. The Social and Political life of the Arabs in the Sixth Century C.E.

By AFZAL IQBAL

A glimpse into the daily life of the Bedouin

The state of things obtaining in Arabia before Islam is often referred to as the Jahiliyyah, or the age of ignorance or barbarism. It is assumed that the pre-Islamic Arab was a brute and a barbarian, isolated from all civilizing forces by the desert on one side and the sea on the other. But is it entirely true to say that Jazirah al-‘Arab — the island of Arabia — was in fact an island impervious to all civilizing influences and far removed from the impact of all cultural movements before Islam?

The scene of our story is a sea of sand which is the largest peninsula on the map of the world. This vast expanse of arid desert is inhabited by two types of people — the dwellers of the town and the dwellers of the desert, the latter completely outnumbering the former. Any scientific study of the subject must, therefore, start with the Bedouin — the sturdy, stalwart, standing erect and alone in complete defiance of inhospitable nature since antiquity. Situated in a country bereft of the basic material so necessary for building a civilized society, the Arab lives today, as he lived centuries ago, in tents in the desert; he depends today, as he did centuries ago, almost entirely on dates and camels. The date-palm is the queen of trees, the goddess of nourishment whose praises are sung by the bards. It is a friend of the poor and the rich alike, for without it life in the desert would be unthinkable. The palm-tree is not only a producer of food, its uses are as numerous as the needs of man. Its fruit is the staple food of the people, its stones are crushed to provide sustenance to the camel, its fermented milk is the luxury drink for the Bedouin, its wood is almost the only fuel in an otherwise treeless land, its branches provide material for masts and roofs, while the tough fibre of its barks can be used for ropes. No wonder, therefore, the date-palm is one of the cherished dreams of a Bedouin, who always longs for “the two black ones”, i.e., water and dates!

And next comes the camel, “the ship of the desert,” as it is rightly called. Besides acting as a ship in the sandy sea and providing the Bedouin with his main vehicle of trans-
port, the camel has been the main medium of exchange. “The dowry of the bride, the price of blood, the profit of gambling, the wealth of a Sheik, all are computed in terms of camels. It is the Bedouin’s constant companion, his alter ego, his foster-parent. He drinks its milk instead of water, which he spares for the cattle; he feasts on its flesh, he covers himself with his skin, he makes his tent of its hair and its dung he uses as fuel. Over all the living things of the desert the Bedouin, the camel and the palm tree are the triumvirate that rules supreme; and together with the sand they constitute the four great actors in the drama of its existence.””

1 Hitti, History of the Arabs.

The tribal system, the constant source of fighting amongst the Arabs of pre-Islamic days

While the Bedouin lives on the gifts of the date-palm and the cattle, both the tree and the cattle thrive on nature! And if ever a thing was required which could not be had either from the cattle or the palm tree, recourse was taken to barter. But in addition to barter and exchange there was another way — plunder and loot! It almost developed into an art. It was easier to attack a weak tribe than to attack mighty nature. But the weak tribe, vanquished for a while, waited for an opportunity to avenge itself! All sorts of methods were employed to marshal a tribe against a foe. All members of a tribe acted as one man and were united in the defence of a fellow tribesman, regardless of the nature of his crime; for when an individual committed a crime, the whole tribe not only endorsed his action but also shared responsibility with him. “Our tribesmen, wrong or right,” seemed to be the motto. “We do not ask our brothers,” says a poet, “for reasons and explanations (for a crime) when he appeals for help.” On the contrary, it was an accepted principle of morality that the actions of a fellow tribesman directed against another must be endorsed by the whole tribe, which should bear complete responsibility for the consequences. In cases, however, where a man failed to get this protection, he left the tribe and joined another which undertook to offer him asylum. The Bedouin patriotism was, therefore, neither national nor territorial; it was strictly tribal. It was loyalty to the tribe alone which mattered; and no tribe which failed to protect a member could command this loyalty. “Be loyal to the tribe,” sang a bard, “its claim upon its members is strong enough to make a husband give up his wife!”

The basis of tribal morality provided for a constant source of friction. Attack, counter-attack, loot and plunder, revenge and vendetta were the evils inherent in the very system of Bedouin life. Blood calls for blood and a blood feud may last for forty years, as it sometimes did. The struggle for existence was severe and it was seldom that a Bedouin sat still. When there were no storms to bravo, he found the period of calm repugnant to his mercurial nature. The calm was never for him a temptation for quietly settling down; it always provided him with an opportunity of brewing a new storm! And when he could find no enemy to deal with, he gave an outlet to his irresistible urge for fighting by attacking his own people, for attack he must, even if the victim be a brother! Al-Qutami, the Arab poet of the early Umayyad period, has beautifully summed up this guiding principle of a Bedouin’s life: “Our business is to make raids on the enemy, on our neighbour and our own brother, in case we find none to raid but a brother!”

Romantic indeed was the moral code of the Bedouin, and its essence can perhaps be expressed in the word “chivalry”, or Mur’ah as the Arab calls it. The virtues and vices of the Bedouin, his devotion to his clan, his quixotic sense of honour, with his recklessness and thirst for revenge, and his disregard for human life, have been portrayed forcefully and faithfully by eminent writers like Burton and Poole. Most unscrupulous in raids on the enemy, the Bedouin set himself exacting standards of courage and hospitality. Courage was determined by the number of men he killed or engaged in a raid or by the valour he displayed in defending his own tribe against an enemy. A good “knight” was expected to be first on the battlefield and last in claiming his booty. Hospitality was judged by the number of camels he slaughtered for a guest, or by the generosity he showed towards the poor and the needy. Arab hospitality often led to excesses in eating and drinking. It was considered with some a point of honour to remain in a tavern until the wine merchant was compelled to take down his sign, the wine being spent. At the same time the habitual drunkard was not tolerated. Barrad Ibn Qays was expelled from more than one tribe on this account.

The home life of the Bedouin before Islam

And while the Bedouin, driven by the social and economic conditions of the desert life, engaged himself in raids and wars, his wife at home wove his garments from the camel’s hair, gathered wood from the desert for fuel, brought water from the distant spring, and milked the cattle for preparing food for the husband. The status of women was bound to be inferior in a society which was based primarily on acts of war, for which the frail woman was not particularly suited. Women, therefore, while they made good bed-fellows after the rigours of a day’s hard life in the desert, were not treated with any amount of social dignity or respect. On the contrary, a daughter was always looked upon with disfavour, for a parent’s pride was hurt by the idea of a son-in-law occupying a privileged position in the family. Cases of burying alive female children were not infrequent. The Qur’an has referred to this obnoxious custom in these words:

“When news is brought
To one of them, of (the birth of) a female (child),
his face
Darkens and he is filled with inward grief!
With shame does he hide himself from his people,
Because of the bad news he has had!
Shall he retain it
On (sufferance) contempt,
Or bury it in the dust?
Ah! What an evil (choice)
They decide on” (16: 58-59).

The position of women among the pagan Arabs was one of undefined licentiousness. Marriage was permitted with the mother-in-law, with two sisters at the same time, as also with the step-mothers, who were inherited like any other part of her deceased husband’s patrimony. The institution of the veil was, however, unknown. Dancing and singing were practised by professional women called qiyan. Although they held a servile position in society, the greatest chiefs are known to have paid public court to them. Polygamy was practised to an unlimited extent.

The tent is the first unit of Bedouin social life. And a tent is synonymous with a family. A number of tents or an encampment form a clan and a number of kindred clans constitute a tribe. Members of the same clan consider each other as of one blood, and Banu is the title with which they prefix their joint name. The senior-most member of the clan acts as the unquestioned leader of the tribe, to whose authority all members must submit. But the chief is both an autocrat
and a democrat. He consults his people, but once a decision is taken, he assumes complete powers and brooks no disobedience from any quarter. The wandering Bedouins, acting on the natural instinct of self-preservation, organized themselves into tribes. Some of these tribes were perpetually in a state of conflict. Now and then they entered into alliance with each other for aggression, plunder and loot. Such alliances helped in welding together the different warring tribes, who forgot their separate entities with the passage of time and became united under one name—that of the strongest tribe. At this stage they would claim descent from the same parents and keep up their sense of complete unity. The consciousness of racial purity was so great that a Bedouin would boast of his family tree tracing his descent from Abraham, and sometimes went as far back as Adam himself! The Arabs raised genealogy to the level of an accomplished science, but it is obvious that the family trees so proudly advertised were far from accurate.

North Arabian and South Arabian

The Arabs before Islam could be divided into two broad sub-divisions, viz., the North Arabian and the South Arabian. The genealogists proceed to sub-divide the surviving Arabs into two ethnic stocks: Arabian Arabs ('Aaribah) and the Arabized Arabs (Musta'ribah). The 'Aaribah according to them, are the Yemenites descended from Qahtan (Joktan of the Old Testament) and constitute the aboriginal stock; the Musta'ribah—the naturalized Arabs—are the Hijazis, Najdis, Nabataens and Palmyrenes—all descended from 'Adnan, an offspring of Isma'il.

The Northerners have racial affinities with the Mediterranean race, and the Southerners with the Alpine type, which is characterized by a broad jaw, an aquiline nose, flat cheeks and abundant hair. There is a considerable difference between the language of the two. While the Arabic used in the Qur'an was spoken in the north, the south used an ancient Semitic tongue of their own. Words used in the Yemen differed from those used in the Hijaz in their declensions and derivations. The former had a stronger affinity with the Ethiopian and Accadian languages, while the latter was more akin to Hebrew and Nabataean. The Bedouin in the north was mostly a wandering nomad, while the one in the south led a sedentary life and enjoyed far more of civilization and prosperity.

The traditional rivalry between North Arabia and South Arabia had developed to the extent of mutual hatred, and the two races were ever ready "to fly at each other's throats on the most trivial pretex.ts." Dozy in his Spanish Islam quotes a number of examples illustrating this mutual hatred. In order to have a clearer idea of the relations between the north and the south, we will quote briefly from Dozy:

"The district of Damascus, for instance, was for two years the scene of relentless warfare because a Ma'addite had plucked a melon growing in a Yemenite's garden; and in Mucra blood flowed in torrents for seven years because a Ma'addite, as he passed a Yemenite's field, had chanced thoughtlessly to tear off a vine-leaf" (p. 66).

"...We do not hear of a son despising and hating his mother on the sole ground that she did not belong to his father's stock. A Yemenite who was making the ceremonial circuit of the Ka'ba at Mecca was asked why, though he prayed for his father, he never prayed for his mother. 'For my mother!' cried the Yemenite disdainfully. 'How could I pray for her? She is a daughter of Ma'add!'"
is ‘Saba’ and the tribes. Saba’ alone is the child of Ilmukah. Later it was put on a level with the other tribes, and was merged in the militia. The king, tribal aristocrats and the temples were the great landholders. Under the form of government in Kataban (probably much the same as in the other States) the king was helped and to some extent controlled by a council of elders, though general policy was decided by the assembly of the tribes. There was of course no place. At a later time in Saba’ the government became feudal; no longer did the tribal assembly decide the allocations of the land, the king granted fiefs. The change may have been helped by the example of the temples, where the retainers had to obey the orders of the god whose land they tilled. The offices of Mkrb and king were hereditary and the latter seems often to have associated his son with himself. The land paid three taxes which are never mentioned separately. The amount paid is not known, but it was assessed while the crops were standing. Taxes were paid to the temples also; the tithe is named. Public works were done by forced labour. No list of customs, duties or tolls has been found.

Trade and arts of the South Arabian

“Monuments of the south Arabian have been found in Kuwait and Mesopotamia; a coffin of a dealer in spices was found in Egypt and an altar with a bi-lingual dedication to Wadd in Delos. Spices and incense were the chief exports and re-exports. The road from Hadramaut ran through the capitals of the other three States, so it is not surprising that one tried to make itself supreme. The returning caravans certainly brought back female slaves for the temple service; women from Ghaza and Yathrib (Medina) are mentioned. The production of incense was in the hands of the nobles (according to Pliny, 3,000 families), and was surrounded with various tabus, besides a tithe paid to the temple at Sabwatt. Great care was given to irrigation and the terracing of the hills into fields. The people were fine masons and stone-cutters. The dam at Matrib is now in much the same condition as when Hamdani (A.D. 848) saw it. The buildings were made of stone so carefully dressed that often the joints are scarcely visible; the stones are held together by leaden dowels and pillars are strengthened by mortise and tenon joints. Big buildings were often elaborately decorated and several forms of pillars and capitals were in use. The Arab tales of lofty houses with windows of translucent stone are not much exaggerated. The pointed arch was known. Many of the old cisterns are still in use. Many of the inscriptions are beautiful and testify to the skill of the stone-cutters, who were successful with the figures of animals and conventional foliage in low relief. Figures in the round were less good and in statues of men the body is usually a mere block while the face is wooden and expressionless, and often out of proportion. Stone pots and jars for household use are simple but neat and well-shaped. Most of the metal work that survives is figures of animals and tablets with inscriptions. The figures are generally crude. One can never be sure that the jewellery, pottery and similar small articles really belong to the land and the period.

INSCRIPTIONS AND LANGUAGE

“The inscriptions are all on stone or metal. Words are separated by a divider and the letters are never joined. In early times the characters are angular but later the corners are rounded and curves appear. The alphabet is connected with the Phoenician; some of the letters are exactly alike, some look as if they had been purposely altered by those who understood the art of carving in stone, and some not found in Phoenician are formed by differentiation from those that are. Short inscriptions have been found in Mesopotamia in which Sabaeans letters are combined with others resembling the Phoenician and Greek forms. It is not certain whether this is an early form of the alphabet or merely a freak. There are 29 letters, the 28 of Arabic and the second form of ‘s’ which is found in Hebrew. The language is classified with Abyssinian as south Semetic and is split into several dialects which differ in grammatical form and vocabulary. Presumably there was a literature, but it has disappeared. Sabaeans inscriptions have been found in Abyssinia and the Ethiopic alphabet is derived from the south Arabian. Inscriptions in various alphabets derived from the Sabaeans are found in different parts of Arabia as far north as Damascus, and testify to the widespread influence of the south Arabian kingdoms.

Religion

“Over 100 gods and many temples are named, but next to nothing is known about them. Certain deities are common to the whole land. Sams, the sun, is feminine, and perhaps all goddesses are forms of it. ‘Attar, the star Venus, is masculine but corresponds philologically with the Babylonian Ishtar and the Canaanite Ash'toreth. The moon, Warah, Warah, Sahr or Sin occurs occasionally and Il or Ilan is the name of a god, as well as a common noun. Each country had its own god: Ma’in had Wadd, Kataban had ‘Amim, Saba had Ilmukah and the clan of Hamdan had Ta’lab Riyam. Perhaps these tribal gods are all forms of the moon. There are indications that the moon, the sun and Venus formed a divine family. Others are Anbal, Du Samaw, the enigmatic Nakrah and Atirat (the Hebrew Ashera). Other divine names are clearly descriptive: Hawbas ‘the drier’ is the moon according to Hamdani, Kahl ‘the old’, Sa’d ‘lucky’, the giver of good fortune, and Hukm ‘judgment’, the judge.

“At times kings seem to have been worshipped (later death?). Springs and water courses were inhabited by spirits. The bull, the bull’s horns and the crescent were symbols of the moon and a disc stood for both the sun and Venus. Often one cannot decide which of the two is meant. The people were the offspring and the king the first-born of the god, so the formula runs ‘god, king and people’. There were no images of the gods. To obtain success in one’s undertaking it was the custom to dedicate to the god a statue of oneself in stone or figures of men or animals in gold (gilt?). Sacrifices and incense were offered to them. The names for altar and sacrifice are the common Semitic terms, and the altar of incense has among other names that of miktar, as in Hebrew. A variety of spices (the wealth of the land) are named on these altars, as rand, ladanum, costus, tarum, frankincense and others not yet interpreted. Pilgrimages were made at certain seasons, and the pilgrim month was named Du Hijjah or Du Mahajjah. There are many names for the months, some of which refer to agriculture. The name for priest is r-s-w. (which may mean giver), and in the El’Ola texts come the word l-w-, both masculine and feminine, which looks very like Leviite. In later times the name Rahman for God suggests Jewish influence. Christianity was introduced into south Arabia, but it was not favoured because of its association with Abyssinia, and the famous church in Sanan was looked on as a sign of foreign domination. The massacre of Christians in Nejran had political causes as well as religious.”

2 See article on the Sabaeans in the Encyclopaedia Britannica.
There was no love lost between the north and the south. Both had their own symbols in times of war. The 'Adnani (the northern tribe) used red turbans and standards while the Qahtanis (the southern tribe) used yellow. This rivalry between the north and the south lasted until long after the advent of Islam. By stating these differences, however, we should not be taken to mean that there were two watertight compartments, nor do we suggest that the Arabs of the north and the south lived an entirely self-contained and exclusive life. On the contrary, there is evidence to prove that the Yemenites from the south came frequently to the north, and the Hijazis from the north also went to the south, though not so often. It is said that the Yemenites went to the Hijaz after the collapse of the Dam of Ma'rib, which caused the inhabitants of the Yemen to fan out in the peninsula. Another reason for this migration was perhaps the decline of their trade because of the commercial supremacy of the Romans in the third or fourth century B.C. Still another possible explanation was the increasing population of the Yemen, which could not be provided for within the confines of the country. However, the early historians agree that the movement of population between the north and the south was a matter of frequent occurrence before Islam.

Islam's advent brings the South Arabians into prominence

With the advent of Islam, the scales turned in favour of the north, for the Prophet himself was an 'Adnani. The tribe of 'Adnan is said to have descended from Isma'il, the son of Abraham and the renovator of the Ka'bah — the first House of God on earth. Just as the northern tribe was said to have descended from Isma'il, the southern tribes claim Qahtan (Joktan of the Old Testament) as their ancestors. And it was the son of Qahtan, Ya'rub, whom they regarded as the first prince of the Yemen. Ya'rub is said to have been succeeded by his son Yash-had, who was the father of 'Abd al-Shams, surnamed Saba (Captor) on account of his victories. His descendants and those of Kahan, his brother, alternately ruled the Yemen until the century before Islam. To this dynasty belonged the great Du 'l-Qarnayn. With the succession of Himyar, the son of Saba, the dynasty of Saba was called after his name.

The Himyarites and the Lakhmids

The Himyarites came to power in about 115 B.C. During this period the Romans made an attempt at direct interference in the affairs of Arabia. The expedition under Aelius Gallus (24 B.C.), however, came to grief, as it was lost in the desert on account of the refusal of the guides to co-operate in subjugating their brethren in Arabia. The Himyariite kings were overthrown by the Abyssinians in the fourth century C.E. Some of them accepted Judaism and founded a Jewish kingdom. The struggle between the Himyariites and the Abyssinians, therefore, assumed a new significance inasmuch as it now became a struggle between Judaism and Christianity. It was perhaps on this account that Christian Abyssinia was supported from Byzantium in its attempts to regain power. The Abyssinians succeeded in 525 C.E., but fifty years later the Persians, who had been called in by the opponents of Christianity, succeeded in taking over the rule.

The Lakhmid dynasty arose towards the end of the third century and lasted until about 602 C.E. They established the kingdom of Hira, which was in the fertile boundary line between the Euphrates and the desert. The chief town was Hira, a few miles south of the later Kufa. Although so many of their subjects were Christians, the Lakhmids remained heathen until Nu'man III, the last of the dynasty. The kingdom of Hira always stood in a relation of dependence on Persia. The dynasty fell in about 602 C.E., when the Persian King Chosroes II appointed an Arab of the tribe of Tayy as Governor.

In the beginning of the sixth century C.E. a new dynasty appears in the history of the Roman and the Persian empires. This was the Jafnide dynasty, which ruled over the tribe of Ghassan in the extreme north-west of Arabia, east of the Jordan from Petra in the south to the neighbourhood of Rusafa in the north-east. Of their origin little is known except that they came from the Yemen. A part of the same tribe inhabited Yathrib at the time of the Prophet. The first certain prince of the Jafnide house was Harith Ibn Jalah, who conquered Mundhir of Hira in 528 C.E. In the following year, Emperor Justinian of Rome perceived the value of the Ghassanides as an outpost of the Roman Empire, and as opponents of the Persian dependence of Hira and recognized Harith as king of the Arabs and patrician of the Roman Empire. Harith was constantly engaged in battles against Hira. The Ghassanid kingdom split into sections, each with its own prince.

In the last decade of the fifth century a new power arose in central Arabia. The tribe of Kinda under the sway of the family of Akil al-Murar, who came from the south, stood in much the same relation to the rulers of the Yemen as the people of Hira to the Persians and the Ghassanids to Rome. Abraha in his invasion of the Hijaz was accompanied by chiefs of Kinda. Details of their history are not known, but they seem to have gained power at one time even over the Lakhmids of Hira and to have ruled over Bahrain as well as Yamamah until the battle of Shu'b al-Jabal, when they lost this province of Hira. The poet Imru' al-Qays was a member of the princely family of Kinda.

This survey brings us to Arabia in the sixth century C.E. At the time of the advent of the Prophet we find Arabia in a state of complete political chaos. Buhayra was largely subject to Persian influence and a Persian Governor, Sebocht, resided in Hijir, its chief town. In 'Uman the Arabs were chiefly engaged in fishing and seafaring. Most of them were Azdites mixed with Persians. On the west coast of Arabia, the influence of the kingdom of the Yemen was felt in varying degrees according to the strength of the rulers of the land, but the main picture was one of chaos. The Hijaz was simply a collection of cities each with its own government, while outside the cities the various tribes governed themselves and fought continued battles with one another. Thus at the time of the advent of the Prophet Muhammad Arabia was peopled by various tribes, some more or less settled in the governments of south Arabia, Kindah, Hira and Ghassan; these in turn dependent on Abyssinia, Persia and Byzantium. Others, as in the Hijaz, were ruled in small communities by members of leading families, while in various parts of the peninsula were wandering Arabs still maintaining the rule of the family and the tribe. To this may be added a certain number of Jewish families deriving their origin by migration from Palestine and partly from converts among the Arabs themselves. The consciousness of the tribe and the family tie had rent asunder the whole country, and it was now for the Prophet to attempt a reunification of Arabia.

This concludes the brief survey of the Arab States before the advent of the Prophet Muhammad. If we are to understand the history of Islam with some measure of accuracy it is essential fully to grasp the significance and implications of tribal life before Islam, for time and again we see politicians

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stirring one tribe against the other in order to achieve their own ends. And even today the tribal consciousness has not disappeared altogether; in fact, it plays a none too insignificant role in the Arab world of today.

II. Cultural life in Arabia in the Sixth Century C.E.

The Sabaeans and their control of the trade routes of the East

While the Arab in the north was backward, his brother in the south forged material and cultural links with the outside world centuries before the rise of Islam. There were three important factors which helped him foster and maintain contacts with the civilized world, viz., trade, the cities which sprang up on this account on the borders of Persia and the Roman Empire, and lastly the Jewish and Christian missions which penetrated through the peninsula. By far the most important link, however, was provided by trade; and the Arab in the south was quick to seize upon this opportunity to establish his supremacy in the contemporary world.

The southern corner of Arabia — the early home of the Sabaeans — was the first step to the threshold of civilization. The fertility of that felicitous rain-favoured land, its proximity to the sea and its strategic location on the Indian route were all determining factors in its development. Here were produced spices, myrrh and other aromata for seasoning food or burning in the ceremonial of the court and the ritual of the Church; foremost among these was incense, the most valuable commodity of ancient trade. Thither did rare and highly-priced products, such as pearls from the Persian Gulf, condiments, fabrics and swords from India, silk from China, slaves, monkeys, ivory, gold and ostrich feathers from Ethiopia, find their way in transit to Western markets. A competent authority in the first century of the Christian era has left us a bird’s-eye view of the market of “Muza”, present-day Makha:

“The merchandise imported there consists of purple cloths, both fine and coarse; clothing in the Arabian style, with sleeves, plain, ordinary, embroidered or interwoven with gold, saffron, sweet rush, muslins, cloaks, blankets (not many), some plain and others made on the local fashion, sashes of different colours, fragrant ointments in moderate quantity, wine and meat, not much.”

The Sabaeans were the Phoenicians of the southern area. They knew its routes, reefs and harbours, mastered its treacherous monsoons and thus monopolized its trade during the last millennium and a quarter before the Christian era. The Arab gave his name to the great sea intervening between his country and the western coast of India. The whole coast of Arabia seemed “terrible in every way” to the Greco-Roman pilot for it was without harbours, with bad anchorage, foul, inaccessible because of breaches and rocks. But this mountainous and forbidding coast yielded before the indomitable Arab.

The inherent difficulty of navigation in the Red Sea, however, caused the Sabaeans to develop land routes between al-Yaman (the Yemen) and Syria along the western coast of the peninsula, leading through Mecca and Petra and forking at the northern end of Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia. The Syrian branch met the Mediterranean outlet at Gazzah. From Hadramawt, particularly rich in incense, a caravan road led to Ma‘rib, the Sabaeen capital, where it joined the main commercial artery.

The Arab merchant is known to antiquity. He in fact treaded the first international highway used by man — that great road connecting Egypt with Syria, Palestine and thence reaching the rest of the Fertile Crescent and Asia Minor. The Egyptian interest in trade lay in the copper and turquoise mines in Wadi Magharah. The chief attraction, however, was the frankincense so highly prized for temple use and mummification. Hadramawt was the celebrated land of incense and Zafar — now Dhufar — was its chief centre.

To Herodotus “the whole of Arabia exhaled a most delicious fragrance”, it being “the only country which provides frankincense, myrrh, cassia, cinnamon and ladanum. The trees which bear the frankincense are guarded by winged serpents, small in size and of varied colours, whereof vast numbers hang about every tree”. But the geographer Strabo is slightly more judicious than the over-credulous “father of history”. To him also south Arabia is “the aromatic country”, but its snakes, a span in length, “spring up as high as a man’s waist”. Clearly Hadramawt in those days was the frankincense land par excellence.

The two trade routes which brought prosperity to the Arabs down to the sixth century C.E.

There were two important trunk routes for trade, one ran northwards from Hadramawt to Bahrain along the Persian Gulf and thence to Sur (in Syria). The other, too, started with Hadramawt and went parallel to the Red Sea, evading the difficult coastal terrain and the discomforting heat of the desert of the Najd. The trade highways brought wealth and culture to the Arab. Colonies sprang up along these routes, people started to trade on their own; and those that could not trade depended upon these routes for their living as guides and guards for the caravans. Camel driving became a lucrative profession and the Bedouin, who was inclined to plunder and loot, accepted the civilizing influence of the new channels opened by trade. The Yemenites, who had the complete monopoly of trade in the peninsula, became so prosperous that the Yemen began to be called “the land of happiness”. The first recorded conquest of the Arab is, therefore, the conquest of commerce and trade, which brought them inestimable wealth and prosperity. They prospered as long as they had the monopoly of the maritime trade in the Red Sea. With the beginning of the Christian era, however, the control started slipping out of their hands. With Egypt becoming a world power under the Ptolomies, the supremacy of the sea began to be contested till it was lost altogether to the Romans. The bursting of the great dam of Ma‘rib, the capital of the Sabaeans, in about 542 C.E. (about thirty years before the birth of the Prophet) was seized upon by Arab imagination “to explain the whole age-long process of decline and decay in South Arabian trade, agriculture, prosperity and national life: a decline due, as we have already learnt, to the entry of Roman shipping into the Red Sea, the introduction of the divisive influence of new religions and the subsequent submission to foreign rule. The legend of the bursting of the dam (alluded to in the Qur’an, 34 : 15) is perhaps to be analysed as a concentrated and dramatic re-telling of a long history of economic and sociological causes that led to the disintegration and final downfall of South Arabian society and as the crystallization of the results of a long period of decay into one single event and, with what

4 Ibid.
appears to be a subtle appreciation of the intangible quality of the true causes leading up to this tragedy, the chroniclers report that a rat turned over a stone which fifty men could not have budged and thus brought about the collapse of the entire dam!"

Ma'rib was a city of the Yemen (about three days' journey from San'a), where this dam was built in the eighth century B.C. The building of this dyke is commonly attributed to Luqman Ibn 'Ad, the king of the "Second 'Ad". He was surnamed "The man of the vultures" (Dhu 'l-Nusur) because it had been granted to him that he should live as long as seven vultures, one after the other.

The dam was constructed of solid masonry to protect the city from floods caused by the River Adana and for the purpose of irrigation. The bursting of the dyke and the destruction of the city by a flood, known as Sayl al-Irim (Flood of the Dyke), are historical facts. Thus the destruction of the Sabaean kingdom has become proverbial with the Arabs. Hence the proverb Dhahhabu (or Tadjarragq ayyidi Saba ("They departed or dispersed like the people of Saba").

"This deluge marks an epoch in the history of south Arabia. The waters subsided, the land returned to cultivation and prosperity, but Ma'rib lies desolate, and the Sabaeans have disappeared for ever, except 't point a moral or adorn a tale'. Al-Asha sang:

"Let this warn whoever a warning will take —
And Ma'rib withal, which the Dam fortified
Of marble did Himyar construct it, so high,
The waters recoiled when to reach it they tried
It watered their acres and vineyards, and hour
By hour, did a portion among them divide.
So lived they in fortune and plenty until
Therefrom turned away by a ravaging tide.
Then wandered their princes and noblemen
Through mirage-shrouded deserts that battle the guide!"

"The poet's reference to Himyar is not historically accurate. It was only after the destruction of the dyke and the dispersion of the Sabaeans who built it that the Himyarites, with their capital Lafr (at a later period San'a) became the rulers of the Yemen."\n
The ascendency of the north Arabian

The tide now turned in favour of the north Arabian, who was much behind his southern brother in trade and civilization. The northerner, in fact, was essentially a wandering Bedouin, but with the decline of the south he was destined to become the torch-bearer of the Arab civilization. With the Hijaz stepping into the shoes of the Yemen, the scales turned in favour of the north, which captured the Syrian and the Egyptian markets. The Persian markets were captured by the Arabs of Hira, who established a reputation for the specialized defence of roving caravans, and acted as the "guarding contractors" for Persian caravans bringing merchandise to Arabia. In this profession they owed their success to their intimate knowledge of desert tracks, of places of safety and danger on the route, and what is more, to their capacity to endure the heat and the hardships of the desert journey. Since the profession involved such hazards, the Arabs of Hira expected handsome remuneration for their services. Once, it is said, the Persians refused to employ them on account of the exorbitant fees demanded by the Arabs of Hira. This was a signal for trouble and the Arabs, attacking one of the Persian convoys, completely routed the guards who were employed by the Persians. The skirmish — known to history as the battle of Dhu Qar — was hailed by Arab poets as a significant national victory over the Persians.

THE TRIBE OF QURAYSH

The defence of the caravans was a constant problem involving vigilance and expense. The Quraysh of Mecca had an advantage which placed them at the head of the commercial community of the Hijaz. As custodians of the Ka'bah, they commanded universal respect of the Arabs, who religiously refrained from meddling with caravans proceeding to Mecca. Besides, they had the advantage of proximity to a source of water supply — the spring of Zam-Zam. It is to these advantages that the Qur'an makes a reference:

"Have we not
Established for them a secure
Sanctuary, to which are brought
As tribute fruits of all kind,
A provision from ourselves?
But most of them understand not." (28 : 57).

The tribe of Quraysh, it is quite probable, might have derived its name from its profession of trade, for the verb Taqarrasha in Arabic means "to collect money". There is no doubt whatever that this tribe was a leading tribe in trade in north Arabia before Islam.

The Hijazis made Mecca their base and took upon themselves to protect the routes leading through it. They attained a high level of commercial prosperity before Islam. The Romans depended upon them for quite a few things, including luxuries and silks. Some European historians suggest the existence of Roman business houses in Mecca. Such business houses served the purpose of modern consular offices which look after commercial and other interests of their citizens in a foreign country. Besides, the Arab caravans going to Syria used to attend special fairs arranged by the Roman Government. Such fairs had their obvious commercial and political advantages but it was the imperceptible cultural influence which proved of consequence in the long run. The caravan was the normal trade channel and elaborate preparations had to be made before it could start, for following a carefully prepared chart, the caravans would go out only in special seasons with adequate protection of armed escorts. Spearheads would probe the road in advance for safety, armed sentinels known for valour and courage were employed to guard it en route, and guides who thoroughly knew the roads and their pitfalls would lead the way. A journey of months on camels through strange lands was a hazard which had to be fully provided for and complete arrangements had, therefore, to be made both for men and camels before a caravan could set out on its long journey through the inhospitable desert. Strabo seeing a caravan compared it to an army as it consisted of several hundred camels. Long journeys by road through slow means of transport could be covered only by stages. The first halt was Ailab (now al-Aqabah), the next stage was Ghazzah, where caravans contacted merchants from the Mediterranean. Thence some of the traders would proceed to Busra. The Prophet, it is said, accompanied such caravans, once at the age of twelve and again at the age of twenty-five.

In pursuing this trade the Arabs gained something more than mere profits. They came into contact with the civilizations of Rome and Persia and it is incredible that these contacts did not go beyond barter. One of the caravans, for example, included men like Abu Suffyan, Ibn Nawfal and 'Amr Ibn al-'Aas — men of vision and eminence who were later destined to play an important part in the building of an Islamic society.

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THE BURAIMI DISPUTE

The Buraimi Dispute is an artificial factor created by the British Government to shake the security and territorial integrity of Su'udi Arabia.

Lying slightly south-east from the Shaikhdom of Abu Dhabi on the Trucial Coast, the Buraimi Oasis is a focal point for many of the routes of travel in eastern Arabia. The Oasis contains eight small towns and villages and has a population of around 10,000. It has an area of about 15 square miles and is only a small part of the extensive desert territory in dispute, which was made subject to international arbitration in 1954. The total area involved has a population of about 20,000.

There are now three claimants to Buraimi: the Ruler of Abu Dhabi, the Sultan of Muscat and the Government of Su'udi Arabia. Britain comes into the picture disguised as the “protecting power” under treaties signed during the last century with the first two claimants. Among other territories, the British claim six of the towns and villages in the Oasis on behalf of the Ruler of Abu Dhabi and two on behalf of the Sadaat of Muscat. Su'udi Arabia claims complete sovereignty over the entire area. Britain herself has no treaty relationship with any of the leaders of Buraimi.

In the treaty signed with the Shaikh of Abu Dhabi in 1892, the Shaikh agreed not to enter into any agreement or to correspond with any power other than the British Government, he would “on no account cede, sell, mortgage or otherwise give for occupation any part of my territory save to the British Government”. The Sultan of Muscat's treaty is along similar lines. It is by virtue of these treaties, which are perfect examples of 19th century naked colonialism, that Britain is now manoeuvring her designs on the territory of Su'udi Arabia. What is at stake in this Buraimi dispute is not a mere desert waste with possible black oil underneath, but a more serious factor—the security and territorial integrity of Su'udi Arabia.

Both Abu Dhabi and Muscat, now involved in the Buraimi affair, had no territorial dispute with Su'udi Arabia until British authorities, prompted by oil interests, instigated them to advance unfounded claims in this vital section of the extensive Su'udi Arabian boundaries.

The three claimants to the dispute

The Shaikhdom of Abu Dhabi: Abu Dhabi is the westernmost of the small Trucial Coast Shaikhdoms under British protection. Its only town, which is a fishing and pearlng village, gives the principality its name. Despite Abu Dhabi's essentially modest and maritime nature, Britain is now claiming on behalf of the Shaikhdom vast areas of desert grazing grounds inhabited by Su'udi Arabian tribes, plus several oasis settlements in the interior whose inhabitants are overwhelmingly Su'udi.

The Sultanate of Muscat: Most of the domains of the Sultanate lie along the south-eastern seaboard of the Arabian peninsula. Nevertheless Britain is also claiming on the Sultan's behalf villages in Buraimi which have no ties whatsoever with Muscat. These villages are even geographically cut off from the Sultanate by the great mountain range of al-Hajar, an area under effective Su'udi Arabian authority.

The Government of Su'udi Arabia: The Su'udi rights in the disputed area are based not only on Buraimi's character as part of the historic domains of the House of Su'ud, but also on the exercise in this area of effective authority and control. Both these points are relevant to the determination of sovereignty under established principles of international law. In 1795 the first Su'udi Governor took up residence in Buraimi in response to the people's wish to join the great reform movement initiated by the Shaikh Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab some fifty years earlier. Since that time, the people of the Buraimi region have been under the authority of formally designated Su'udi Emirs or of tribal chiefs responsible to the central Su'udi Government. In recent years, as in times past, this authority has been repeatedly evidenced through activities to uphold law and order. It has also been evidenced in the collection of Islamic tax known as the zakat, one of the five pillars of the Faith.

The interests of Su'udi Arabia are mainly moral, whereas those of the British Government are motivated by the quest for oil.

The interest in this area only dawned in recent years with the discovery of petroleum deposits in Eastern Arabia. For the first time the British began to take substantial interest in the interior regions and in the extension of their sphere of control. They tried to attach to the coastal communities of Abu Dhabi and Muscat vast inland areas, and to furnish the latter's rulers with the necessary means to press their assertions. It was the assertion of these claims, and the effort to implement them by increasingly forcible measures, which ultimately led to the dispatch of a Su'udi Emir to Buraimi in August, 1952. Local Buraimi leaders had appealed to the Su'udi Government because they felt that their normal system of tribal administration was inadequate to oppose such a forcible foreign intrusion.

His Majesty King Su'ud I
Britain's quest for oil in these regions explains her intervention in the present dispute. While Su'udi Arabia has consistently prohibited oil operations from her side of the disputed area, on the ground that such operations might aggravate the difficulties of settlement, the British have constantly insisted that the operations of their companies should continue. In the view of Su'udi Arabia, the presence or absence of oil in no way affects her historical and legal rights in this area. While the possibility of oil makes a precise boundary settlement in accordance with these rights more urgent, Su'udi Arabia is not motivated by any material ambitions or desires for territorial gains. She feels duty bound to protect the tribes in her own lands that owe their allegiance to the House of Su'ud, thus keeping peace and order in the Kingdom. She cannot abandon her subjects to encroachment or foreign domination. Accordingly her interest is mainly moral.

Britain has thwarted all moves for a peaceful settlement of the dispute

For some twenty years the Su'udi Arabian Government has been seeking to resolve through normal diplomatic channels the questions relating to her south-eastern boundaries, but without result. As early as October, 1952, before any British proposal to submit the dispute to arbitration had been received, Su'udi Arabia proposed that a plebiscite be held in the Buraimi region under impartial international auspices in order to determine the desire of the inhabitants. An indication of British "confidence" in the popular support for Abu Dhabi and Muscat in Buraimi was eventually forthcoming when the Su'udi proposal was rejected by London as not being "appropriate". Thereupon Su'udi Arabia, demonstrating her sincere desire to arrive at a peaceful and amicable solution to the problem, agreed on 30th July 1954 to a settlement by arbitration in accordance with specified conditions. In January 1955 an Arbitration Tribunal held its first meeting in Nice, France.

In September 1955 the five-man Tribunal sat in Geneva to determine the location of the common frontier and the sovereignty over the Buraimi Oasis. However, these arbitration proceedings were soon suspended due to the abrupt resignation and withdrawal of Sir Reader Bullard, British member of the Tribunal, 16th September, 1955. Sir Reader claimed that a fellow-member of the Tribunal, the Shaikh Yusuf Yasin of Su'udi Arabia, had compromised his position as an impartial judge because he was simultaneously serving as his country's Deputy Foreign Minister. The entire Tribunal was aware from the start that the Shaikh Yusuf, in addition to his duties as a member, continued to discharge his responsibilities as Deputy Foreign Minister and Head of the Political Department of the Royal Court, including regular dealings with the British Government on problems relating to Buraimi. His position had never been a cause for objection by the neutral members during the nine months the Tribunal had been in existence prior to Sir Reader's resignation. Nevertheless, the latter's resignation forced a suspension of the proceedings just as the Tribunal was about to announce a decision on the various complaints which had been raised by the parties to the dispute.

The Su'udi Arabian Government, in her effort to achieve a peaceful settlement of the dispute, reiterated her hope that the British Government would assign a new British member to the Tribunal. Thus it would be possible to resume at an

A map showing the location of Buraimi

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early date the progress towards a peaceful settlement of the dispute and to build anew the links of friendship between Great Britain and the Kingdom of Su'udi Arabia. But once again the Su'udis met with no favourable response.

The Su'udi Memorial laid before the Arbitration Tribunal in 1955 refuted British claims, mainly relying on British sources. It is no wonder then, that Britain sought an excuse to scuttle the proceedings. It is also of significance to note that Britain did not inform Su'udi Arabia that she had unilaterally repudiated the Arbitration Agreement until after the Buraimi Oasis was firmly under British control.

For selfish ends which Britain could not attain by peaceful means, she resorted to aggression

At the same time that the Su'udi Arabian Government considered the Tribunal and its proceedings still in effect, forces active under the authority of the Government of the United Kingdom committed acts of armed aggression in the early dawn of 26th October, 1955. "It is a story," wrote British newspaperman Noel Barber from Buraimi, "that might have been written 60 years ago, when 'outposts of Empire' were fashionable." This aggression constituted a flagrant violation not only of the principles of international law and the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, but also a valid standing agreement between Britain and Su'udi Arabia. Indeed this event, in itself a desperate effort to save the waning prestige of the Empire, brought the whole dispute before the court of world opinion.

The dispute is still in abeyance

On 28th October 1955 Su'udi Arabia, acting under Article 35 (1) of the Charter of the United Nations, brought to the attention of the Security Council the grave situation in the Buraimi Oasis and adjacent areas as a result of British acts of armed aggression. The attention of the Security Council was also drawn to the following facts: that this aggression was called out in defiance of a valid agreement to arbitrate the Buraimi dispute; that the Tribunal constituted under the agreement was prevented from proceeding with its task by the resignation of the British member, and that even after this resignation the British Government reaffirmed her intention of carrying on the arbitration.

Furthermore, the Government of Su'udi Arabia warned the Security Council that the foregoing situation was likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, despite Su'udi Arabia's continuing efforts to find a peaceful solution. Su'udi Arabia reserved her right to request the President of the Security Council to call a meeting to consider this matter and to take any necessary measure. Moreover, the Political Committee of the League of Arab States adopted a resolution on 14th November 1955 condemning British aggression in Buraimi and demanding the resumption of arbitration after the withdrawal of occupation forces and introduction of neutral supervision for the disputed area.

On 1st November, 1955, the Government of Su'udi Arabia reasserted officially her full rights in the region and declared that Buraimi is Su'udi territory and has always been so. She also reserved her right to take necessary measures to safeguard the legitimate rights of her citizens. She warned prospective concessionaries against getting involved in the area, declaring that she would not recognize any concessions that may have been or might in future be granted in the Buraimi region for any purpose. Following the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt in October, 1956, Su'udi Arabia severed diplomatic relations with Britain. Since then the matter has been in temporary abeyance.
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDONESIAN LANGUAGE

By DR. S. TAKDIR 'ALISHAHBANA

Indonesia more fortunate than Pakistan, India and the Philippines on the matter of the development of its national language.

The appearance of new national languages in Asia, after the Second World War, which followed the downfall of the European colonial empires, can be compared in general with what happened in Europe after the Renaissance. Freed from the rule of the creators, the political and economic units, established by European colonization in the vast stretches of Asia, have survived nonetheless. And so it was that after the Second World War, new national entities—India, Pakistan, Burma, the Philippines and Indonesia—saw the light of day. All these countries, from then on, had to resolve not only their political and economic problems but also the question of language. India, Pakistan, Burma and the Philippines, having been dependent upon a country whose language—English—is in universal use, have had more difficulty in this affair than has Indonesia. Dominated up until then by the Netherlands, whose language played a less important part in the world, Indonesia was able, in effect, to start right from the beginning with her own linguistic problems. Only in this way was it possible, in spite of geographical and linguistic conditions unfavourable in the extreme, to work out a new national language in a State comparable in size with the part of Europe stretching from Ireland to the Caspian Sea, or in America, between Los Angeles and Boston. Over this vast area, composed of thousands of islands of which the largest are divided by mountain ranges into isolated districts, some 250 languages and dialects have grown up during thousands of years, and although they have as their origin a common mother tongue, they have become different up to such a point where one could justly consider them as entirely distinct languages.

Dr. S. Takdir 'Alishahbana

It was this breaking up into hundreds of cultural and geographical units, each one possessing its own language, which had imposed for a very long time, the need for a common tongue able to be understood not only by the people of the archipelago, but also by strangers drawn in ever increasing numbers by the fabulous riches of this tropical country. Therefore, although these islands were brought under successive foreign rule, a tendency was brought about to attribute to the language of each occupant in turn the role of unifying tongue. Such was the case in Sanskrit during the Hindu period, or Arabic during the Islamic era, or Dutch during the Dutch colonization, and, lastly of Japanese under the Japanese occupation. But all of these foreign languages, differing from Indonesian, were understood by only a limited section of the population. In place of a common mother-tongue the native people adopted to communicate among themselves one of the local dialects, which they used concurrently with the official foreign language imposed upon them.

It is possible that the K'ouenlouen, the ancient Chinese chronicles, already prove the existence at this time of an Indonesian lingua franca, which the Chinese would have met in the archipelago. It is certain that the elevation of Malay to the rank of lingua franca was due to the prestige of Sriwidjaja, the great power which dominated a considerable part of South-East Asia in the first century after Jesus Christ and of which the centre was just that part of Indonesia where Malay is spoken. The first inscriptions in the Malay language were discovered not only where Malay is still in use, but also in other regions, notably the two inscriptions of Gandasuli, which date respectively from 827 C.E. and 832 C.E. and which were found in central Java.
The status of Malay at the time of European colonization

By the time of the arrival of the Europeans in Indonesia, Malay has already achieved a distinct pre-eminence over the numerous Indonesian languages; its vigour was due to three principal factors. In the first place, to the position of the regions where it was spoken, which were situated on both sides of the Malacca Straits and on the borders of the South China Sea, that is to say, at the first place of access to the Indonesian islands, and the only unifying point between East and West. Secondly, to the character of the populations of the Malay language, of whom navigation, commerce and colonization were the essential activities. Finally, to the role of Malacca which stood at one and the same time in the commercial field—for more than a century the merchants of the whole archipelago gravitated there—and in the religious field—as one of the great capitals from which radiated Islam. During his stay in Tidore (one of the islands of the Moluccas in eastern Indonesia), Pigafetta, a companion of Magellan on his journey round the world, drafted in 1521 the first Malay glossary. It is particularly interesting that Malay, which originated in West Indonesia, had already at the time of Pigafetta reached the eastern tip of the continent. Visiting Indonesia sixty years later, a Dutch navigator, Jan van Linschoten wrote in his Itinerarium oft Schipvaert naar Oost Ofte Portugaels Indien, that Malay was not well known, but was considered besides as being the most civilized of the Oriental languages, and that knowledge of which was just as indispensable in the Indies as the use of French in Holland.

Islam, using the existing commercial routes, had already had to employ the Malay language; the Portuguese had done the same. In the 16th century, it was in Malay that letters were written addressed by the sovereigns of the Moluccan islands to the King of Portugal. Saint François Xavier, who in the 16th century confronted Islam in the Moluccas in an attempt to bring the indigenous population to Christianity, wrote his papers on the Christian doctrine in Malay, for, as he said himself, this language was universally understood.

Why Malay became the lingua franca of the Dutch East Indies

While Malay is the mother tongue of a relatively small group of the population, Javanese being much more widely spoken, it serves as a mother tongue for about 40 million people. In any case, being easy to learn, Malay has raised itself to the level of a radical language. It allows no stratification, contrary to Javanese, the vocabulary of which differs according to the rank, age and social standing of the speaker, thus obliging the foreigner to assimilate three idioms or even more in the place of one. Besides, Malay can easily become a simplified language (pidgeon-Malay) called Malayu pasar or Melayu rendah, used by foreigners. From 1600, the beginning of its activity in Indonesia, the East India Company (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie), whose premier aims were of a commercial order, attached itself, nevertheless, like the Portuguese colonizers, to Christianizing the country. With this object, the Company founded, notably, schools. Thus, from the beginning of the 17th century, they imported from choice a basic language for speaking to the native people in both schools and church. The efforts to introduce Dutch met with many difficulties and, the local languages being too numerous, Malay had to be used since it was understood by the majority of Indonesians. But the adaptation of Malay to religious purposes was to prove arduous, with the result that the translation of the New Testament in this language was not published until 1731 and that of the Old Testament in 1738.

The adoption of Dutch, however, still remained a problem. The more the power of Holland increased and extended, the more her language gained in importance, above all in the 19th and 20th centuries, after the substitution of a colonial administration for the East India Company. Under the influence of progressive and liberal ideas which then characterized European policy, this administration became increasingly preoccupied with the education of the Indonesian people.

Meanwhile, Malay spread more and more, for it was used equally in administration and correspondence, in regard to Indonesians. Thus, far from diminishing, the rivalry of the two languages, Dutch and Malay, grew apace during the 19th century. The Government did not know how to adopt a coherent policy when choosing in which language to give instruction both primary and secondary. From this arose the fluctuations which gave in turn the advantage to one or the other of the opposing conceptions. The Dutch Governor-General, Rochussen, after a tour of Java in 1850, proposed the use of Malay in education, for it was, according to him, the fundamental language of the Indonesian archipelago and was spoken by those of differing races whether Malay or Javanese, Chinese or Arab, the inhabitants of Bali, Macassar, Bugi or Djakat. But at the same time a strong impulse was given to the extension of the teaching of Dutch due to Van der Chijs, who considered it insufficient that Indonesians merely be able to enter European schools. He foresaw the creation, at their wish, of special schools (distinct from mixed establishments) where the young Indonesians would learn Dutch. Besides this, he made great efforts to obtain the founding of secondary schools and complementary courses.

The impetus to Dutch

At the end of the last century, the appearance of a fashion called "ethics" transformed colonial politics by accentuating from then on the necessity of extending to the Indonesians the benefits of Western European civilization by the diffusion of its work and methods. Mr. J. H. Abadanon, who became in 1900 Director of the Department of Education, fought energetically in favour of Dutch, this language being the nearest instrument to the propagation of Western civilization. Abadanon organized complementary courses in Dutch within the range of the six levels of the primary school. As a result, this language became compulsory from the 3rd to the 6th forms of the primary schools, and had to be taught in teachers' training schools. In 1908, Indonesian intellectuals, on the occasion of their first attempt at a conscientious organization of the Congress Budi Utomo at Djakarta, formulated their demands in this field. They demanded easier access to Dutch schools, or in place of that, the establishment of special schools for Indonesians desirous of pursuing the study of Dutch. It no longer sufficed merely to deal with this subject along with the others in the school curriculum, for the pupils thus acquired only insufficient knowledge to enable them to master the more difficult studies. At the time of Director Hazeu, Dutch was taught from the first year of the primary school, but it was only in 1914 that the Dutch Government, conforming to the demands of the Budi Utomo Congress, instituted an education from the age of seven years aimed at permitting Indonesians to study any other subject of their choice. The incessant demands of the Indonesians, anxious to see the generalization of education, had occupied a quarter of the 20th century and were more or less in detail the problem of the position of Dutch. The role of this language became more and more important in the Indonesian community, not only because it governed access to higher study in Western
education, to employment and a higher standard of treatment, but also because it constituted the touchstone for inclusion in a new social stratum of intellectuals. It is not then surprising that, each year, thousands of parents endeavoured to have their children admitted to one of the "Dutch schools for the indigenous people". But the number of classes at their disposal was insufficient to meet the flow of candidates. The spread of Dutch in Indonesia was foreseen notably by the "Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond", as also by certain Dutch pedagogues of whom the most learned was Dr. G. J. Nieuwenhuis, an ardent defender of a language which he considered capable of aiding cultural progress and economic expansion. "Whosoever," he said, "has the courage to see the future with composure, sufficient generosity to think of our descendants, a sense of reality and justice so as to exclude all pretensions towards a permanent domination, will understand that there can be no question of perpetuating the relations of central government and colony. But it is the duty of all to try and conserve in Indonesia for as long as possible the work which we have brought to a successful conclusion at the price of such effort. The best and most appropriate means to this end is the propagation of our language. As always with the spread of ideas, it offers a disinterested satisfaction, at the same time permitting the edification of a community with permanent interests." The aim of Dr. Nieuwenhuis was to make Dutch the unifying language for Indonesia. That is why he declared: "If we desire the unification of Indonesia, we must first begin with the upper class of the population—to the leaders—we must, following the example of what was done in British India and Annam, ensure mutual understanding by the use of a language representative of international civilization. This is the case of Dutch in Indonesia."

The learning of Dutch arouses in Indonesians a new conception of their language problem

From this point of view, Nieuwenhuis was to discard Malay. He had considerable influence upon the spread of Dutch up until 1930. But at the same period, reactions arose from both sides. Important groups of Dutch saw with displeasure an ever increasing number of Indonesians being admitted to schools and universities, charged with important public functions and even laying incessant claims to new rights. Thus it was that Dr. J. W. Meyer Rennet opposed Western education for Indonesians, which was considered unsuitable from the cultural and economic points of view. On the other hand, the Indonesians had acquired in the meantime a new conception of the linguistic problem. The new class of Indonesian intellectuals drove itself by any means possible, from 1908, to create organizations destined to hold an influence over the population. These intellectuals were soon to find that Dutch, a knowledge of which remained still the appanage of only a restricted number of Indonesians, would never permit them to communicate with the population as a whole. Knowing that the unity of the Indonesian people alone could constitute a staunch force in the face of the colonial power, they sought a language which could be understood by the majority of the population. Thus political evolution singled out Malay, which, as has already been stated, had served for centuries as the lingua franca of the Indonesian archipelago. The oldest and most important parties such as the "Serikat Islam" used from their origin, not Dutch, but Malay. The case was, in general, the same as in Indonesian journalism from its beginnings in the 19th century.

The impetus of patriotic sentiment in Indonesia and the unifying current which resulted, made, by the use of Malay, a manifestation of the national conscience. Youth movements had a decisive influence on the later evolution of this language. In 1936, during the first Congress of Indonesian Youth, it was still in the Dutch language that Muhammad Yamin spoke of the possibilities of the future of the language and of Malay literature. But two years later, at the Youth Congress in Djakarta, on 28th October, 1928, young Indonesians solemnly took oath in the name of "One nation—Indonesia, one country—Indonesia and one language—Indonesian". This Congress replaced for the first time the name of the "Malayan" language with that of the "Indonesian" language, defining thus, not only the name, but also the role of modern Indonesian. The struggle of Dutch and Malay for supremacy in Indonesia was thus finally at an end, at least in theory. But this decision implied at the same time that to
the chosen language would return the difficult task of replacing Dutch as an instrument in Western civilization. In connection with this, must be noted the creation of a new monthly review, *Pudjangga Baru* (New Writers) (1933), a publication designed for the spread of the Indonesian language and literature. Among its contributors were several eminent personalities from the cultural and political life of the whole archipelago. From this circle came the organizers of the first Linguistic Congress which met at Surakarta in 1938. The resolutions of the Congress emphasized the necessity of founding an Institute and a Faculty for the Indonesian language, of creating a modern scientific terminology, of introducing a new spelling as well as a new grammar which would take into account the evolution of the language. Besides this, the Congress demanded the use of Indonesian in legislation and in representative assemblies. All these resolutions remained theoretical, because no coherent body upheld them, and the Dutch Government obviously saw no reason to carry them out.

The arrival of the Japanese in Indonesia afforded an opportunity for Indonesians to replace Dutch

Real progress came only several years later, under the Japanese occupation. When in 1942, the Japanese landed in Indonesia and rapidly seized power, one of their first decisions was the suppression of Dutch, which had remained until then the official language and the means of expression of Indonesian intellectuals in modern life. The declared aim of the Japanese was to replace Dutch by their own language. But although the teaching of Japanese was introduced into each office and school, it would have taken years to attain this end, even if the Indonesians had proved willing. Wartime conditions did not of course allow to wait patiently for such a slow evolution. Also in the same way as all their predecessors, they were forced for practical reasons to use Malay alone. Indonesian became, then, not only the language of public law and of official announcements, but also that of correspondence between the different administrative organs and their relations with the people. It entered similarly into use in all teaching establishments from the primary school to the university. As with many other subjects which had never or practically never been dealt with before, and which develop sudden currents, the language underwent considerable enrichment. It went through a period of forced growth, in order to fulfill, as quickly as possible, the multiple functions of a modern language which has reached maturity. Moreover, the Japanese, having resolved to partake of the resources of the Indonesian people as a whole in the south-east Asian war, penetrated right into the villages and the furthest corners of the islands, using the Indonesian language everywhere. Thus, the language developed a considerable power and the Indonesians learned to experience a feeling which most of them had never known before. The more they acquired freedom of expression in Indonesian, the more they became conscious of the bond which united them. The Indonesian language became the symbol of national unity.

The work of coining technical terms in Indonesian

By the time the Japanese realized this state of affairs, they were no longer able to oppose efficaciously the sizeable development of Indonesian. It was thus that the *Komisi Bahasa Indonesia, Commission for the Indonesian Language*, was founded on 20th October, 1942, whose members comprised the future leaders of the Indonesian people. Their task consisted in fixing a modern terminology, a standard grammar and a popular vocabulary. By the end of the Japanese occupation, 7,000 new terms could be enumerated. During the revolution the Provisional Constitution raised Indonesian to the level of official language of the country, this being no longer a theoretical proclamation, but the consecration of a factual condition. Even when two Federal States (East Indonesia and Pasundan) were founded under the direction of the Dutch Government, this latter had no choice but to recognize Indonesian, accepted by the former as the official language.

After the merging of the two Federal States on 17th August, 1950, Indonesian, which was used by all official organs and services, of course, retained this role. In the interval, the work of creating new scientific terms had been undertaken. 18th June, 1947, saw the establishment of a working Commission *Panitia Perkerdja Bahasa Indonesia*, which registered 5,000 new words. After the transfer of sovereignty this task was continued by the *Komisi Istitah* (Commission for Technical Terms) founded in 1952, forming part of the *Lembaga Bahasa dan Budaya Fakultas Sastra dan Filsafat Universitas Indonesia* (Institute of the Language and Culture of the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy of the University of Indonesia).

The development of the scientific vocabulary in the modern Indonesian language is such that all teachers in the country use it exclusively in their lectures. This in no way means that all the linguistic problems of the new State have been resolved. For teaching and research, data on Indonesia is to be found only in Dutch. In spite of the existence of many translations in Indonesian, the number is insufficient compared with the great collection of scientific works in Dutch. Apart from the necessity of translating all these writings into Indonesian, another crushing task remains to be done: the translation of the fundamental works of the history of man.

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**AN OBJECTIVE APPRAISAL OF NORTH AFRICA OF 1415-1830**

*BARBARY LEGEND*, by Sir Godfrey Fisher. Oxford University Press, London 1957. Pp. x + 349. Price 42/-. Sir Godfrey Fisher deserves appreciation and recognition for the way he has utterly destroyed many of the mythical writings of the prejudiced Western Christian historians who have tried to stain and tarnish the reputation of the Turks and the Muslim leaders, dubbed unceremoniously "Barbary Corsairs" or "pirates". It is true that modern writers such
as the French historian Professor H. A. Julien have written up the present-day North African leaders fairly objectively, and Stanley Lane-Poole paid a tribute to the “Barbary Corsairs”, the founders of the modern Algerian State which is now in the process of revival, in his *Barbary Corsairs*, London 1890. But the stigma of slavery and piracy has long hung over the heads of the North Africans. It is refreshing to note that Algerian, Moroccan and Tunisian historians who are now busily engaged in rendering justice to their ancestors would find that within a few years the European historians would also be refuted by the writings of their own forefathers, which have been effectively used by Sir Godfrey Fisher to restore the balance of history.

In the first few very interesting and useful pages, Sir Godfrey tells us about the merchants of Marseilles who were nervous” of the competition of the Algerians even on the French home market, and about the good account of the Algerian government which may have aroused “surprise and envy” in Pitt the Younger, for European consuls “held up Tunis as a model of administration”. A Scottish merchant (MacGill, *An Account of Tunis, its Government, etc.*, about 1792) has left us an enthusiastic picture of the maritime power and inland commerce of Tunis, and where “great respect was shown for Christians” (Tully, *Narrative of Ten Years at Tripoli in Africa*).

Sir Godfrey traces how later on the words “Mussulman” and “Mohammedan” became synonymous in Europe with “piracy, despotic government and fanatical intolerance” in the ideas of the prejudiced European historians, who developed their religious prejudice and political propaganda as early as the first half of the seventeenth century. They even went so far as to accuse the Muslims of practising “sadistic cruelty”. Yet as this impartial historian chronicles, at the same time the European merchants fraternised with these alleged sadists and pirates, and at all times failed to unite against the Muslims! Sir Godfrey states that many Europeans considered the Turks as being more civilized than the French and Spaniards, and they unhesitatingly placed themselves under Turkish protection. In developing his theme further, the author says that Kheir-ed-din Barbarossa, one of the two brothers who founded the Algerian State and who has, by some curious process, come to be depicted in our latest histories as an “infamous character” and a “professional pirate”, was in his own age reputed by Christians generally to be a wise statesman, an able administrator and a great soldier, noted for his orderly and civilized conduct of war and courted in turn simultaneously by the greatest princes, spiritual and temporal, of the Mediterranean”.

As to the false propaganda against the Turks, Sir Godfrey writes that the Turks were “highly civilized” from “a moral and a practical standpoint”, and the Muslims were “liberal” in matters concerning trade and race and creed, and that the word of a Muslim was “proverbial” in European circles in the nineteenth century and the relations of the Muslim States with Britain from 1682 to 1830 were even more correct than those of her oldest ally, Portugal.

This book consists of thirteen chapters, and this masterly account must be read by all Muslims and translated into Arabic, Turkish, Urdu and Indonesian so that all Muslims can know the real facts about their ancestors from an impartial British source. This is a great book and will do something to improve the understanding of the Muslims in the English-speaking world.

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**What our Readers say...**

**The Cyprus Question—Partition is the best solution**

An Open Letter to Lord Salisbury, formerly Lord President of the Council and Leader of the House of Lords, London

*My Lord,*

The Cyprus issue, with which the name of your noble ancestry is associated, constitutes today the last test of loyalty that Britain will have to face vis-à-vis the Turkish and Muslim world.

Whatever the diplomatic differences that have intervened since, the island of Cyprus was ceded to Britain in 1878 under the explicit condition of contributing to the defence of Anatolia. That was the governing idea underlying the cession. Any change of régime entailing, directly or indirectly, a modification of the scope of this essential clause, would sooner or later affect the security of Asia Minor and constitute a breach of Britain’s moral obligations. If, in one way or another, the administration of the island were to be left to the majority, one can see from the example of Crete that in all probability this would end, within a determinate or indeterminate period, with the annexation of Cyprus to Greece in such a way that Turkey would be encircled by and caught in the Communist Russian-Hellenic grip.

Turks can no longer endure that the politics of the Western world, which for centuries now have been consistently giving ground in the face of homeric charlatanisms, should continue to play this dangerous game regardless of the fact that circumstances have changed to a considerable extent.

It is surprising that the Cabinets of Europe should not, as yet, have realized the fact that the spirit of medieval fanaticism whose aim was to eliminate the Turks from Europe is far from having succeeded in establishing law and order in those territories which were wrenched from us by war and even more by intrigue. One could not explain otherwise than by the pressure or the threat of the West’s fanatical solidarity, the forced cession of Thessaly, Crete, Macedonia, Thrace, the Dodecanese, as well as of Eastern Roumelia.

The most honest solution that Britain could adopt would be to return the island to those who ceded it to her, under certain conditions, in 1878. But the Western mind, shaped as it is by so-called hellenic culture and always clouded by
medieval obscuration, could never entertain the idea that Crescent might again take possession of a territory which it had been forced to abandon as a result of modern crusades.

If the statesmen who pretend to direct the affairs of the world had any objective sense — no so much of history, of which they have only retained the slogans, ceaselessly repeated to obfuscate children, but of more recent issues from which they have been unable to learn a lesson — they would see that it is the Soviets and their satellites — surely less civilized than the Ottomans — who have established a hold on all the Caucasian, Balkan and other territories evacuated by the Sultans during the period of decline. They would also realize that the hydra of Communism, which has been virtually implanted in Greece with the avowed and recognized complicity of the Orthodox clergy, is waiting for the first opportunity to raise its head and spread its tentacles over the whole of Eastern Europe, the Near East and the Mediterranean.

Syria has already fallen into its coils. Cyprus and Greece herself will follow suit as soon as American help to Greece is reduced. One must be blind or have the effrontery to deny the truth in order not to sense the Russian finger in the Cypro-hellenic question.

The public memory has never been retentive, but it is incomprehensible that responsible quarters in Britain should have failed to perceive and understand the striking correlations which exist between certain facts of recent history, such as the Cypriot plots and the installation of military and naval Syro-Soviet bases in Syria on the one hand, and the denunciation of the Treaty of 1925 on the other. Following this denunciation, the Soviet Union asked only yesterday for a base in the Dardanelles and for the cession of the two provinces situated in the frontier region of North-Eastern Anatolia.

It is no less surprising that it has taken so many years to grasp the fact that five out of every six Greek mayors in Cyprus are militant Communists and that hundreds of young Greeks, educated at Soviet colleges and secretly introduced into the island, are the most active agents of the terrorist organization. The aim of Communism is to turn Cyprus, with the connivance of Greece, into an anti-Turkish bastion, an island which, in the hands of a naval power, has been an anti-Russian redoubt. This then is the fact disentangled from its matrix of intrigues and lies. It will not be the famous contingents of the United Nations or NATO who will sacrifice their lives in the defence of Anatolia, as the Turkish soldiers did to rescue their allies in Korea. The Western world is not capable of such abnegation. It will let us down as soon as the situation takes a turn for the worse.

The First World War, which had consequences as disastrous for Europe as for the Ottoman Empire, was the punishment for the injustices committed against the Turks both before and after the Balkan Wars. History proves in a most irrefutable way that since the nineteenth century Europe has never ceased to suffer from the consequences of her collusion with the Russians and Greeks, who are so proficient at exploiting the lassitude and the religious solidarity of the West. All the European crises of the last 150 years have been solved in a way exclusively favourable to the Greeks and Slavs.

In 1922 the parallel or joint influence of Edwin Montagu, Lord Beaverbrook, Bonar Law and Stanley Baldwin succeeded in removing Lloyd George from power. The latter's utter lack of geographical sense, together with his romantic grecophile, threatened to involve Britain in new complications. Downing Street must still remember that it was the sensible and realistic policy broached at Lausanne upon Italo-American initiative that ensured Turkish neutrality, which in its turn decided the outcome of the Second World War.

Edward Stettinius, the collaborator of Roosevelt at Yalta, threw into relief Russia's notorious reluctance to adhere to the formal obligations contracted after the last war. And Dr. Adanauer, Europe's most sober statesman, declared only recently that it was "almost impossible to have any confidence in the Russians, in view of the fact that they have violated no less than forty-seven international treaties during the last thirty years".

This truth was realized long ago by British statesmen such as Pitt, Palmerston, Peel, Beaconsfield and Salisbury, who at the commanding posts of the Empire succeeded in ensuring a preponderant position for the Commonwealth in the world. In this they were unlike the followers of the narrow-minded Gladstone, that pious hypocrite, that nephew and father of a clergyman who was treated by Disraeli as an "arrant knave" and a "traitor to the country" and who fought for the expulsion of the Turks from Europe with the artificial exaltation of a Crusader.

We call on the testimony of conscientious historians of Europe to confirm the fact that of all the European peoples, no matter what the epoch or the régime, it was the Turks who were most consistently faithful to their international obligations, and that — as it has been explicitly attested by A. Vandal and A. Sorel — they often continued to defend and fight for a common cause, even when they had been abandoned by their allies. One cannot forget that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Turks acted, without reservations, as the benevolent and chivalrous defenders of Poland and Hungary. Falsehood and treachery do not enter into the Turkish mentality. On the contrary, we have often been shamefully cheated by the West, which is today paying the price of its treason. After the disastrous consequences of the Balkan and Cretan questions, during which the famous chancelleries of Europe gave endless assurances regarding the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, let us no more hear of plebiscites, of self-government, and other such nonsense.

It must, however, be admitted that morality and honour have not altogether disappeared from this world, and that, no matter how small, they still hold a place in the making of international political decisions.

We have had enough of these blackmailings, these suspicious compromises to which millions of Turks of Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. have already been sacrificed without the Eastern Church Committee showing the slightest concern.

We must, at all costs, have an honest and radical solution. All this must be ended definitely if the renewal of bloodshed is to be avoided. One must not imagine that the Turkish people, who are calm and quiet when no one pushes them to exasperation, are more naïve or more passive than any other nation of Europe.

The Turks in Cyprus, who must be put at 150,000 (and not 120,000) — on account of the falsified identity cards issued by Anglo-Greek officials — and who are owners of more than half the land in Cyprus, respect more than any other people the principle of nationalities, since the latter have survived through six centuries of domination. The Turks are not asking today for the total cession of the island; they limit their demands to the northern part of Cyprus, facing Anatolia.

Even if all geo-political considerations in support of the return of Cyprus to Turkey were put aside, it would still be
possible to invoke the precedents afforded by the partition of India, of the Transvaal and of Ireland, as well as the exchange between the Greek populations of Anatolia and the Turkish populations of Macedonia and the Dodecanese. This exchange, according to the testimony of E. Venizelos, had the most favourable consequences for the two countries.

If the West does not dare to assume the responsibility of an equitable solution, let the Turks defend their own honour and interest, as they did before, even though exhausted by the First World War.

To the 150,000 Cypriot Turks, to the 26 million Turks of Turkey, to the 60 million Turks in the world, and to the 140 million Muslim members of the Baghdad Pact, Britain and the United States must give the ultimate proof of the loyalty of their intentions.

The United Nations must be convinced that the settlement of the Cyprus issue will condition to a great extent the relations of Muslim Asia with the Christian world.

I am persuaded, my most honourable Lord, that these truths are not far removed from your convictions, and that as a perfect gentleman you will know better than anyone else how to defend them in the enlightened quarters of the Anglo-Saxon world.

Please accept, my Lord, the assurance of my respectful and devoted sentiments.

RESID SAFFET ATABINEN,
Secretary-General to the Turkish Delegation at the Lausanne Conference in 1922 and a former member of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey.

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